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THE

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REVIEW.

VOLUME XVII

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DAVID NUTT, 57-59 LONG ACRE.

1903.

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1903.

SOME FRIENDS OF THE CLASSICS.

OF the pamphlets published in the last twelve months, two claim attention as proceeding from scholars who hold high positions in the classical world, and who have had the problems of the classical education of to-day brought in different ways under their notice.

'Archaeology in Schools' by Professor P. GARDNER and Mr. J. L. MYRES¹ is a valuable and timely contribution to a department of classical instruction which has but lately won its way to proper recognition. The text is from the pen of Prof. Gardner, a dissentient opinion of Mr. Myres upon a particular point being recorded in a note.

It consists partly of advice to classical teachers upon the best mode of introducing archaeology into their instruction, a province in which Prof. Gardner's knowledge and experience enable him to speak with weight, partly of a more general treatment of principles and methods. Here also there is much that is valuable. Prof. Gardner is fully alive to the defects of modern classical education. He says :

¹ *Classical Archaeology in Schools*, by Percy Gardner, Litt. D. Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford; with an Appendix containing list of Archaeological Apparatus by Professor P. Gardner and J. L. Myres, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford. (Printed by request of a Committee of the Head Masters' Conference.) Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1902. Pp. 35. 1s. net.

'In my experience young men coming to the Universities from the great schools are remarkably deficient in the power of observing accurately and recording their observations. And they are usually entirely unversed in the weighing of evidence or discerning degrees of probability' (p. 16).

He recognises, as many do not, the high qualifications demanded by elementary teaching.

'As is the case in many other subjects, these most elementary teachings are perhaps the most difficult, and require the greatest care and skill' (p. 11).

The various series of illustrated classics he judges as follows.

'All that I have seen are incorrect or inadequate, and tend to mislead as much as to help...the illustrated classics of which mention has been made are produced with a quite insufficient knowledge, and are in most cases full of bad blunders and show great want of judgement' (p. 7).

Coming from one in Prof. Gardner's position this is very depressing. I wonder if he realised when he wrote it how very depressing it is. Let us hope that the judgment is somewhat too severe. But if not, it rests with archaeologists to find a remedy. We do not indeed expect Prof. Gardner to abandon his other employments and illustrate school classics as he thinks they should be illustrated; but surely there is by this time a sufficient supply of younger men, some of them, it may be, pupils of the Professor himself, who would be able and

willing to help in a matter of such vital importance to elementary classical teaching? There is danger too of the illustrations in these books being gauged by inapplicable standards. They should of course be correct as far as they go, but that a consummate archaeologist should find them inadequate is not such a serious objection. The information which is described as 'scrappy' and of little use for methodic study in the subject may for all that greatly help a beginner in getting some real hold of the ancient culture and forms of thought, so different from our own. The illustrated dictionary of Anthony Rich, to take a single instance, has probably done much more than any book of its size to make antiquity real to the student. Its merits are acknowledged in Germany; yet I have read a lofty condemnation of it by an eminent English archaeologist. A new edition is badly wanted, and we look to professed experts in archaeology to supply it.

Mr. Myres' Appendix, we need hardly say, should be of the greatest use to classical teachers. It supplies a long-felt want. An estimate of its utility and completeness in detail is outside my province. But chance enables me to offer one suggestion. Ought not the list of diagrams, etc., of Roman antiquities (p. 33) to include Dr. Albert Müller's useful models of Roman soldiers with the accompanying pamphlet in which the ancient sources are cited and explained?¹

Professor G. G. RAMSAY's address² as first president of the Classical Association of Scotland, the formation of which the

¹ These models, with the pamphlet *Die Ausrüstung u. Bewaffnung des Römischen Heeres in der Kaiserzeit* (pp. 32), may be obtained from the manufacturer, J. E. Dubois (Zinnenfigurenfabrik), Seilwinderstrasse, Hanover. Price in Germany, 3 M. 75 pf. (Booksellers are asked to order several at a time.) If the pamphlet were translated into English (not what passes with a German publisher's hack for such) they might have some considerable sale in England and America.

² *Efficiency in Education*. Inaugural Address delivered at the First Annual Meeting of the Scottish Classical Association, 29th November, 1902, by the President, G. G. Ramsay, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. Jas. MacLehose and Sons. 1902. Pp. 41.

Classical Review noted last year, will be read with interest in many quarters. We are glad to see on the first page a disavowal of all professional and personal motives on behalf of members of the Association: the battle of Classics is lost if it is to be fought upon the field of material interests. Prof. Ramsay does well to point out what may be learned from studying contemporary experience in Europe and America. The increasing vitality of Greek and Latin in the United States is already known to readers of this Review. Prof. Ramsay adds to this facts relating to France and Germany which deserve the widest currency and from which I regret I can select but two. In the year 1898-99 out of a total of 152,019 pupils in Prussian Secondary Schools only 39,323 were in non-classical schools, while no less than 83,272 were pupils in the Gymnasien whose school-course embraces both the classical tongues. In France not only teachers and professors but the majority of the Chambers of Commerce and of the Conseils Généraux have petitioned in favour of the retention of Latin.

The weak point of Prof. Ramsay's address is its dearth of practical proposals; for the proposal that schools should be divided into two main types—a literary and a scientific one—can hardly rank as such. The urgent need for improvement in our modes of teaching Latin and Greek he does indeed acknowledge; but his suggestions for reform are the merest generalities.

The situation, which he with many other teachers of Greek and Latin fails sufficiently to realise, is this. Classics are now being pressed on the one side by the advance of science, on the other by that of modern languages. The latter are its more dangerous opponents. They promise to a certain point the same advantages as the classics; their methods are up to date and their teachers alert and enterprising. How then can they be resisted if confronted only by antiquated methods and a defence which is both backward and supine? High aesthetic and intellectual considerations are all very well; but they are of no avail in a squeeze.

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE HOMERIC πολέμοιο γέφυραι.

THIS curious expression, occurring five times in the Iliad, has never been satisfactorily explained. Ebeling interprets it as 'spatium inter duas acies intercedens.' Dr. Leaf, in his note on Δ 371, where the words are first used, says that 'it is explained by the Scholiast τὰς διόδους τῶν φαλάγγων, the lines of open ground between the moving masses of men, who are perhaps likened to flowing water. It is especially used of the space between the hostile armies.' Similarly Ameis *ad loc.* understands it as 'die Dammwege des Kriegesgetümmels, die zwischen den einzelnen Heeresabteilungen gelassenen Zwischenräume': Dr. Monro's interpretation is different: 'the "dykes of war,"' he thinks, 'may mean the ranks or squadrons, thought of as stemming the tide of war. . . . But the phrase is used in so conventional a way that it is doubtful whether its meaning was really present to the poet's mind.'

The hypothesis that the poet did not know what he meant is not very attractive: and after all the words must at some time have had a meaning. It seems to me that we have in the known Homeric use of γέφυρα a perfectly intelligible sense which will suit all the instances of πολέμοιο γέφυραι. The scholiastic αἱ διόδοι τῶν φαλάγγων is founded no doubt on the later use of γέφυρα. But γέφυρα means of course in Homer not a bridge but a dam or dyke, a barrier: cp. E. 88-9: and πολέμοιο γέφυραι signifies 'the barriers of the war' in the sense of the outskirts or limits of the ground—always the plain between Troy and the sea—on which the battles are fought. The heroes fight, as it were, in the lists, hemmed in by boundaries, either natural (such as rising ground or river) or imaginary; beyond these limits the war does not pass.

Let me justify this interpretation by taking the five passages in detail. In Δ 371 Agamemnon is rebuking Diomedes for his supposed unwillingness to fight: τί πτώσσεις τί δ' ὀπιπύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας; 'why do you shrink, and cast a sidelong glance at the barriers or outskirts of the battle,' evidently, that is, looking for a way to escape? In Θ 378 the phrase bears this as its most natural meaning. Athene invites Here to the battlefield 'that I may see whether

Hector will be glad when he beholds us ἀνὰ πολέμοιο γεφύρας,' on the skirts of the field, where of course Athene and Here would first be seen coming to the fray. The horses of Δ 160 that κείν' ὄχρα κροτάλιζον ἀνὰ πολέμοιο γεφύρας are doing exactly what horses that have lost their drivers would do—escaping from the battle-ground, roaming outside the throng of combatants. Again, when Achilles says of himself and Hector (Υ 427) οἶδ' ἂν ἔτι δὴν ἀλλήλους πτώσσοιμεν ἀνὰ πολέμοιο γεφύρας, he means 'no longer shall we shrink from each other about the limits of the battle,' like men anxious to keep as far apart as possible, outside the combat, in rear of their respective armies. In the above four passages I do not deny that the expression 'dams of war' might mean the spaces between columns. It might: though it would everywhere be strained and unnatural. But in the one remaining instance (Θ 553) I maintain that Ebeling's 'spatium inter duas acies intercedens,' and Dr. Leaf's 'lines of open ground between moving masses of men,' or 'space between the hostile armies,' and Dr. Monro's 'ranks or squadrons thought of as stemming the tide of war,' are all (I speak with deference to such high authorities) wholly untenable. Here the Trojans μέγα φρονέοντες ἀνὰ πολέμοιο γεφύρας εἶατο παννίχιοι: how can the warriors of one whole army be encamped among their own squadrons, or in the space between the two armies, or in the lines of open ground between their own columns? The thing is impossible. On the other hand the 'dams of the war,' in the sense of the outskirts of the battlefield, would be just the place where the Trojan army would naturally bivouac.

It is noticeable that Apion's synonym for πολέμοιο γέφυραι in Δ 371 is ἡ διάβασις καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα πολέμου, while Nicander explains the expression in Θ 553 as τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου συμβολὴ γίνεται (both quoted by Ebeling). The second explanation gives a meaning not wholly incompatible with mine: the first, in so far as τὰ ἔσχατα πολέμου is concerned, is identically the same as that which I have suggested.

A. D. GODLEY.

P. TEBTUNIS 4.

THIS new fragment of Homer, one of the four solitary literary papyri in the enormous volume just published by MM. Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly,¹ is of considerable interest, even if its scantiness denies us the enlightenment that on various points might have been expected from a Homer of the century of Aristarchus.

The Papyrus contains B 95-210 with critical signs, and is according to the editors of about the end of the second century B.C.

The variants are as follows: B 132, otherwise οἱ μέγα πλάζουσι καὶ ἰὺκ εἰῶσ' ἐθέλοντα, commences...με κε π... This may point to οἱ μέ κε περ πλάζοιεν ἰδ' οὐκ εἰῶσ' ἐθέλοντα; cf. similar combinations of particles in Ebeling p. 163 b. In the next line (B 133) we have

...ν, i.e. Aristarchus' reading Ἰλιον ἐκέρσαι εὖ ναιόμενον πολίεθρον, with the vulgate Ἰλίων superscribed. This is not new, various mediaeval MSS. (and at Φ 443 the family *h*) have Ἰλιον. B 135 in the margin the editors give πεδ. This must either be part of σ[η]πεδ[όνα] or the like, or if δ is doubtful, of σεσηπέναι which actually occurs in schol. T. B 137 [εἰατ ἐνι μεγάροις ποτὶ]δεγ[μεν...] the editors say that the vestiges of writing after μεν cannot be reconciled with the ordinary reading ἄμμι δὲ ἔργον nor with the quotation in Rhett. gr. viii. 581 Walz *vias* ἀχαιῶν. Perhaps the papyrus shewed the construction of ποτιδέγμεναι continued directly in such words as ἦν ποτ' ἀχαιοί/ ἔργον ἐπεκτελέσωμεν οὐ εἵνεκα δεῦρ' ἰκόμεσθα, of which the version partially quoted in the Rhett. gr. was a doublet (e.g. *vias* Ἀχαιῶν εἴποτε ἔργον ἀνοίτο κ.τ.λ.). In the next line

the superscribed λ in ἐκομεσ[θ]α may be the remains of ἡλθομεν, but ἰκόμεσθα seems a familiar word to be glossed. The Papyrus adds another to the list of documents which omit B 206.

The papyrus is the earliest known MS. bearing the critical signs. The next is the Pap. B. M. 128 (Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, 1891, p. 100 *Journ. Phil.* 1893, p. 296) of the first century B.C., where the signs are very few. The Tebtunis papyrus has them regularly, and as it may have been written within fifty years after Aristarchus' death its testimony cannot but be important. The following is a comparison of the papyrus and the Venetus A:

TEBT.	VEN. A.
B 95-120 Beginnings of lines lost.	
124 Obelus.	Obelus.
125 Om.	Diple.
130-2 Beginnings lost.	
133 Obelus.	Obelus.
143, 4 Beginnings lost.	
148 Om.	Diple.
156 Dotted diple.	Om.
158-171 Def.	
164 Dotted asterisk and obelus.	Dotted asterisk and obelus.
188-196 Def.	
197 Obelus.	Obelus.
203 Def.	Sigma and Stigme.
204 Antisigma.	Sigma and Stigme.
205 Om.	Sigma and Stigme.

If we make the papyrus a present of all the places where its reading can be called uncertain, it appears to have been regularly furnished with signs, and to agree for the most part with the Ven. A. The papyrus omits the diple on 125 and 148, and adds of its own a dotted diple on 156. As there is justification for signs at both 148 and 156 it would seem that the papyrus omitted one and Ven. A the other. The case at 203 sq. is more complicated. Ven. A has against 203, 204, and 205 three unique symbols, a stigma (actually a very small ring) inside a sigma. Aristarchean usage required three simple stigmata, and so Aristonicus found (τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν δύο ἢ στιγμῇ παράκειται). Why and when the sigma was added to the dot is, in the absence of a parallel, obscure, (it looks as though someone had combined the Aristophanic usage of sigma and antisigma with the Aristarchean of antisigma and dot), but the papyrus takes the original course of appicting an antisigma to 204 and no sign to the other two lines (203 is doubtful, 205 has no sign). This as the editors observe is the reverse of the usual rule. As B 192—to which the signs refer—has perished in the papyrus, we are unable to say if the scribe were consistent in his apparent reversal of custom and affixed a stigma to 192, or if he used antisigma in its later sense, as a simple mark of omission.

What was the nature of this second century copy of Homer? It was regularly supplied with the Alexandrian semeia, so much is manifest, but what text did it offer? Was the text Alexandrian also? The evidence is too slight to admit of an answer. The papyrus has the Aristarchean Ἰλιον in v. 133, and it would be captious to explain away the circumstance. It is the only

¹ *The Tebtunis Papyri*; Part I., edited by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly. 1902.

second century fragment containing an Aristarcheanism, and has so far the best claim to be considered Aristarchus' edition. Still ἴλιον may be a clerical error, or the papyrus may be a copy of the edition from which Aristarchus took the reading, and this latter

supposition is somewhat confirmed by the apparent extensive variants on 132 and 137.

We still expect the long and well-preserved second century papyrus which shall tell us what Aristarchus' edition really was.

T. W. ALLEN.

NOTES ON SOPHOCLES'S ANTIGONE.¹

V. 178 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὅστις κτέ.

The γὰρ ought to introduce either an argument or an explanation. It does neither. Professor Semitelos, in his too little valued edition of the *Antigone*, has alone shewn where the trouble lies and how it is to be remedied. He restores v. 191 to its pristine seat between vv. 177 and 178, making the necessary changes in vv. 175 and 177. He is at fault in one minor detail, viz., that he does not restore ποίοις instead of οἷς at the head of v. 191. I feel sure too that a future is demanded instead of αὔξω; and that future can only have been αὔξω, as will appear, if one consider the endings of vv. 191 and 178 and ask himself how v. 191 lost its place. But there are some interesting matters of symmetry in this great speech of Creon's that can be properly appreciated only if the speech be presented in full with certain indications of the divisions of the parts. This I now do, making here and there certain alterations proposed by various scholars which (particularly, besides Professor Semitelos's, that in v. 190) seem to me to be, for various reasons, demanded. I would beg the reader to regard the present discussion as, in part—but only in part—a palinode of what I published on Creon's speech in this *Review*, vol. ix. (1895), 439 sq.

Ἄνδρες, τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοί, 162
πολλῶι σάλωι σείσαντες, ὥρθωσαν πάλιν·
ἐμᾶς δ' ἐγὼ πομποῖσιν ἐκ πάντων δίχα
ἔσται· ἰκέσθαι τοῦτο μὲν τὰ Λαῶν 165
σέβοντας εἰδῶς εἰ θρόνων αἰεὶ κράτη,
τοῦτ' αἰθῆς, ἥνικ' Οἰδίπους ὥρθου πόλιν
κάπῃ διώλετ', ἀμφὶ τοὺς κείνων ἔτι
παῖδας μένοντας ἐμπέδους φρονήμασιν· 169
ὅτ' οὖν ἐκείνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν 170
καθ' ἡμέραν ὦλοντο παῖσαντές τε καὶ
πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι,

ἐγὼ κράτη δὴ πάντα καὶ θρόνους ἔχω,
γένους κατ' ἀγχιστεία, τοῖν ὀλωλότοι. 174
Ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ὃν μαθεῖν 175
ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν
ἄρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβῇ, φανῶ 177
ποίοις ἐγὼ νόμοισι τήνδ' αὔξω πόλιν. 191
Ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὅστις, πᾶσαν εὐθύνων πόλιν, 178
μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄπτεται βουλευμάτων
ἀλλ' ἐκ φόβου του γλώσσαν ἐγκλήμας ἔχει 180
κάκιςτος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ
καὶ μείζον ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πάτρας
φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω·
ἐγὼ γὰρ—ἴστω Ζεὺς ὁ πάνθ' ὀρώων αἰε—
οὐτ' ἂν σιωπῆσαιμι τὴν αἴτην ὀρώων 185
στείχουσιν ἀστοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
οὐτ' ἂν φίλον ποτ' ἄνδρα δυσμενῆ χθονὸς
θείμην ἐμαντῶι τοῦτο γινώσκων, ὅτι
ἦδ' ἐστὶν ἡ σώζουσα καὶ ταύτης ἐπι
πλέοντες ὀρθῆς πλοῦς καλοὺς ποιοῦμεθα. 190
Καὶ νῦν ἀδελφὰ τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχω 192
ἀστοῖσι παίδων τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου πέρι. 193
Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν, ὃς πόλεως ὑπέρμαχων 194
ὄλωλε τῆσδε πάντ' ἀριστεύσας δορί, 195
τάφῳ τε κρύψαι καὶ τὰ πάντ' ἐφαγνίσαι
ἂ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἔρχεται κάτω νεκροῖς·
τὸν δ' αὖ ξύναιμον τοῦδε—Πολυνείκη λέγω—,
ὃς γῆν πατρώϊαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς,
φυγὰς κατελθὼν, ἠθέλησε μὲν πυρὶ 200
πέρσαι κατ' ἄκρας, ἠθέλησε δ' αἵματος
κοινοῦ πάσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ δουλώσας ἄγειν—
τοῦτον πόλει τῇδ' ἐκκεκρηῦχθαι λέγω
μῆτε κτερίζειν μῆτε κωκῦσαι τινα,
εἰ ἂν δ' ἄθαρτον καὶ πρὸς οἰωνῶν δέμας 205
καὶ πρὸς κύνων ἔδεστον αἰκισθέν τ' ἰδεῖν 206
Τοιόνδ' ἐμὸν φρόνημα, κοῦ ποτ' ἐκ γ' ἐμοῦ 207
τιμῇ προέξουσ' οἱ κακοὶ τῶν ἐνδίκων,
ἀλλ' ὅστις εὖνους τῇδε τῇ πόλει θανών—
καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως—ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆσεται. 210

The symmetrical arrangement of these verses is as follows: After a proem of 13 verses (162–174, divided into 8 + 5; cf. the opening speeches of *O.T.* and *O.C.*) come 4 verses (175–177 + 191) that serve at once as

¹ Presented by title at the meeting of the American Philological Association at Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., July 1902.

transition from the preceding and as introduction to the core of Creon's speech. Then come 13 verses (178–190) about the principles (νόμοι) of rulership. These are followed by 2 verses (192 *sq.*) introductory of the exemplification by acts of the ruler (ἄρχαί) of the principles of rulership. These acts are set forth in 13 verses (194–206). The conclusion is made in 4 verses (207–210), an epilogue, as it were, balancing the prologue in vv. 175–177 and 191. The scheme is this: 13 (8+5) | 4. 13. 2. 13. 4.

It should, it seems, appear entirely probable that nothing has been lost after v. 168. It is true that we have here a harshness, an illogicalness; for τοὺς κείνων παῖδας (168) means Oedipus together with Eteocles and Polynices, whereas ἐκείνοι (170) means only Eteocles and Polynices. But the break between v. 169 and v. 170 may, perhaps, be thought to mitigate this hardness of expression.

It may be asked here how v. 191 came to be inserted after v. 190, after its likeness of ending to v. 178 had led to its being dropped out of its original place in the speech. This question can, I think, be answered best by assuming that the archetype of the MSS. of Sophocles had 38 verses to the page or column. For, if we count the verses from the beginning to v. 190, we shall find that the Aristotelian prologue contains (omitting the spurious vs. 24) 97 verses; that the parodus contains, if we count the glyconics separately and make the second strophic couplet have, as it should, in a right division of the verses,¹ 8 verses to the strophe, 64 verses; and that we have 29 verses of the first episodion to add. This makes a total of 190, which is = 38 × 5; that is, v. 190 was the last verse of the fifth page in our archetype. My assumption then is that v. 191 was added by the scribe of the archetype or the reviser of the archetype (more probably by the former) at the foot of the fifth page under v. 190 and was, by an error of the writer of the codex next in descent from the archetype, retained between

v. 190 and v. 192. Some person or persons botched vv. 175, 177, and 191 into their present form, wholly or partly in order to make them fit the new context better. It may be added here that vv. 495 and 496, which would read better after v. 493, may once have been at the end of p. 13.

Vv. 289–294 seem not to have been well explained. If we read very carefully we shall, I think, see that ταῦτα in v. 289 can not be the object of ἐρρόθουν. Unless I am mistaken, ταῦτα refers to Polynices's burying and is = τὸ τὸνδε τὸν νεκρὸν θάψαι or πρόνοιαν ἴσχειν τοῦδε τοῦ νεκροῦ πέρι (v. 283). If this is so, ταῦτα has no proper construction but is resumed by τάδε in v. 294. ταῦτα would have a construction of its own if v. 293 *sq.* were something like this: καὶ νῦν (answering to καὶ πάλαι in v. 289) τοὺτους παρήγαγον μισθοῖσιν ὥστ', ἐργάσασθαι, so that the subject of παρήγαγον should be ἄνδρες μόλις φέροντες ἐμοὶ and ταῦτα the object of ἐργάσασθαι. The passage should, I think, be thus pointed:

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάλαι πόλεως
ἄνδρες μόλις φέροντες ἐρρόθουν ἐμοὶ 290
κρυφῇ, κᾶρα σείοντες οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῷ
λόφον δικαίως εἶχον ὡς στέργειν ἐμέ—
ἐκ τῶνδε τοὺτους ἐξεπίσταμαι καλῶς
παρηγμένους μισθοῖσιν εἰργάσθαι τάδε.

'No; that (ταῦτα, *i.e.* what you say the gods did—bury Polynices) I know full well that these guards (τούτους) did, seduced by hire by certain of the citizens (πόλεως ἄνδρες) that, vexed at me (μόλις φέροντες ἐμοὶ), had long been muttering in secret (ἐρρόθουν κρυφῇ, clam mussitabant Liv. 33. 31, 1), shaking the head and not holding the neck properly under the yoke (οὐδ'...εἶχον = οὐδ' ἔχοντες) so as to accept me (as their ruler).' I admit, of course, that the construction is extremely harsh; but there are many harshnesses in the *Antigone*.

In v. 504 ἀνδάνει, not ἀνδάνειν, is the reading of L. This may perhaps be right; for we may understand v. 504 *sq.* thus:

Τοῦτοις (the chorus) τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀνδάνει

(this to Creon; then to the chorus with indignation)—

λέγουτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ γλῶσσαν ἐγκλήλοι φόβος.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

¹ ἀντιτίπαι δ' ἐπὶ γαῖ πέρσε τανταλωθεῖς
πυρφόρος δς τότε μαινομένην ξὺν ὀρμῇ
βακχεύων ἐπέπνει ῥιπαῖς
ἐχθίστων ἀνέμων.
εἶχε δ' ἄλλαι τὰ μέν (corrupt),
ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπενώμα μέγας Ἀ-
ρης στυφελίζων
δεξιόστροφος.—Vv. 134–142.

ARISTOPHANICA.—III.

(Continued from Vol. XV. p. 391).

ACHARNIANS.

525 νεανίαι κλέπτουσι.

The compound verb used in the corresponding sentence (527 ἀντεξέκλεψαν) suggests that we should write νεανίαι 'κκλέπτουσι.

641 τὰυτα ποιήσας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος
ὑμῖν γεγένηται
καὶ τοὺς δῆμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν δείξας
ὡς δημοκρατοῦνται.

The poet sometimes and to some extent takes, or affects to take, the side of the suffering allies of Athens, oppressed, not indeed by the generous Athenian people, but by its unscrupulous and dishonest servants and supporters. Cf. such passages as *Peace* 759 τοιοῦτον ἰδὼν τέρας (Cleon) οὐ κατέδισ', ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πολεμίζων ἀντίχον ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων. *ib.* 639 and 936 : *Wasps* 669 : *Knights* 1319 Ἀθηναῖς καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπικούρε and *ib.* 1408.

Taking such passages into account and also the significant fact that he goes on here to describe the admiration which his conduct will excite among the allies (643-5), I should suggest that τοῖς δῆμοις be read in 642 for τοὺς δῆμους and joined in construction to ὑμῖν. If his benefits are confined to Athens, there is much less reason for the allies' admiration than if the benefits are distinctly and truly stated to extend to them too. It is not at all against this that the preceding lines have spoken of the envoys of the allies trying to cajole the city, and of the poet exposing them. On this subject see Mr. Starkie's *Wasps*, Excursus iv.

691 τοῦτ' ὀφλὼν ἀπέρχομαι.

As line 689 has just ended with ὀφλὼν ἀπέρχεται, is it too bold to propose ἀπώλεσα here in the place of ἀπέρχομαι, which may very well be an erroneous repetition? The ἀπολέσαι in another sense of 692 does not seem to me against this, at any rate in comparison.

KNIGHTS.

712 ἀλλ', ὦ πονηρέ, σοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν πείθεται.

As Demos is at present quite unacquainted with the sausage-seller, there is no point in saying that he does not heed him. How can you heed someone you never heard

of? Read the future πείσεται, corresponding to the futures in the two preceding lines. The mistake is a common one. It occurs again, I think, in *Clouds* 1422

οὐκ οὖν ἀνὴρ ὁ τὸν νόμον θεὸς τοῦτον ἦν τὸ πρῶτον,
ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ γὰρ, καὶ λέγων ἔπειθε τοὺς παλαιούς;

ἔπειθε is certainly possible, meaning that he had habitually to persuade; but ἔπεισε, matching θεὸς, seems more likely.

783 ἐπὶ ταῖσι πέτραις οὐ φροντίζει σκληρῶς
σε καθήμενον οὕτως.

The parallels quoted for the accusative, being practically all poetical (*Ar. Rhet.* 2. 9. 4?), are not very satisfactory. Should we read εἰδώς for οὕτως? On confusion of εἰ and οὐ see *Bast Comm.* p. 760.

CLOUDS.

75 νῦν οὖν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα φροντίζων ὁδοῦ
μίαν ἡῦρον ἀτραπὸν δαιμονίως ὑπερφνᾶ,
ἦν ἦν ἀνατείσω τουτονὶ σωθήσομαι.

The greatest objection to ὁδοῦ (for which Blaydes suggests and Van Leeuwen reads μόλις) is to my mind that there is nothing in the lines preceding to lead up to it. They suggest no difficulty, no need of a ὁδός. It would be a very slight change and yet would make the passage materially smoother, if we read ὁδὸν μίαν ἡῦρον, ἀτραπὸν δαιμονίως ὑπερφνᾶ.

520 οὕτω νικήσαιμί τ' ἐγὼ καὶ νομιζοίμην
σοφός,
ὥς ὑμᾶς ἡγούμενος εἶναι θεατὰς δεξιούς
καὶ ταύτην σοφώτατ' ἔχειν τῶν ἐμῶν
κωμῳδιῶν,
πρώτους ἡξίωσ' ἀναγεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἢ παρέσχε
μοι
ἔργον πλείστον· εἴτ' ἀνεχώρουν ὑπ' ἀν-
δρῶν φορτικῶν
ἡττηθείς, οὐκ ἄξιός ὢν.

It seems impossible to make sense of πρώτους ἀναγεῖν ὑμᾶς. It is understood (1) of the first edition of the *Clouds* brought out at the Great Dionysia, as if Aristophanes claimed credit for having first produced it there, when he might have produced it at Piraeus or even (Teuffel) Aegina. I doubt whether, except a doubtful statement in Aelian and one or two other stories of very

exceptional circumstances, there is any evidence of new plays by Athenian poets being produced anywhere but in Athens. Certainly that was the ordinary practice, and nothing could have been more grotesque than for the poet to draw attention to the fact that he had in this case actually conformed to it. What else was he likely or even able to do? The words are also taken (Blaydes, Kock who reads *πρώτην*) of (2) the second edition, to which our parabasis belongs. This is however entirely inconsistent with *εἰτ' ἀνεχώρουν* κ.τ.λ., which must refer to the same occasion and is admitted to refer to the first performance.

There is a further difficulty in the word *ἀναγεῖναι*. Whether it means 'give a taste' or 'give a second taste,' the editors ignore the fact that the idea of a *taste* is quite out of place. A taste of a play would be given by the performance of one scene or the recital of one *ῥῆσις*. To exhibit a play entire is not to give a taste of it. This objection is fatal to some other theories and proposals that have been broached.

When we read the passage, the sense required seems to be something like 'I thought my cleverest play, the play which cost me so much labour, would be sure to meet with your approval: that you would be the first persons to enjoy it.' But how are we to get this? Pending some better suggestion, I propose very doubtfully *πρώτους ἡξίωσα γανῶσθ' or γάνυσθ' ὑμᾶς*: 'I expected to delight you, or you to be delighted first.' The active *γανῶν* is not found in this sense, though the passive, especially in the participle *γεγανωμένος*, is well known. No doubt therefore *γανῶσαι* is dubious, though not out of the question. *γάνυσθαι* is unobjectionable, but less near the MSS. As for Aristophanes' use of the words, cf. *Ach.* 7 *ταῖθ' ὡς ἐγανώθην* and *Wasps* 612 *τούτοισιν ἐγὼ γάνυμαι*.

528 *ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ λέγειν,*
ὁ σὸφρων τε χῶς καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἡκουσ-
άτην. κ.τ.λ.

The very feeble *οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ λέγειν* has been corrected by Herwerden to *οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ ψέγειν*, *men who delight in finding fault*, but this is perhaps not quite the expression which a poet would use when seeking to conciliate. The confusion of *λέγειν* and *ψέγειν* is however well known; suppose we were to combine it here with the further slight alteration of *οἷς* to *οὖς* (cf. on *Ach.* 641 above) *men with whom it is a pleasure even to find fault*. A poet might fairly say this of

an intelligent audience. He prefers them, even when they make a mistake, to the slow-witted people of other places.

1129 *ἴσομεν τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὥστ' ἴσως*
βουλήσεται
κἂν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τυχεῖν ὃν μᾶλλον ἢ
κρῖναι κακῶς.

The text is right enough here, as far as I can see. But there seems to be a confusion of thought, which the editors do not clearly point out. The Clouds are threatening the judges with the consequences of an adverse verdict. In various ways and on various occasions they will visit them with bad weather, *ὥστε* κ.τ.λ. Now here the poet might logically say either of two things: (1) you will have such bad weather that for the future (*τυχεῖν* and *κρῖναι* must of course be future) you will wish to undergo anything and live anywhere rather than give a wrong verdict: (2) you will have such bad weather that you will wish yourselves removed from Athens, much as you love it, and transplanted to the rainless skies of Egypt. In (1) the climate of Egypt, in (2) *ἢ κρῖναι κακῶς* has no proper place. What Aristophanes actually says is, if my analysis is right, a quite illogical mixture and confusion of the two things. But I shall be very glad if he can be vindicated by better interpretation.

It is not irrelevant here to point out that the analogy drawn in lines 534-6 of this play between his comedy and *Electra* is somewhat faulty. In the first place *Electra* does not 'come seeking' for her brother, as the comedy does: it is the brother that comes to her. Secondly the comedy is to recognise its spiritual brethren, a capable and congenial audience, by something or other, as *Electra* recognised *Orestes* by the hair. The only thing on the part of the audience that could lead to such recognition under the circumstances would be their applause and favourable reception of the comedy. But anyone can see how very lamely this answers to its intended analogue, the lock of hair. What would really answer to that would be some quality or action of the audience as unconnected with the comedy as the lock of hair with the person of *Electra*. This criticism is not pressing a logical point too far. It is just in the finish of details that perfection of classical work consists, and any good judge must feel that the confusion here and in 1130 is a serious blemish.

I add two trifling suggestions on the text.

320 καὶ περὶ καπνοῦ στενολεσχέιν.

Perhaps περὶ τοῦ τε καπνοῦ στενολεσχέιν. The quantity of the α in καπνοῦ is a real difficulty.

933 κλαύσει, τὴν χεῖρ' ἣν ἐπιβάλλης.

So apparently the MSS., but it is rather the aorist tense we want. The Aldine text has τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβάλλει. Should we read κλαύσει, τὴν σὴν χεῖρ' εἰ' ἐπιβαλεῖς?

WASPS.

65 ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν λογίδιον γνώμην ἔχον,
ἡμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐχὶ δεξιώτερον,
κωμωδίας δὲ φορτικῆς σοφώτερον.

Perhaps δεξιωτέραν and σοφωτέραν, agreeing with γνώμην.

318 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ οἷός τ' εἰμ' ἄδειν.

For ἄδειν, which has been seen to be nonsense here, read εὔδειν. In Plut. Mor. 515 F εὔδειν is now always read for the MS. ἄδειν (οἶκοι μὲν εὔδειν τυφλήν).

564 οἱ μὲν γ' ἀποκλάνονται πενίαν αὐτῶν καὶ
προστιθέασιν
κακὰ πρὸς τοῖς οὖσιν, ἕως ἀνιῶν ἂν ἰσώσῃ
τοῖσιν ἐμοῖσιν.

So V: the other MSS. omit ἀνιῶν. Editors sometimes ἀνιών, but most of them give the passage up, or materially alter it. It presents three difficulties: (1) ἀνιών or ἀνιών: (2) the position of ἂν, or, if we read ἀνίσωσῃ, its omission: (3) the strangeness of making Philocleon speak of his evils (κακά) or miseries, when he is dwelling on the proud, almost royal (549-551), position that, as a dicast, he occupies. No real explanation of this last point is forthcoming.

After much puzzling over the passage I am inclined to make the bold suggestion, which will get rid of (1) and (3) together, that for ἀνιών we should read ἀγαθοῖς, imagining ἀνιών to have arisen perhaps out of ἂν, as Van Leeuwen says, after ἀγαθοῖς was lost. ἀγαθοῖς gives excellent sense ('makes himself out as wretched as I am enviable') and is at any rate in perfect keeping with 577 καὶ τὰ γὰ θά μοι μέμνησ' ἄχων φάσκεις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν and 601 σκέψαι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν οἶων (?) ἀποκλήεις καὶ κατερύκεις. For the antithesis of the sentence cf. Thuc. 6. 78. 3 τοῖς αὐτοῦ κακοῖς δλοφρθεῖς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποτε βουλευθείη αὐτὸς φθονῆσαι.

There remains the question of ἂν. Some might prefer to write ἕως...ἀνίσωσῃ (or ἀνισωθή, as is needlessly suggested), but the omission of ἂν is very improbable, though

perhaps in anapaests we ought not to call it quite impossible. Of the two alternatives I would rather choose the other, that ἂν is out of its proper place. There is at least one other example of this in Aristophanes, namely *Frogs* 259 ὁπόσον ἡ φάρνυξ ἂν ἡμῶν χανδάνῃ δι' ἡμέρας, not to mention the Doric οὐχ ἂς πῶδας κα' ἔχοντι τὰι τριήρεις which seems a very probable restoration of *Lysistr.* 173. A few examples may also be found elsewhere e.g. Plato *Laws* 647 E ὁπόσῳ πλέον ἂν ἔλῃ, 739 C, 848 A, 955 D: Xen. *Cyn.* 6. 20 ὁποσαχῇ οἷον τ' ἂν ᾖ: *Hiero* 1. 38 ἡ μάλιστα ἂν δύνωνται: Eur. fragm. 1029. 4 ὅσῳ περ μᾶλλον ἂν χρῆσθαι θέλῃς. It may be observed however that, even if the MSS. are correct, these examples all occur, except *Lysistr.* 173, in relative clauses.

LYSISTRATA.

97 πρὶν λέγειν δ', ἡμᾶς τοδὶ | ἐπερήσομαί τι μικρόν.

τοδὶ—τὸ μικρόν would be much more usual, and the confusion sometimes occurs.

553 κᾶτ' ἐντήξῃ τέτανον τερπνὸν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ροπαλισμοῦς.

'ἐντήξῃ B: ἐντέξῃ RGC: ἐνστάξῃ Hirschig' *Hall and Geldart*. But ἐντέξῃ seems an illegitimate form, ἐντήξῃ very questionable as to use, and ἐνστάξῃ scarcely appropriate. Perhaps ἐμπήξῃ may be conjectured. *Pind. Pyth.* 2. 91 ἐνέπαξαν ἔλκος ὀδυναρὸν ἔα πρόσθε καρδίᾳ and *Isocr.* 1. 46 αἱ λύπαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παραπετήγασι are enough to vindicate the metaphorical use.

634 I shall be (says the chorus) another Aristogiton:

αὐτὸς γάρ μοι γίγνεται
τῆς θεοῖς ἐχθρᾶς πατάξαι τῆσδε γραὸς τὴν γνάθον.

αὐτὸ for αὐτός seems unmeaning, and ταῦτό is not much improvement on it. I would suggest πάντα...γίγνεται in the sense of 'is everything needed,' 'carries the day,' &c. πάντα and αὐτά, πάντων and αὐτῶν, &c. are sometimes confused. In line 486 of this play, καὶ μὴν αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμῶ νῆ τὸν Δία πρῶτα πυθέσθαι, αὐτῶν, which has nothing to refer to, has been very plausibly altered to πάντων.

1150

οἱ Λάκωνες...

πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας Θεταλῶν ἀπώ-
λεσαν,
πολλοὺς δ' ἑταίρους Ἰππίου καὶ ξυμ-
μάχους,

ἐννεκμαχοῦντες τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ μόνοι.

ἐννεκμαχεῖν is not found elsewhere, nor

does it seem a probable form. Even if it were open to no other objection, it is not likely that Aristophanes would have used it immediately after *ξύμμάχους* in the preceding line. I take it that under the influence of *ξύμμάχους* it has been erroneously written for another word, probably *συνεκπονοῦντες*. This source of error has often been pointed out. Of course some other word, e.g. *συνεκδραμόντες*, is possible.

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE.

103 *πραπίδι* for *πατρίδι*? *πραπίς* seems admissible in an Agathonian lyric, since we find it in Euripides.

217 ἢ μὴ 'πιδιδόναι' μαντὸν ὄφελόν ποτε.

ἢ should, I think, be ἦ. Cf. *Ecc.* 145 ἦ μοι μὴ γενεῖαν κρεῖττον ἦν.

802 πρὸς ἕκαστον. ? καθ' ἕκαστον, as in *Birds* 564.

870 μὴ ψεύσον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐλπίδος.

As ἐπιούσης has been questioned, it may be worth while to point out that ἡ μέλλουσα ἐλπίς occurs once or twice in Demosthenes (18. 89 : [26. 21]) and elsewhere.

1061 Should καὶτῇ be καὶτῶ? There does not seem much point in the former.

1181 φέρε θοιμάτιον ἄνωθεν, ὦ τέκνον, τοδί.

ἄνωθεν being unmeaning and a verb required, we naturally think of ἀναθῶμεν, but it would have to bear some meaning that the dictionaries do not exactly specify. 1189 λαβὲ θοιμάτιον gives the reverse.

FROGS.

689 κεῖ τις ἡμαρτε σφαλεῖς τι Φρυνίχου παλαίσμασιν,
ἐγγενέσθαι φημὶ χρῆναι τοῖς ὀλισθοῦσιν
τότε
αἰτίαν ἐκθεῖσι λῦσαι τὰς πρότερον ἁμαρτίας.

αἰτίαν ἐκθεῖσι is unexplained. 'Setting forth a reason why' gives no good sense. That would be justifying or at least explaining their offence, whereas λῦσαι τὰς πρότερον ἁμαρτίας (note πρότερον) clearly contrasts subsequent conduct with earlier. They are somehow to redeem, not to extenuate, their error. We want something roughly like the words of Thuc. 2. 42. 4 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τὰλλα χεῖροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι, or *ib.* 3. 56. 6 δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν ἁμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηται, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν

τότε προθυμίαν. This being so, Herwerden's αἰτίαν ἐκδοῖσι, adopted by Van Leeuwen, is no improvement. Proceeding on the occasional confusion of αἴτιος and ἄξιος (cf. this *Review*, 14 pp. 101A and 447A), I think it possible that ἄξ' ἀντεκθεῖσι may be what Aristophanes wrote, though I would not say more. Cf. the ἀντιθεῖναι in Thuc. 3. 56. 6. ἀντεκθεῖσι would mean of course, not that they had performed worthy deeds, but that they had produced or set them forth as arguments in their favour. ἐκτιθέναι in this sense is familiar in Aristotle, though it is not cited from any other author, and we have the testimony of all the MSS. to it here. If Aristophanes could say ἐκθεῖσι, he could say ἀντεκθεῖσι. That Aristotle happens to have the phrase αἰτίας ἐκτίθεσθαι is not very important, if the phrase is shown to be unsuitable in this place. The poet is arguing that the offenders should be allowed a chance of retrieving their former fault, not of showing how they came to fall into it. But I confess we should have expected a word expressing *performance* rather than a somewhat scholastic term for *statement*. It is of course natural to suggest the simple ἀντιθεῖσι, but then how would the ἐκ get in?

835 ὦ δαίμονι' ἀνδρῶν, μὴ μέγала λίαν λέγε.

λέγειν μέγала should mean *use boastful, arrogant language*. But the words to which it is applied here are nothing of the kind. Euripides has said of Aeschylus

ἀποσεμννεῖται πρῶτον, ὅπερ ἐκάστοτε
ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν ἑτερατεύετο,

and to these words μέγала λέγειν seems quite inapposite. A few lines previously, however, Euripides has said something which might well call forth the rebuke:

κρείττων γὰρ εἶναι φημι τούτου τὴν τέχνην.

Should 835 follow on this?

1180 οὐ γάρ μοῦστίν ἀλλ' ἀκουστέα
τῶν σῶν προλόγων τῆς ὀρθότητος τῶν
ἐπῶν.

ἀκουστέα does not seem quite the right word to use. Perhaps γευστέα.

ECCLESIAZUSAE.

In the opening speech of Praxagora γάρ in l. 3 is not easy to understand, and in line 6 ὄρμα κ.τ.λ. occupies an impossible place in the middle of descriptive lines. The imperative cannot have been meant to stand between the statement ἔχεις and the statement δηλοῦμεν. It would be best placed after line 1. But any change is open to the

objection that it leaves three consecutive sentences (3, 4, 7) with a γάρ.

44-5 ἡμῶν is very awkwardly placed. Should it change places with οἶνον? (Meineke) ἦ μὴν for ἡμῶν).

171 . τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν εὐχομαι
τυχεῖν κατορθώσασα τὰ βεβουλευμένα.

This must be the beginning of Praxagora's speech in character as a man. The sense and the antithesis of. μὲν...δέ show this. But then the feminine κατορθώσασα is wrong. The error is, I think, one that occurs elsewhere, a confusion of nominative singular feminine with dative plural masculine, there being only the difference of a vowel. Read κατορθώσασι. The action is much better ascribed to the gods than to the speaker; indeed it could hardly be claimed by the latter without some arrogance. On the other hand τυχεῖν, as applied to the gods, seems to me very questionable, and I should be glad to find some parallel, or some alternative.

253 Praxagora will say of Cephalus first παραφροντεῖν, then μελαγχολᾶν, then

τὰ τρύβλια
κακῶς κεραμεύειν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εὖ καὶ καλῶς.

But this last would be complimentary and out of keeping with the other statements, so that it can hardly be right. Our doubts are strengthened by the fact that εὖ καὶ does not appear at all in the Ravenna MS. I suggest τὰ τρύβλια καλῶς κεραμεύειν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κακὸν κακῶς, in which the reason for the loss of κακόν is obvious. κακὸς κακῶς, καλὸς καλῶς are familiar Aristophanic phrases.

280 Perhaps we should read οὗτος or εὐθύς for αὐτῶν, which is very obscure.

282 ὥς εἴωθ' ἐκεῖ
τοῖς μὴ παροῦσιν ὀρθρίοις εἰς τὴν πύκνα
ὑπαποτρέχειν ἔχουσι μηδὲ πάτταλον.

This use of εἴωθε, 'it is a usual thing,' is unknown. Also ἐκεῖ is entirely superfluous, the Pnyx being mentioned by name in the next line. Did Aristophanes write ὥς εἴωθός ὄν? Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 358 οὐκ εἴωθός ὄν.

286-7 ἡμᾶς is much too emphatic as it comes. Read perhaps ἡμᾶς αἰὲ μεμνημένας... λέγειν.

469

· σὺ δέ γε νῆ Δία
δρᾷ ταῦθ', ἔν' ἀριστὰς τε καὶ κυνὴς ἅμα.

I do not think the context supplies any meaning for δρᾷ ταῦθ', and—what is more—νῆ Δία cannot be used with an imperative. δρᾷς ταῦτα may be suggested, ταῦτα being τὰ τῆς πόλεως, attending assemblies, &c. The point is his contingent reluctance to do something which it is at present his very object to enable himself to do. Cf. perhaps for the corruption *Eq.* 1019 (δρᾷ for δρᾷς) and for the sentiment *Soph. fragm.* 669.

581 ἀλλ' οὐ μέλλειν ἀλλ' ἀπτεσθαι καὶ δὴ
χρῆν ταῖς διανοίαις,
ὥς τὸ ταχύνειν χαρίτων μετέχει πλείστον
παρὰ τοῖσι θεαταῖς.

In 581 ἀλλὰ πέτεσθαι and τῆς διανοίας have been suggested, Bentley who made the former suggestion afterwards acquiescing in the latter (Blaydes). Perhaps ἀλλ' ἐπιθέσθαι may deserve consideration. Cf. such passages as Plato *Gorg.* 527 δ ἐπιθησόμεθα τοῖς πολιτικοῖς.

596 It is hard to see how κοινωνοῦμεν can be right with regard to future time. Perhaps the deliberative κοινωνῶμεν, but χρῆ κοινωνεῖν would be much more natural.

622 Fighting περὶ τοῦ μὴ ξυγκαταδαρθεῖν is surely not a possible expression: the negative has no business there. Is μὴ a mistake for δή?

628-9 Instead of inserting some words like καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις in 628 to make up for the necessary removal of οἱ φανλότεροι, I suggest that 628 should end with ταῖσι γυναιξίν, and that in 629 between πρὶν <ἄν> and τοῖς αἰσχροῖς three or four syllables have been lost. Such a halting line as ταῖσι γυναιξί, πρὶν ἂν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς χαρίζονται, though it has Elmsley's authority, is not one we can ascribe to Aristophanes: the position of πρὶν ἄν is intolerable.

1070 τοῦτο and τούτου cannot be right together. Read perhaps τοῦτ' αἶ, πολλὸν τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν ἐξωλέστερον, the second τοῦτο emphasising the first.

1091 Possibly ἀμφοτέραις for ἀμφοτέρας, but I think it is hardly necessary, though a difficulty has been felt.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

VINDOBONENSIS F AND THE TEXT OF PLATO.

AFTER Mr. Adam's review of my edition of the Republic in *C.R.* xvi. 215 ff. and Mr. Stuart Jones's article in *C.R.* xvi. 388 ff., Vind. 55 (suppl. phil. gr. 39) can no longer be called 'a neglected MS. of Plato.' Mr. Adam admits that in future, as the oldest representative of the class to which it belongs, F should be quoted instead of Laur. plut. 85. 7 (= Stallbaum's Flor. x., Schneider's Flor. R) and Ang. C. 1. 7 (= Bekker's v, Schneider's Ang. B). There is no doubt of the seniority of F: it is written in a fourteenth century hand, and was, as appears from the *scriptio*, in possession of Franciscus Barbarus in 1420, the very year in which Flor. x was written, while Ang. v is not earlier than the sixteenth century. In my opinion, Schanz has proved that x is derived from F (*Platonis opera* IX., pp. x, xi). Mr. Adam doubts this, and refers them to a common original. Similarly, I believe that Schanz has shown v to be derived from x (*Platocodex* pp. 73, 79 ff. 106 ff.). Here again Mr. Adam has doubts, and he might have appealed to the authority of Jordan, (*Hermes* xiii. 470 ff.), who derives F with xv from Laur. plut. 59, 1 (Schneider's Flor. A). I have not been able to accept this, because, though there is an undeniable relationship between the two MSS. in certain passages, it does not extend to the greater part of the Republic, and because there are many things which point to the independence of F. I cannot see my way, on the other hand, to believe that xv are independent of F, because they are full of readings that can be explained only as misunderstandings of the corrections made in F by a later hand. We are, I think, forced to conclude, either that xv are derived from F, or that by some strange coincidence, after F had been written, the same corrections were made in the supposed common original of F x v as were made in F itself by the later hand f. This is not an easy hypothesis, and therefore I do not adopt it. The main point is, however, that even if Mr. Adam were shown to be right, that would only strengthen my case. I am trying to prove the existence of a tradition independent of ADM in the Republic; but I only feel justified at present in calling a single witness to that tradition. Mr. Adam's argument, if it were conclusive, would show that there are at least three.

Mr. Stuart Jones also admits all that is vital to my case, namely that F 'follows a

tradition not derivable from ADM,' thus as he says, 'to a considerable extent rendering an appeal to the MSS. of the Renaissance (esp. Ξ q) superfluous.' This is the point for which I am contending. The Renaissance MSS. (and especially Mon. q) are full of readings which no one would dream of ascribing to anything but conjecture. When, therefore, we are driven to rely on their authority, we cannot be sure in a single case that we are relying on genuine tradition. Such readings have precisely as much or as little authority as the printed emendations of Renaissance scholars. Mr. Jones points out, it is true, that F too contains conjectures. That is the case, but they are of the harmless mediaeval type which is comparatively easy to deal with. F very often inserts words with the intention of making the grammatical structure of a sentence clear, and thereby it often, as in Rep. 330, c 6 (a case referred to by Mr. Jones) completely destroys the real meaning of a passage. But Byzantine interpolations of that class are a very different thing from the more plausible emendations of the Italian Renaissance. I hold, therefore, that I was quite entitled to say of F that in many places it alone 'preserves' the true reading, even if that reading happens to occur also in one or more Renaissance MSS. The burden of proof must always lie with those who hold that, in any given case, the true reading has been 'preserved' by MSS. like Ξ and q.

Mr. Jones's main argument, however, is not directed against this position, which is substantially his own, but against the hypothesis of the 'ancient vulgate.' With regard to that hypothesis, I wish to say that it was not invented by me and that my case for F does not stand or fall with it. The problem is an interesting one in itself, especially for the light which may be thrown by its solution on the text of the papyrus fragments. I do not think Mr. Jones has succeeded yet in overthrowing the theory, though perhaps I went too far in using the words *vel ex mea adnotatione satis apparebit*, if that is to be construed strictly as referring to the Republic alone. The fact is, as Mr. Jones allows, that, for a final solution of the question, it will be necessary to examine the text of the other dialogues as well, and I am at present engaged upon that task. When it is completed I shall be happy to discuss the

point again; for the present I prefer to say no more about it.¹ I will only observe that, even if the result of further inquiry were to confirm Mr. Jones's negative conclusion as to the 'ancient vulgate,' that would only strengthen my case for F. If F represents an 'ancient vulgate,' then its readings and those of the *testimonia* taken together only amount to the evidence of a single and not very trustworthy witness; but, if there was no such 'vulgate,' the very numerous agreements² between F and the quotations in ancient writers become more striking still. In any given case of agreement, we shall then have two witnesses instead of one, and F must be placed on a higher pedestal than I have ventured to claim for it. The working hypothesis—for it is nothing more at present—of a *vetus vulgata* is chiefly useful in enabling me to state the case for F in the most moderate form possible.

To return to the question immediately in hand, the relation of F to the leading MSS., I am now in a position to strengthen the case very considerably. I owe this to the great kindness of Prof. J. Král of Prag, who has collated a considerable portion of the MS. for me, there being no published collation except in the Republic. None of the dialogues which come before the Gorgias in the traditional order are con-

tained in F, but from that point onwards we have its help. I am now able to state that, just as in the Republic F is independent of ADM, so in the Gorgias and Meno it is independent of BTW. In Tetralogy VII, which is not contained in the Clarkianus, it is similarly independent of TW, though in the Hippias minor, Io, and Menexenus, it is very closely related to Bekker's Σ (Ven. 189), a fact already noted by Schanz (Platonis Opera IX, pp. xiv, xv). Schanz made considerable use of Σ (which he names S) in these dialogues, and he called attention to the agreement of that MS. with Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Stobaeus in the Menexenus. If any one cares to compare the readings of S in that dialogue³ with those of the two writers named, he will find that they raise the same sort of problem as the passage of Eusebius which I adduced. The readings of F are practically the same; but the precise relation between F and S (which is of earlier date than F) must be left for future inquiry.⁴

In order to prove the independence of F, I begin as in my former article (*C.R.* xvi. 98ff.) by showing that, from the nature of the errors which it makes, it must have been derived from an uncial codex. The following examples will make this clear.

GORGIAS.

BTW	F
448b ἡρόδικος	πρόδικος
467b σχέτλια	ῥχεται ᾧ
505d ἀτελῇ	ᾗτε δῇ
522e λέξαι	δέξαι
525c ἐν αἰδου	εἰδου

MENO.

BTW	F
70b εἴθικεν	ῥοικεν
80d εἴσει	ῖσθι
93b παραληπτὸν	γὰρ ἄληπτον

HIPPIAS MAIOR.

TW	F
286b φειδοστράτου	φιλοστράτου
287d μέλλει	με δεῖ
291a πᾶσι τοῖς	πλείστοις
292b δέξει	λέξειν
293a αἰεῖ	δῇ

¹ I must, however, at once correct an inadvertence on the part of Mr. Jones, which has led him to misrepresent my view. He attributes to me the statement that the recension represented by our best MSS. of Plato, was made 'possibly about the ninth century A.D.' Such a view has been, and is, held; but I have never been able to believe that anyone in the ninth century could have made a 'recension' of Plato. What I said was 'the fifth century A.D.,' not 'the ninth,' and I mentioned that date because I think it is the latest possible one. I should have no objection, so far as this argument is concerned, to putting the date of the recension earlier still. If, for instance, we were to adopt Usener's theory of the history of Plato's text, we should obviously have to do so. I may be allowed also to say that, in the *Praefatio* to vol. ii. of my Plato, in dealing with the views of A. Schaeffer, I expressly rejected the theory of a ninth century recension, so far as the Clarkianus is concerned.

² The number of these agreements is far greater than any one would be led to infer from what Mr. Jones says; but it is not so much their number as the peculiar way in which they occur that constitutes the real problem. It is not a question of making 'lists' of agreements. These would prove nothing. Mr. Jones himself has adopted the only sound method, namely that of taking passages of considerable extent and studying every variant in them. That is what I did also in my article (*C.R.* xvi. 98 ff.). I took a long passage which is quoted by Eusebius, and I noted almost every variant of importance. If that passage stood alone (and it certainly does not) it would of itself raise the problem.

³ A selection from them is given in the Appendix to Schanz's Plato, vol. IX.

⁴ The agreement of F with S does not appear in any dialogue before the Hippias minor for reasons given by Schanz (*loc. cit.*). Nothing, therefore, can be inferred from it with regard to the text of S in dialogues not contained in F.

TW	F
„ d εὐήθη	εὐνοή
„ d γὰρ ἔχω	παρέχω
294d ἀγνοεῖσθαι	διαλέγεσθαι
298a θράσει	ὀράσει
299d εἴ τις αὐτῷ	ἐπὶ αὐτῷ
„ εἰς ὃ	οἶσθ'
300b αἱ ἡδοναὶ	δῆλον αἱ
302b ἐλεγχθῇ	ἐδέχθη

HIPPIAS MINOR.

TW	F
368b οἶαι αἱ περσικαὶ	οἶμαί περ εἰ καὶ
371c κλισίη	καισίη
„ e εὐηθείας	εὐνοίας
„ e ἢ οἱ	μοι
376a διὰ δύναμιν	αὐαδυναμία

MENEXENUS.

239d δεῖ δὴ	δῆλα
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Occasionally F alone has read the uncials correctly, while the leading MSS. have gone wrong, e.g.—

GORG. 492b. ἐπεὶ ὅσοις F: ἐπεὶ θεοῖς BT: ἐπεὶ δὲ οἷς W. The reading of F is new and obviously right, as it alone will account for the corruptions. The generally accepted reading, ἐπεὶ γε οἷς is based by Schanz on the authority of 'recens b,' and is clearly an attempt to repair the damage after it had been done. The ἐπεὶ τοῖς of the corrector of T is a less happy attempt of the same kind.

ib. 492d. ἀμύθεν γέ ποθεν (sic) F: ἄλλοθεν γέ ποθεν BTW. In Schanz's edition the true reading figures as Bekker's emendation.

ib. 514a. φῶμεν F: θῶμεν BTW. In Schanz's edition φῶμεν is adopted as a conjecture of Madvig's.

526d. ἀσκῶν F Eusebius: σκοπῶν BTW. Schanz does not adopt ἀσκῶν, but it is doubtless the true reading. It is noteworthy that two lines above T has γρ. ἀσκῶ as a note on σκοπῶ.

MENO 89e. ἄντος (bis) F: αὐτὸς. (bis) BTW. The true reading has hitherto rested on the authority of 'Flor. x.'

HIPP. MA. 291d. ἐπαίειν F: ἐπαιεῖν TW. Schanz can only quote for ἐπαίειν 'γρ. apogr. E, Muretus.' (By 'apogr. E', he means E).

In conclusion, I wish to call attention to one or two correct readings of F which bear the mark of the highest antiquity.

GORG. 472b. ἐν πυθίον F: ἐν πυθοῖ BTW. The reference is to the ἀνάθημα of Aristokrates, son of Skellios, and the reading of F is confirmed, if confirmation were needed, by C.I.A. i. 422, Ἀριστοκράτης Σκελίου ἀνέθηκεν νικήσας Κεκροπίδ[ε] ἐν ἑορτῇ . . . Πυθίον. The right reading is already found in Stephanus, who no doubt got it from the second Basel edition, but it has up to the present had no authority but Par. 1815 (Bekker's I), a 16th century MS., which, in this part of the Gorgias, follows the text of F very closely indeed.

ib. 487c. τείσανδρον F: τίσανδρον BTW. No other MS. has succeeded in preserving the true spelling of the name.

ib. 493b. ἀιδεῖς F: αἰδεῖς BTW. Here F alone has preserved the true form, to which attention was first called by the Petrie papyrus fragments of the Phaedo. Cf. my critical note on Phd. 79, a 4, from which it will be seen that T preserves the correct form in the Phaedo, though it has not done so here.

I think I may claim that a MS., which preserves such readings as these, is not to be lightly set aside. Whether it represents an 'ancient vulgate' or not, it certainly represents, though in a mutilated form, an older tradition in some respects than the leading MSS., and thus enables us to find a more solid basis for the text of Plato.

JOHN BURNET.

PLATONICA.—V.

(Continued from Vol. XVI. p. 16.)

THEAETETUS.

143 A ὁσάκις Ἀθήναζε ἀφικοίμην, ἐπανηρώτων τὸν Σωκράτη ὃ μὴ ἐμνημήμην.

ὃ μὴ μεμνήμην seems much more likely, and these perfect optatives are very liable to corruption.

148 C εἴ σε πρὸς δρόμον ἐπαινῶν μηδενὶ οὕτω δρομικῶ ἔφη τῶν νέων ἐντετυχηκέναι, εἴτα διαθῶν τοῦ ἀκμάζοντος καὶ ταχίστου ἡττήθης, κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ ἀκμάζοντος καὶ ταχίστου seems an impossible expression. 'The swiftest runner' is

right enough, because in any given set of people one will probably be the swiftest. But 'the grown man' is not right, because any number of them may be grown men. We cannot take the words as generic, 'a grown man and very fast runner': Plato could never use the article so in such an expression, and it must not be defended by *ἄν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτείνῃ* (Dem. 23, 41, etc.), *ἄν τις τὸν ἐλεύθερον κακῶς λέγῃ* ('Ath. Πολ. 59. 5), and similar technical forms.

We might patch the words up by reading <ὑπό> του ἀκμάζοντος καὶ ταχίστου (or ἀκμάζοντός του as has been proposed), but to me καὶ ταχίστου seems awkward. Superlative does not go well with positive. I cannot but suspect that Plato wrote εἴτα διαθέν ἀκμάζοντος καὶ τούτου ταχίστου ἡτήθης. τούτου was perhaps by an easy error changed to τοῦ (cf. next note) and τοῦ then transferred from an impossible place. For ἀκμάζον as a semisubstantive cf. *Rep.* 459 B εἰς ἀκμαζόντων.

ιβ. Ε οὐ μὲν δὴ αὖ οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγῆναι (δύναμαι) τοῦ μέλειν.

For τοῦ the Vienna MS. has τούτου: Burnet writes τοῦ τούτου.

In this sentence μέλειν could not represent μέλει μοι, but only μέλω. Such a use of μέλω however is not found, as far as I know, in prose, which always employs the other form. A unique use of μέλω on Plato's part is surely less likely than that some copyist wrote μέλειν by error for μελετᾶν. Cf. 174 C οὐκ εἰδὼς κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ μεμελετηκέναι.

149 D καὶ τίκειν τε δὴ (ποιεῖν δύνανται) τὰς δυστοκούσας, καὶ ἐὰν νέον ὃν δόξῃ ἀμβλίσκειν ἀμβλίσκοντιν.

νέον ὃν has given rise to many conjectures, none in itself quite satisfactory (δέον Heindorf, ἀναγκαῖον Stallbaum, ἄμεινον Madvig, νόμιμον Schanz, and others). But I think that by combining two of them we may not improbably arrive at the right reading. Naber has proposed καὶ νᾶνον ἂν δόξῃ, which though infelicitous as to νᾶνον has the merit of suggesting ἂν for ὃν. If with this we unite Madvig's ἄμεινον, which is a most suitable word, we get καί, ἄμεινον ἂν δόξῃ ἀμβλίσκειν, the position of ἂν (ἐάν) being quite unobjectionable. When we put side by side KAMEINONAN, and KANNEONON, we see that one would have no difficulty in passing into the other.

152 Ε καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου συμφέρεσθον, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τῶν ποιη-

τῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος, <ὅς> εἰπὼν κ.τ.λ.

'συμφερέσθων B (ut videtur): συμφέρεσθον T.W.: συμφέρονται Stobaeus' Burnet, who with Campbell adopts the imperative. But surely in such a context the imperative, *let us say, let us assume, that they all agree*, is singularly out of place. Why should it be assumed, if it is not the fact? The very point of the whole is the weight of actual authority on that side: hence the names of philosophers and poets that follow. Heindorf was content to adopt *συμφέρονται*; but this leaves the other form or forms quite unexplained, while it is itself easily explained as an obvious correction or inadvertence. I quite agree that the philosophers cannot be here spoken of in the dual: that is impossible, especially as the actual subject of the verb is not Πρωταγόρας κ.τ.λ. but πάντες. Nor, I think, can the dual be due to the dual idea of philosophers and poets side by side. But in the next clause we have the dual division of poetry into comedy and tragedy with two poets mentioned. Surely this suggests that the verb belongs there and has only got out of its proper place. As οἱ ἄκροι means two men, *συμφέρεσθον* would be admissible, I think, after ἑκατέρας, even if ἑκατέρας itself did not give a dual notion. After Ὅμηρος it would be awkward, if we were sure that ὅς, there added by Heindorf, was right. No doubt the last letters of Ὅμηρος would account for the omission of ὅς, but, if it were thought probable that *συμφέρεσθον* stood there, we could find some other word or words of connection to insert instead of ὅς. The fact that *something* is certainly lost after Ὅμηρος may be thought in favour of this. (For transference of word cf. the notes on 155 B and 201 C and the all but certain case of ὑποκοριζόμενοι in Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 26).

155 B ΣΩ. ἄρ' οὐν οὐ καὶ τρίτον, ὃ μὴ πρότερον ἦν, ὕστερον ἀλλὰ τοῦτο εἶναι ἄνευ τοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ γίγνεσθαι ἀδύνατον; ΘΕΑΙ. δοκεῖ γε δῆ.

No sense can be made of ἀλλὰ where it stands. I incline to think that, like *συμφέρεσθον* in 152 E it has got into the wrong line. Read Theaetetus' answer as ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ γε δῆ, which is perfectly good. See Ast's *Lex. Plat.* 1. 101 ἀλλὰ . . γε, and in 153 D, 157 D, etc., see answers beginning with ἀλλὰ in a very similar way. Badham has shown us, I think, how γενέσθαι καὶ γίγνεσθαι should be treated (εἶναι καὶ γενέσθαι ἄνευ τοῦ γίγνεσθαι ἀδύνατον).

ιβ. Ε χάριν οὖν μοι εἴσῃ ἐάν σοι ἀνδρός,

μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὀνομαστῶν τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην συνεξερευνήσωμαι αὐτῶν (αὐτὴν has slight authority).

These words have given the critics some trouble. The remedy is not really far to seek, and the appearance of αὐτὴν in a Vienna MS. might have suggested it. We have here the not very uncommon occurrence of two words having exchanged their terminations. Instead of ἀποκεκρυμμένην . . αὐτῶν read ἀποκεκρυμμένων . . αὐτῆν. Cf. 180c παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τοὺς πολλούς.

157 A τό τέ τιτι συνελθὼν καὶ ποιοῦν ἄλλω αἷ προσπεσὼν πάσχον ἀνεφάνη.

καί should be omitted, as συνελθὼν is subordinate like προσπεσὼν; 'what acts when it meets one thing is acted upon when it comes across another.' Cf. 160 A οὐτ' ἐκέينو τὸ ποιοῦν ἐμὲ μήποτ' ἄλλω συνελθὼν ταῦτὸν γεννῆσαν τοιοῦτον γένεται. This insertion of καί with a participle, the relation of which has been misunderstood, is found in other places.

157 B τὸ δ' οὐ δεῖ, ὡς ὁ τῶν σοφῶν λόγος, οὔτε τι συγχωρεῖν οὔτε του οὐτ' ἐμοῦ οὔτε τότε οὐτ' ἐκείνου οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὄνομα ὅτι ἂν ἰσθῇ.

We must not allow (he says) any word that imports any sort of fixity and permanence as contrasted with constant flux and change. The difficulty in the words quoted is in οὔτε τοῦ οὐτ' ἐμοῦ, for which οὔτε σοῦ οὐτ' ἐμοῦ, οὔτε τοῦτο, οὔτε τοῦτ' εἶναι have been proposed by good critics. του adds nothing to τι, just as the proposed τοῦτο would add nothing to τόδε. The genitives do not seem suitable (I suppose *in* or *belonging to*) nor the mention of persons (ἐμοῦ or σοῦ and ἐμοῦ) at all called for or even in keeping with the general course of the argument, in which *you* and *I* play another part. We want then probably two words suggestive of fixity in things, external things. Though τοῦτο, meaning the same as τόδε, will not do, ταῦτό(ν) is appropriate, distinct, and likely enough. What to do with ἐμοῦ I hardly know, but perhaps ἐν may serve and the οὐ be taken to come from the οὔτε following. ἐν is clearly suggested by the words just before, οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό (cf. 152 D) which also suggest the possibility of αὐτό (not ταῦτό) for του. Without much confidence therefore I suggest that we might read οὔτε τι οὔτε ταῦτό οὐθ' ἐν οὔτε τότε οὐτ' ἐκέينو: 'we must not admit such expressions as *some thing, same thing, one thing, this thing, that thing.*'

ib. E λέγεται δὲ ἐνυπνίων τε περί... καὶ

μανίας, ὅσα τε παρακοῦειν ἢ παρορᾶν ἢ τι ἄλλο παραιοσθᾶναι λέγεται.

The τε after ὅσα is awkward: so is it to find μανία as the subject of these verbs. Should we read ὅσα τις?

A little further on in 158 B there is another odd τε: ὡς οἱ μαινόμενοι ἢ ὀνειρώττοντες οὐ ψευδῇ δοξάζουσιν, ὅταν οἱ μὲν θεοὶ αὐτῶν οἴωνται εἶναι, οἱ δὲ πτηνοὶ τε καὶ ὡς πετόμενοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ διανοῶνται. Here it is explained that after πτηνοὶ τε we supply οἴωνται εἶναι. Did Plato write οἱ δὲ ὡς πτηνοὶ τε καὶ πετόμενοι . . . διανοῶνται?

161 E τὰς ἀλλήλων φαντασίας τε καὶ δόξας, ὁρθὰς ἐκάστου οὔσας.

ἐκάστῳ?

ibid. εἰ ἀληθὴς ἡ Ἀλήθεια Πρωταγόρου ἀλλὰ μὴ παίζουσα ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου τῆς βίβλου ἐφθέγξατο.

Is τῆς βίβλου an adscript?

162 E ἄξιος οὐδ' ἐνὸς (or οὐδενὸς) μόνου ἂν εἴη.

μόνου seems very weak. Perhaps μέντοι. If μέντοι lost its τ, the change would be easy. So μὲν and μόνον get interchanged.

170 A σωτήρας σφῶν προσδοκῶντας <ἔσσεσθαι>? Without the infinitive, the words should mean 'expecting saviours,' not 'expecting them to prove saviours.'

172 B καὶ ὅσοι γε ἂν μὴ παντάπασιν τὸν Πρωταγόρου λόγον λέγωσιν, ὧδέ πως τὴν σοφίαν ἄγουσι.

τὴν σοφίαν (*this is the philosophy of many* Jowett: cf. Stallbaum and Campbell) does not mean philosophy, or the philosophy of ὅσοι κ.τ.λ. The question has been in what sense or in what applications one man can be called σοφώτερος than another, what in fact real σοφία is; and it is quite clear here that the general meaning must be *this is what they make, this is their view*, of σοφία. Whether ἄγουσι can bear this sense or Badham's λέγουσι should be substituted, may be uncertain. I incline to think ἄγουσι may be right, and λέγουσι after λέγωσιν is certainly undesirable. But I have written these lines only to insist on the true sense of σοφίαν.

173 C ἡμῖς οἱ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε χορεύοντες.

Both the use of χορεύοντες and that of ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε, which wants a substantive, are very questionable. Badham suggested ἐν τῷδε τῷ χορῷ ὄντες (not mentioned by Mr. Burnet, though he records very many of Badham's acute conjectures). I think χορῷ ὄντες certainly right; but as to τῷδε, what would 'this chorus' mean? The few people there

present cannot take themselves as constituting the entire company of philosophers. It would seem better to retain ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε. (I have sometimes thought of ἐν τῷ ἐναντίῳ δὴ χορῷ ὄντες).

173 D σπουδαὶ δὲ ἑταιριῶν ἐπ' ἀρχὰς καὶ σύνοδοι καὶ δέιπνα καὶ σὺν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι, οὐδ' ὅναρ πράττειν προσίσταται αὐτοῖς.

We could reconcile ourselves to the anacoluthon, if it were somewhat differently worded, e.g. τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν. But πράττειν seems unsuitable as referring straight to the substantives preceding. σπουδὰς πράττειν, κῶμους πράττειν, &c. are not Greek: we should want ποιῆσθαι. I do not know whether anyone has suggested that a whole line has got lost after κῶμοι, e.g. <οὐδ' εἰ γίνονται ἴσασι, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα>.

174 A Perhaps ἀρκεῖ should be ἀρκέσει. I see no need for ἤκει.

175 B τὰ μὲν ὑπερῆφάνως ἔχων, ὡς δοκεῖ, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσὶν ἀγνοῶν.

Badham was again right, I think, in reading τὰ μὲν ὑπερήφανα ἔχων. But I would urge it on a different ground from his, namely that τὰ ἐν ποσὶν requires a corresponding expression, as in Diog. L. 1. 34: τὰ μὲν and τὰ ἐν ποσὶν are not a pair. We might possibly keep ὑπερῆφάνως ἔχων, if something were added to τὰ μὲν. Cf. Ar. Eth. 6. 7. 1141b 6.

175 C ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τί ἐγὼ σὲ ἀδικῶ ἢ σὺ ἐμέ; εἰς σκέψιν αὐτῆς δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἀδικίας . . . , ἢ ἐκ τοῦ εἰ βασιλεὺς εὐδαίμων κεκτημένος τ' αὖ χρυσίον βασιλείας περὶ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ὁλως εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀθλιότητος ἐπὶ σκέψιν.

The εἰ before βασιλεὺς is wanting in a few MSS. (though found in B and T) and often omitted by editors. Burnet after Campbell reads ἦ. I would myself retain εἰ here and also substitute it for τί before ἐγώ. The two things are naturally thrown into the same form. In the first question εἰ is distinctly more proper than τί. The issue in a court is likely to be not *what* wrong one party has done, but *whether* he has done any. In the second case it is objected that only a philosopher would ask with doubt εἰ βασιλεὺς εὐδαίμων, and that popular ideas assume it. Strictly speaking, this is no doubt true. But we may take εἰ as not more than equivalent to one of those questions which hardly expect an answer, or which at any rate make sure of an answer in the affirmative, 'Isn't he happy?' And we must bear in mind that the bare affirmation 'He is happy,' especially if supported

by a reason, 'with all that money,' is itself argumentative and consciously presents a theory which might be combated. The omission of εἰ therefore does not altogether remove a difficulty, the existence of which I quite admit; namely that the words in any form seem to suggest, however faintly, the same question about human life that is then put in contrast with them (βασιλείας περὶ κ.τ.λ.). One thing I feel, and that is that by analogy to the previous question and indeed on general grounds we should expect this question too (εἰ βασιλεὺς εὐδαίμων) to be of a more personal, individual kind. All the books I have looked at take βασιλεὺς as a king, which does not merely imply a general theory, but openly and at once propounds it. I should have thought βασιλεὺς might well be *the Great King*, introducing something of that personal element which popular talk loves and philosophical discussion excludes. Cf. Gorg. 470 E ΠΩΛ. δῆλον δὲ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα γινώσκεις φήσεις εὐδαίμονα ὄντα. ΣΩ. καὶ ἀληθῆ γέ ἐρῶ· σὺ γὰρ οἶδα παιδείας ὅπως ἔχει καὶ δικαιοσύνης: Euthyd. 274 A: Apol. 40 D: with the curiously close parallel in Horace C. 2. 2. 17 redditum Cyri solio Phraaten | dissidens plebi numero beatorum | eximit virtus and ib. 3. 9. 4. Whatever difficulty remains seems due not to any error in the text but to inadvertence on the part of Plato.

As to the very uncertain κεκτημένος τ' αὖ χρυσίον, in which Madvig and Schanz read ταῦ from a gloss in Hesychius, ταῦς μέγας, πολὺς: ταύσας· μεγαλύνας, πλεονάσας, I make with very great hesitation the following suggestion. In inscriptions τ often stands for τάλαντον (ττ two talents and so on). Is it possible that τ here stands for τάλαντα, the letters αν giving or rather concealing a number? What number of gold talents popular imagination held the Great King to be master of, I would not attempt to say. I need hardly remind anyone that α stands for a thousand. With τάλαντα we should of course need to read χρυσίου. In spite of the very strong case established by Hesychius' gloss I feel the use of such an out-of-the-way word as ταῦ to be questionable.

177 B ὅταν ἰδίᾳ λόγον δέῃ διδόναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι περὶ ὧν ψέγουσι.

The last word may be right. Bad men have a sort of theory of life and criticise the foolish virtue of the good. But this is so far from obvious and the occasional confusion of ψέγω with λέγω is so well known, that perhaps περὶ ὧν λέγουσι should be read.

Those precise words occur three lines below, which tells at once for and against my suggestion, as the repetition would be a trifle weak.

182 B ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς ἄλληλα συγγυνομένων τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀποτίκτοντα τὰ μὲν ποι' ἅττα γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ αἰσθανόμενα.

The text is not grammatical, but neither is it really open to suspicion, and Madvig's conjecture, ἀποτεχθέντα, makes nonsense' Campbell. I do not defend ἀποτεχθέντα, but I feel pretty sure that Plato wrote ἀποτικτόντων. The termination has got accommodated to those near it. The other participle, συγγυνομένων, is subordinate to ἀποτικτόντων and therefore no καὶ is needed: cf. on 157 A above.

184 E καὶ ἔξεις κ.τ.λ.

As this is an alternative course and as ἦ and καὶ are often confused, we might read ἦ ἔξεις here, keeping τοῦδε at the beginning of the sentence. This is better than omitting καὶ with Madvig and Schanz.

190 C ἄλλον δέ τινα οἶει ὑγαίνοντα ἢ μαινόμενον τολμήσαι κ.τ.λ.

It is of course impossible that τολμήσαι can = τολμήσειν, though the words seem to have been sometimes taken so (perhaps even by Heindorf). But, if they refer to the past, we want a ποτέ, as we can hardly carry on to this sentence the ποτέ of the previous question, an answer to which has intervened. I conclude therefore that ἂν is to be inserted after τινά or elsewhere.

201 C οὐκ ἂν, ὦ φίλε, εἴ γε ταῦτόν ἦν δόξα τε ἀληθὴς καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ ἐπιστήμη, ὁρθά ποτ' ἂν δικαστὴς ἄκρος ἐδόξαζεν ἀνευ ἐπιστήμης.

The transference of καὶ δικαστήρια to follow δικαστὴς ἄκρος seems the best method of dealing with those words that has been proposed. Cf. on 152 E above. But is ἐδόξαζεν right? 'If true opinion and knowledge were the same thing, no judge could ever have held a right opinion without knowledge.' This is insipid, being indeed an identical proposition. Socrates had just said that dicasts ἀνευ ἐπιστήμης ἔκριναν, ὁρθὰ πεισθέντες, εἴπερ εὖ ἐδίδασαν. Surely then he said here not ἐδόξαζεν but ἐδίδαζεν (or ἐδίδασκεν): 'if they are identical, no judge ever gave right judgment without knowledge.' This is much more pointed. Of course on analysis it comes to the same thing as ἐδόξαζεν, but it by no means follows that ἐδόξαζεν was as likely to be used by a writer of discrimination. The imperfect ἐδίδαζεν

seems admissible, but the aorist may be preferred.

ibid. ὁ γε ἐγώ—ἐπελελήσμεν, νῦν δ' ἐννοῶ.

Read ὁ γάρ...νῦν ἐννοῶ. The other gives quite a wrong turn to the words.

SOPHIST.

216 C καὶ τοῖς μὲν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τοῦ μηδενὸς τίμιοι, τοῖς δ' ἄξιοι τοῦ παντός.

Madvig omits τίμιοι; Cobet, doing the same, transfers ἄξιοι to its place. I should much prefer to read τιμητέοι. Abbreviated terminations account for many mistakes.

ib. D τοῦ μέντοι ξένου ἡμῖν ἡδέως ἂν πυνθανοίμην κ.τ.λ.

Surely ὑμῖν. He is *their* ξένος; or, if we connect the dative closely with the verb, ὑμῖν is *with your leave*. Cf. Theaet. 143 E καὶ σοὶ ἀκοῦσαι πάνν ἄξιον οἶψ ὑμῖν τῶν πολιτῶν μειρακίῳ ἐντετύχηκα.

The two pronouns are, I think, again confused in 217 B, where I would read πρὶν ὑμᾶς (Socrates and his party) δεῦρ' ἐλθεῖν.

217 A καθ' ἐν ὄνομα γένος ἐκάστω προσῆπον.

For ἐν read ἕκαστον or ἐν ἕκαστον.

218 A Theaetetus ought hardly to strike in with such words (δρᾶ τοῖνυν κ.τ.λ.). He waits to be spoken to by the stranger. Give them to Theodorus.

219 C τέχνη τις κτητικὴ λεχθεῖσα ἂν διαπρέψειεν. ΘΕΑΙ. ναί, πρόποι γὰρ ἂν.

διαπρέπω is not used anywhere else by Plato; nor is any writer at all cited as using it in the sense of *be becoming, suitable*: it means *be conspicuous*. Coupling this with the fact that Stobaeus gives the words ἂν διαπρέψειεν in the form ἀντρέψειεν, may we not read ἂν πρέψειεν? δια, perhaps corrupted from δῆ, may be a dittograph for ἂν. In 223 E πωλοῦν διὰ νομίσματος ἀλλάττεται it would not be surprising if διὰ were an error for δῆ.

ib. D ἐν κτητικῇ πον δῆλον <ὅτι>.

δῆλον cannot stand alone in this sense.

221 A ὅπερ ἄρτι προϋθέμεθα δεῖν ἐξευρεῖν.

Perhaps δῆ for δεῖν, with which or δεῖ it is apt to get confused. But cf. Ar. Eth. 6. 9. 1142 b 19, where Γ seems to have had ὁ προτίθεται δεῖν with no other infinitive, and the MSS. give ἰδεῖν.

221 E τὰ νευστικὰ τῶν ἐνδύρων.

This has been written by a common blunder for τὰ ἐνδύρα τῶν νευστικῶν or τῶν νευστικῶν τὰ ἐνδύρα. Cf. 220 B νευστικοῦ...τὸ

μὲν πτηνὸν...τὸ δὲ ἐνδρόν. Very similar is the blunder in 228 A διαφορᾶς διαφθοράν for διαφθορᾶς διαφοράν and that pointed out above in *Theaet.* 155 E.

223 B Are the forms in -ία right alongside of those in -ική? The latter seem more suitable (cf. 221 B, 224 D E, 226 A, etc.) and the mixture is strange. So in 265 A ἐν θηρευτικῇ καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ ἐμπορικῇ. Cf. on 216 C.

224 B οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸν μαθήματα συνωνόμενον πόλιν τε ἐκ πόλεως νομίσματος ἀμείβοντα ταῦτόν προσερεῖς ὄνομα;

There is no construction for νομίσματος. (Campbell governs it by ἀμείβοντα, leaving πόλιν without construction; for γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι is quite different. Besides, compare *Apol.* 37 D ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης πόλεως ἀμειβομένην: *Polit.* 289 E πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἀλλάττοντες). I suspect a subordinate participle has dropped out and we should read νομίσματος <πωλοῦντα> ἀμείβοντα. Cf. 228 C, where B has θέμενα, T with Galen and Stobaeus θέμενα πειρώμενα, which is no doubt right.

224 C Read τῷ γε with the Vienna MS. for τό γε and in the next line τῷ δέ. Compare e.g. 262 D τῷ πλέγματι τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἐφθεγξάμεθα λόγον.

226 C Theaetetus, asked if he can see how to divide a certain genus into two species, says ταχέϊαν ὡς ἐμοὶ σκέψιν ἐπιτάττεις. It is unsatisfactory either to take this ironically (Jowett) or to make it mean 'that is rather a rapid enquiry for my small powers.' I suspect the loss of a negative, οὐ ταχέϊαν or possibly οὐ βραχέϊαν, ταχύς and βραχύς being liable to interchange. Cf. below (226 E) ΞΕ. οὐκοῦν τό γε καθαρτικὸν εἶδος αὖ διπλοῦν ὃν πᾶς ἂν ἴδοι. ΘΕΑΙ. ναί, κατὰ σχολήν γε ἴσως· οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε καθορῶ νῦν, which perhaps favours (οὐ) ταχέϊαν as against (οὐ) βραχέϊαν. But the use of ταχύς seems strange.

228 C For αὐτὰ πάσχειν read τοῦτο, or possibly ταῦτα, πάσχειν.

ιβ. D Ἔστι δὴ δύο ταῦτα, ὡς φαίνεται, κακῶν ἐν αὐτῇ (the soul) γένῃ.

Rather κακιῶν. Cf. κακίαν and δύο εἶναι γένῃ κακίας ἐν ψυχῇ immediately following: also 227 E δύο εἶδη κακίας περὶ ψυχὴν ῥητέον.

231 B It is difficult to get any meaning out of ὁπότεν ἱκανῶς φυλάττωσιν, nor does Heindorf's φυλαχθῶσιν or Schanz' φυλάττωμεν satisfy one. Madvig probably saw the real sense when he wrote φωραθῶσιν (i.e. οἱ

σοφισταί), but I would suggest that φανῶσιν is what Plato wrote. This or some kindred word appears over and over again throughout the dialogue in the sense that the nature of the sophist is ascertained by the discussion: e.g. 224 D: 231 D (ὁπόσα ἡμῖν ὁ σοφιστὴς πέφανται), etc. φυλάττωσιν, which is not very much like φανῶσιν, may be due to the influence of φυλακὴν two lines before and be a 'false echo' of it not quite in the sense Campbell intends.

232 E Read ὑπολείπειν for ὑπολιπεῖν. Since Heindorf editors always adopts λείπειν for λιπεῖν in 227 D.

234 A ΘΕΑΙ. παιδιὰν λέγεις τινά. ΞΕ. τί δέ; τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι πάντα οἶδε κ.τ.λ. μὴν οὐ παιδιὰν νομιστέον;

I do not see how Campbell can be right in supplying τέχνην with τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος, as the word has not occurred recently enough (233 D). We certainly must not supply παιδιὰν from what precedes, but it is just possible that the gender (τὴν for τό: Schanz alters τὴν to τό) is due to the predicate παιδιὰν which is coming. This is probably what Stallbaum meant, but he fails to make it clear. Such an attraction however, though common in relative and demonstrative pronouns, is not known to me in the article, and some parallels would be welcome. Pending their discovery, we might consider whether a substantive such as ὑπόσχεσιν has not been omitted. The verb ὑπισχνόμαι occurs just below and twice in 232 D. It might be put in either after λέγοντος or after χρόνῳ.

234 E παραγενομένων, Probably παραγιγνομένων.

235 A τῶν τῆς παιδείας μετεχόντων ἐστὶ τις μερῶν εἰς.

μερῶν is bracketed by Schanz, marked as corrupt by Burnet. Should we not read γενῶν? Cf. a few lines below τοῦ γένους εἶναι τοῦ τῶν θανατοποιῶν τις εἰς. In *Thuc.* 2. 37, 2 Herwerden's οὐκ ἀπὸ γένους for οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους is certainly attractive.

235 E It is a pity that Schanz has adopted Badham's τῶν κώλων for τῶν καλῶν. Not only is καλῶν shown to be right by the occurrence of the word more than once in the context, but κῶλα could hardly be made to cover head and trunk as the sense requires.

236 E εἰπόντα should perhaps be εἰπεῖν. Cf. on 216 C; 223 B.

237 A οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα.

So Simplicius gives the verse of Parmenides, though the MSS. of Plato (here and in 258 D) and Aristotle (*Met.* 13, 2, 1089 a 4) agree in τοῦτ' οὐδαμῇ. δαμῇ is at first sight strange and has provoked many doubts and suggestions. But when we recall the similar use of αἰρεῖν for *prove*, and compare Pindar's ἀγῶνα δαμάσας, we may very well acquiesce in it. Of course to Parmenides it meant rather *won*, *gained* than *proved*, or the point is spoken of as a difficulty *overcome*. Cf. also *Polit.* 284 B καθάπερ ἐν τῷ σοφιστῇ προσηραγκάζομεν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὄν and *Theat.* 196 B, perhaps 153 C.

239 C ἕως ἂν τινι δυναμένῳ δρᾶν τοῦτο ἐντυγχαίνωμεν.

If right, this can only mean 'until we find ourselves talking with.' If it were 'until we meet,' the verb would have to be in the aorist:

241 E αὐτῶν. Perhaps ὄντων.

242 C εὐκόλως μοι δοκεῖ Παρμενίδης ἡμῖν διειλέχθαι . . . μῦθον . . . φαίνεται διηγείσθαι παισὶν ὡς οὖσιν ἡμῖν.

Εὐκόλως, *good-humouredly*, is hardly the right word. Badham οὐχ ὅλως, *did not even argue*. Is it not plain that Plato wrote εὐχερῶς? *Theat.* 154 B θαναμαστά τε καὶ γελοῖα εὐχερῶς πῶς ἀναγκαζόμεθα λέγειν: *Dem.* 18. 70 ὃ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅτι ἂν βουλευθῆς. In *Phaedo* 117 C εὐχερῶς and εὐκόλως are joined together, but that is far from showing that the latter can stand here.

244 A ἵνα μὴ δοξάζωμεν μανθάνειν μὲν τὰ λεγόμενα.

μὲν seems in a very questionable place. Perhaps μανθάνειν μὲν δοξάζωμεν or δοξάζωμεν μὲν μανθάνειν. There is no objection to μὲν after -μεν. Cf. *Polit.* 281 D λέγοιμεν ὑέν: *Rep.* 353 A θήσομεν μὲν: even Isocrates 6. 85 ἀνορθώσομεν μὲν: 15. 311 ἐπαινοῦμεν μὲν.

247 A Read δικαιοσύνης <καὶ φρονήσεως> ἕξει καὶ παρουσία. Campbell suggests φρονήσεως instead of παρουσία.

ib. E λέγω δὴ τὸ καὶ ὅποιαν οὖν κεκτημένον δύναμιν εἴτ' εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν ἕτερον οἷον πεφυκὸς εἴτ' εἰς τὸ παθεῖν καὶ σμικρότατον ὑπὸ τοῦ φανλοτάτου . . . τίθεμαι γὰρ ὅρον ὀρίξειν τὰ ὄντα ὡς ἔστιν οὐκ ἄλλο τι πλὴν δύναμις.

τι seems needed either before or after ποιεῖν. It would fall out easily before π, which is often almost indistinguishable from it.

ὀρίξειν and ὀρίξειν τὰ ὄντα have been bracketed. Büchh wrote ὀρίζων.

It does not seem likely that Plato said τὰ ὄντα themselves were δύναμις, nor does 248 C

support it. It is οὐσία which is δύναμις, and I cannot but think οὐσία (with ὡς ἔστιν) or οὐσίας (with ὅρον) has been lost. But what to do with ὀρίξειν τὰ ὄντα, unless it should be simply omitted, I do not know.

251 A καὶ ἐὰν αὐτῷ μῆδερον ἰδεῖν δυνώμεθα, τὸν γοῦν λόγον ὅπῃ περ ἂν οἰοί τε ὅμεν εὐπρεπέστατα διωσόμεθα οὕτως ἀμφοῖν ἅμα.

Campbell and Badham defend διωσόμεθα in different ways. Others have proposed emendations, but nobody what seems to me a certain correction, namely διαδυσόμεθα. If they cannot satisfy themselves (says the stranger) about either being or not-being, at any rate they will with the utmost credit escape, make their way through, the difficulties of both. The very same expression occurs in this dialogue 231 C ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἔτι διαδύσεται τὸν λόγον. διαδύσθαι τὸν λόγον can be contrasted with what is called in *Phil.* 43 A ἐπεκστῆναι τὸν λόγον ἐπιφερόμενον. Cf. also *Polit.* 284 B κατὰ τοῦτο διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος. In *Rep.* 612 A I have suggested that ἀπεωσάμεθα should be read for the ἀπεδυσάμεθα and ἀπελυσάμεθα of the MSS., neither being at all suitable.

253 E τό γε διαλεκτικὸν οὐκ ἄλλῃ δώσεις.

This use of the neuter does not seem like Plato. Perhaps διαλεκτικὸν <εἶναι>.

259 C ταῦτα ἔασαντα ὡς δυνατά.

ἀνήντα for δυνατά Badham, and that gives very good sense. But we might also think of ἀνόνητα, which seems to me to suit the context better, as he goes on to say that these things are not an ἔλεγχος ἀληθινός and that they argue a novice.

267 A ὅταν οἶμαι τὸ σὸν σχῆμά τις τῷ ἑαυτοῦ χρώμενος σώματι προσόμοιον ἢ φωνῇ φωνῇ φαίνεσθαι ποιῇ, μίμησις τοῦτο τῆς φανταστικῆς μάλιστα κέκληται πού.

The difficulty of this has perhaps not been sufficiently noticed. The sense required is 'makes his body or voice like yours,' while the words actually mean 'makes your figure or voice like his,' an impossible inversion. Who ever wrote or deliberately spoke like this? Perhaps the same accident has occurred that we seemed to find in 224 B and another participle governing τὸ σὸν σχῆμα has been lost. 'Representing your figure,' 'having your figure in his mind,' &c., would make good enough sense. Τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα is the object of ποιῇ, put in the dative after the participle according to the ordinary rule. I suggest then the insertion of (say) ἀπεικάζων, or even μιμούμενος itself, which would perhaps be more likely to fall out near χρώμενος. Cf. *Crat.* 432 B εἰ τις . . . τὸ σὸν χρώμα καὶ

σχῆμα ἀπεικάζειν. We might also think of <κατά>τὸ σὸν σχῆμα, or I daresay of other insertions which would afford a construction and a sense.

POLITICUS.

258 D Some τέχναι have nothing to do with action and give knowledge only: αἱ δὲ γὰρ περὶ τεκτονικὴν αὐτὰ καὶ σύμπασαν χειρουργίαν ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐνοῦσαν σύμφυτον τὴν ἐπιστήμην κέκτηνται καὶ συναποτελοῦσι τὰ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν σώματα πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα.

The last clause as it stands would seem to mean that these arts help to produce the things which are produced by them. Campbell only makes better sense of it by straining the meaning of ἀποτελῶ ('perfect') and making αὐτῶν refer to πράξεις when it would naturally refer to the subject of συναποτελοῦσι. Reflection will lead us, I think, to substitute συναποτελοῦσαν. This practical ἐπιστήμη is described as ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐνοῦσα and συναποτελοῦσα τὰ γινόμενα σώματα, and αὐτῶν are the arts in question.

264 E τὸ πολιτικὸν οὐ...ζητητέον; would give the best sense, if we might substitute οὐ περὶ (not Heindorf's ἢ περὶ) for ὥσπερ (B and T), εἰ περὶ, and one or two other MS. readings. In the next line perhaps ἄν should be added.

266 E παραδοῦναι τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἡνίας ὡς οἰκείας καὶ αὐτῷ ταύτης οὔσης τῆς ἐπιστήμης.

It would seem as though we ought either to omit καί, as Stephanus after one MS. did, or to insert after it something like ιδίας.

268 E ἀλλὰ δὴ τῷ μύθῳ μου πάνν πρόσσεχε τὸν νοῦν, καθάπερ οἱ παῖδες πάντως οὐ πολλὰ ἐκφεύγει παιδίας (sic B T) ἔτη.

Editors have usually been divided between παιδιᾶς a game, play and παιδίας childhood, either of which would be a genitive following on ἔτη, for ἐκφεύγειν requires an accusative. Campbell rightly points out that, to make sense with this, πολλά would have to be πολύ; and it may be added that <τὰ τῆς> would be needed before the genitive, at any rate in the case of παιδίας. He himself reads by his own slight alteration παιδιᾶς games, and Burnet follows him. But after παῖδες surely παιδιᾶ, not παιδιά, is the word we want, and therefore I should suggest παιδιάν: it is only a few years since you emerged from childhood. Cf. Campbell's correction of πολέμιας in 307 c to πολεμίαν, also adopted by Burnet.

ibid. ἦν τοίνυν καὶ ἔτι ἔσται τῶν πάλαι λεχθέντων πολλά τε ἄλλα καὶ κ.τ.λ.

I think we should read ἔστι for ἔσται, and

understand the words somewhat differently. They are usually taken to mean that various other things in ancient story and the great portent of the sun's changing its course did occur and will yet occur again. But at this point it does not seem proper to bring in the statement that this and other things will occur again. The speaker comes to that presently. At starting he has only got to refer to this as an old legend. Also ἔτι ἔσται means rather will still exist than will occur or exist again. Reading ἔστι, I understand him to say that among other things belonging to old legend there used to be and still is the story of this portent, and he goes on ἀκήκοας γάρ που κ.τ.λ. This certainly seems the sense in which his interlocutor understands him. The confusion of ἔστί and ἔσται is not uncommon, but it usually works the opposite way.

270 A διὰ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ὃν καὶ ἰσορροπώτατον ἐπὶ μικροτάτῳ βαῖνον ποδὸς ἰέναι.

For ἰέναι read εἶναι. βαῖνον ἰέναι is very pleonastic, while the resolution of verbs into participles with εἶναι is a marked feature of Plato's later style. Cf. in this dialogue 273 B πολλὰς ἦν μετέχον ἀταξίας, 289 A, 296 C, etc.

273 A ὁ δὲ (κόσμος) μεταστρεφόμενος καὶ συμβάλλων ἀρχῆς τε καὶ τελευτῆς ἐναντίαν ὁρμὴν ὁρμηθεὶς κ.τ.λ.

Both συμβάλλων and the genitives are obscure. Read συμβάλλων ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτήν, bringing together beginning and end. The end of one system is the beginning of another. Cf. note on 268 E above, where παιδιάν is proposed for παιδίας. (After writing this I observe Badham's συμβάλλων ἀρχάς τε καὶ τελευτάς, but the singular seems better.)

ibid. θορύβων τε καὶαραχῆς ἤδη πανόμενος καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν γαλήνης ἐπιλαβόμενος.

It will be an improvement in every way to read καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν, just as in 292 B we have καὶ τῆς ἐπιστατικῆς. In Aristotle *Hist. An.* 5. 5. 13 αἱ δὲ πέρδικες, ἂν κατ' ἀνεμον στῶσιν αἱ θηλεῖαι τῶν ἀρρένων, ἔγκνοι γίγνονται πολλακὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς, ἂν ὀργῶσαι τύχωσι, καὶ ὑπερπετομένων ἐκ τοῦ καταπνεύσαι τὸν ἄρρενα it is plain that καὶ τῆς φωνῆς should be read, and in *Eum.* 280 I suspect Aeschylus wrote

βρίζει γὰρ αἷμα κάκμαραίνεται χερός,

for the genitive χερός seems almost to require it. The substitution of καὶ for καὶκ or κὰν is very common.

274 D ὅλος ὁ κόσμος, ᾧ συμμιμούμενοι καὶ συνεπόμενοι . . ζῶμεν.

ᾧ συνεπόμενοι καὶ συμμιμούμενοι ?

277 E ἐν <μὲν> ταῖς βραχυτάταις.

278 D ἡ ψυχὴ . . τότε μὲν ὑπ' ἀληθείας περὶ ἐν ἑαστον ἐν τισι συνίσταται, τότε δὲ . . φέρεται.

The compound *συνίσταται* does not seem right. In contrast with *φέρεται* we want *ἴσταται*. *συν* is perhaps a repetition of the last letters of *τισί(τισίν)*.

He goes on καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμῇ γέ πη τῶν συγκράσεων ὀρθῶς δοξάζει, where the genitive is odd. Should not τὰ μὲν be τὰς μὲν, αὐτῶν agreeing with τῶν συγκράσεων and contrasting them with the στοιχεῖα ?

281 C δοκεῖν χρὴ . . προσποιήσασθαι.

The future *προσποιήσεσθαι* is necessary, like *ἀμφισβητήσουσιν* a few lines before.

284 B καθάπερ ἐν τῷ σοφιστῇ προσηναγκάσαμεν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τοῦτο διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος.

Surely διέφυγεν. ὁ λόγος διέφυγεν ἄν, if they had failed to vindicate not-being.

293 D ἰάν τε . . καθαίρωσιν . . εἴτε καί . . ποιῶσιν ἤ . . αὔξουσιν.

Ἐάν can hardly carry on its force over the εἴτε, so as to make subjunctives possible. Must we not read *ποιῶσιν* and *αὔξουσιν* ?

296 E τοῦτον δεῖ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα τὸν ὅρον εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθινώτατον ὀρθῆς πόλεως διοικήσεως, ὃν ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ διοικήσει τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ; ὥσπερ ὁ κυβερνήτης τὸ τῆς νεὼς καὶ ναυτῶν αἰετὶ συμφέρον παραφυλάττων κ.τ.λ.

So this passage is written in all the editions I have consulted. Stallbaum translates τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων *res civium*, Campbell

the condition of his subjects, Jowett the affairs of his subjects. But in reality τό goes with the συμφέρον which is coming in the next clause, governed by παραφυλάττων. τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων συμφέρον is compared to τὸ τῆς νεὼς καὶ ναυτῶν συμφέρον. The mark of interrogation should therefore be deferred and put after σφίξει τοὺς συνναίτας at the end of the ὥσπερ clause, though the sentence is really anomalous, Plato forgetting that he began with a question and after the ὥσπερ clause rambling into another which takes it up with a οὕτως.

299 A. οὐκοῦν ὃ γ' ἐθέλων καὶ ἐκὼν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἄρχειν δικαιοῦται ἂν ὅτιοις πάσχοι καὶ ἀποτίνοι.

The distinction, if any, between ὃ ἐθέλων ἄρχειν and ὃ ἐθέλων ἐκὼν ἄρχειν is very fine and hardly to the purpose. Read ὃ γ' ἐθέλων καὶ ἐκὼν . . ἄρχων, in which the two words become, what they really are, synonyms.

302 C τὴν αὐτὴν τοίνυν (i.e. ἀρχὴν) φάθι τριῶν οὐδῶν χαλεπὴν διαφερόντως γίνεσθαι καὶ ῥάστην.

ῥάστην I take to be a mere blunder for ἀρίστην, encouraged no doubt by the opposition of χαλεπὴν. See further on in E μοναρχία (which is what he means here) ζευχθεῖσα μὲν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀγαθοῖς, οὓς νόμους λέγομεν, ἀρίστη πασῶν τῶν ἔξ' ἄνομος δέ χαλεπή καὶ βαρυτάτη συνοικήσαι ; and again 303 B ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ (ζῆν) πρώτον τε καὶ ἄριστον. The question all through is about goodness and badness : see especially 303 A.

303 C With εἶναι and γίνεσθαι there must have gone some word now lost like λεκτέον or νομιστέον.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NOTE ON ARISTOTLE'S *POLITICS*, 1338, A 24.

THE unmetrical verse quoted here by Aristotle as Homeric, ἀλλ' οἶον μὲν ἔστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλεῖν, is still assigned to ρ 382 f. in spite of Peppmüller's objections in the *Jahrbücher*, 1891, page 375. So the Provost of Oriel and van Leeuwen in their editions of the *Odyssey*, and Susemihl-Hicks and Newman in their editions of the *Politics*, have not hesitated to accept the line as in Aristotle's text of ρ. Mr. Newman (*Politics*, iii. 516) takes this text to have been :

ρ 382

τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν, ἀλλ' οἶον μόνον ἔστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλεῖν, μάντιν ἢ ἱγῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων, οἱ καλέουσιν ἀοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἅπαντας.

To assume the absence from Aristotle's text of οἱ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασι, which is found not only in the Homeric MSS. of 383 but also in Plato (*Republic*, 389 D), would seem unscientific, but that may pass. The text as formed, however, is obscure. What is the

antecedent of οἷ in line 4? Can it be the seer and carpenter of the preceding verse? Are they the bidders to an Homeric feast? Or, if this seems unreasonable, are they the most distinguished guests, to receive the first invitation? With all Homeric appreciation of the dignity of labour, neither of these alternatives is possible. The most serious objection to this construction of the text, however, lies in the fact that the poet is not speaking of invitations to a feast, but of bringing to the community (πόλινδε ἤγαγες) men who would be useful to it (δημιοεργοί). Thus in the early settlements of New England and in the western parts of the United States, nothing was more common than to offer special inducements to a teacher, a physician, a preacher, or a skilled artisan to join the community;—a farm might be offered to such a one, or freedom from rates, or other privileges. So Eumæus disclaims all responsibility for bringing the disguised Odysseus to Ithaca, and says at 387 πτωχὸν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις καλέοι, in which he cannot refer to an invitation to a feast but must refer to an invitation to come to the settlement to live. The fact that καλεῖ is used often of bidding to a feast seems to have led Spengel to connect the Aristotelian verse with ρ 382.

But are we obliged to accept this connexion with ρ 385, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων? Aristotle

says ἦν γὰρ οἶονται διαγωγὴν εἶναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν ταύτῃ (i.e. σχολῇ) τάττουσιν (sc. μουσικὴν). διόπερ "Ὅμηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' οἶον κ.τ.λ. καὶ οὕτω προειπὼν ἑτέρους τινάς, οἱ καλέουσιν, αἰοῖδόν, φησὶν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἅπαντας. In my opinion, Aristotle is making two entirely independent quotations. The οὕτω would be then a repetition of οὕτως with ἐποίησεν, and προειπὼν ἑτέρους τινάς κ.τ.λ. would be simply 'after mentioning several other kinds of men, he names a bard *who cheers all*.' The last three words are the sole reason for this second quotation: the carpenter and seer are of no importance in this connexion, since the author is speaking of the place of music in education and in life.

The words οἱ καλέονσιν have not been explained. Spengel's οἱ καλοῦνται gives a satisfactory sense; that these men are called to live in a town and not to take part in a feast does not disturb Aristotle's neat quotation. However the faulty verse is to be emended, οἶον must be masculine, as Mr. Newman interprets it, rather than neuter as Mr. Jowett translated it, 'how good it is to invite men to the pleasant feast,' which has no connexion with the rest of the passage.

T. D. S.

MUSONIUS AND SIMPLICIUS.

A NEW edition of the remains of Musonius is advertised; and indeed Peerlkamp's edition has long been out of date, and is little known. In two interesting fragments περὶ τροφῆς (Stob. flor. 17 n. 43 Meineke, n. 42 Hense, and 18 n. 38 M, 37 H, 10. Stob. anthol. iii. 503, 523, Weidmann 1894), Hense illustrates some details from other authors, but has missed the most comprehensive parallel, the commentary of Simplicius on Epictet. enchirid. c. 46 (of Schweighäuser's ed. c. 33 s. 7, S's Epict. iv. 427-8). Thus Stob. p. 503 19 H ὡς χρὴ καθάπερ τὴν εὐτελῆ τῆς πολυτελοῦς τροφῆς προτιμᾶν καὶ τὴν εὐπόριστον τῆς δυσπορίστου. p. 505. 4 ἡμᾶς δὲ ὁμοιοτάτην ταύτῃ προσφέρεισθαι τροφήν ἃν εἶπεν τὴν κουφοτάτην καὶ καθαρωτάτην. Simplic. p. 269b Heins ἐν μὲν τροφαῖς καὶ πόμασι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τρεφόντων τὸ ἀνθρώπειον σῶμα τὰ εὐπόριστα καὶ φυσικώτερα ἐκλεγομένους. ταῦτα γὰρ εὐθὺς καὶ καθαρώτερα εὐρίσκεται καὶ λιτότερα καὶ ὑγιεινότερα.

Muson. p. 505 14 ἡμεῖς δὲ τέχνας καὶ μηχανὰς ποικίλας ἐπινοοῦμεν, ὥστε τὴν ἐδωδὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἐφθύνειν καὶ τὴν κατάποσιν κολακεύειν μειζόνως. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προελθύθαμεν λιχνείας καὶ ὀψοφαγίας, ὥστε καθάπερ μουσικά καὶ ἱατρικά οὕτω καὶ μαγειρικά πεποιήνται τινὲς συγγράμματα, ἃ τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν καὶ πάνυ αὔξει τὴν ἐν τῷ φάρυγγι, τὴν δ' ὑγίειαν διαφθείρει. πολὺ γοῦν κάκιον διακειμένους ὁρᾶν ἔστι τὰ σώματα τοὺς περὶ τὰ βρώματα τρυφώντας. Simplic. ib. τραφῆναι γὰρ δεῖται τὸ ζῶον, οὐ μέντοι τοιαῖσδε καὶ τοιαῖσδε ποικιλίαις τροφῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς Θεωρίαν καὶ Παξάμονας ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις ὤκείωσε καὶ τὴν μαγειρικὴν κακοτεχνίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τροφήν τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀνυφαίνουσαν. Sen. cons. ad Helv. 12 § 5 o miserabiles quorum palatum nisi ad pretiosos cibos non excitatur! pretiosos autem non eximius sapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo sed raritas et difficultas parandi facit. alioqui, si ad sanam illis mentem placeat reverti, quid opus est tot artibus ventri servientibus? quid mercaturis? quid vasta-

tione silvarum? quid profundi perscrutatione? passim iacent alimenta, quae rerum natura omnibus locis disposuit, sed haec velut caeci transeunt et omnes regiones pervagantur, maria traiciunt et, cum famem exiguo possint sedare, magno invitant. (cf. Stob. 18 38 M. 37 H p. 527 17 ἀλλ' ὅμως χάριν ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐλαχίστου χρόνου, ὃν ἡδόμεθα, παρασκευὴ μὲν ὧσιν γίγνεται μυρίων· πλείται δ' ἡ θάλαττα μέχρι περάτων.)

Muson. *ibid.* (p. 527 14) ἔδει δέ γε, εἴπερ ὁ θεὸς ἡδονῆς χάριν τὴν τροφὴν ἐμμηχανήσατο ἡμῖν, τὸν πλείω τοῦτον χρόνον (the period of digestion) ἡδῆσθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ καταπίνομεν, Democrit. *ib.* 18 35 H, 36 M: ὅσοι ἀπὸ γαστρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ποιεῖνται ὑπερβεβληκότες τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ βρώσεσιν ἢ πόσεσιν..., τοῦτοισι πᾶσιν αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ βραχεαί τε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου γίνονται, ὁκοσον ἂν χρόνον ἐσθίωσιν ἢ πίνωσιν, αἱ δὲ λῦται πολλὰι κ.τ.λ.

Muson. *ibid.* p. 528 3: δεῖπνα δὲ παρτίθενται τινες ἀγρῶν ἀναλίσκοντες τιμάς, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐδαμῶς ὠφελουμένων τῶν σωμάτων ἐκ τῆς πολυτελείας τῶν βρωμάτων. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον οἱ ταῖς εὐτελεστάταις χρώμενοι τροφαῖς ἰσχυρότατοι εἰσιν. τοὺς γοῦν οἰκέτας τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ τοὺς χωρίτας τῶν ἀστικῶν καὶ τοὺς πένητας τῶν πλουσίων ἴδοις ἂν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος ῥωμαλεστέρους ὄντας καὶ μᾶλλον μὲν ποιεῖν δυναμένους, ἥττον δὲ κείμενους ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, νοσοῦντας δὲ σπανιώτερον, ἀνεχομένους δὲ εὐκολώτερον κρίνος, θάλπος, ἀγρυπνίαν, πᾶν ὅ τι τοιοῦτον, cf. the story of Zeno (17 42, p. 506 16). Simplic. p. 269c Heins: καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, δηλοῦσιν οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν ἀναγκαζόμενοι φυσικώτερον τρέφεσθαι, πολλῶ τῶν τρυφόντων ὄντες ὑγιεινότεροι· ὥσπερ ἄγροικοι μὲν τῶν

πολιτικῶν, δοῦλοι δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν, καὶ τῶν πλουτούντων οἱ πένητες. See the story in Xen. mem. iii 13 § 6. Io. Chrys. hom. 1 in Col. 5 (xi 329^{bcd}): ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐδεσμάτων τὴν φύσιν ἐξετάσωμεν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένῳ διαβρῆνυσθαι τῷ πολλῷ οἴνῳ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐκ ἐνὶ μὴ βουλομένῳ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, ὥστε ἐκεῖ μὲν τὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σιτίων ποιότητος ἡδονὴν ἢ τε προλαβοῦσα ἀτιμία ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς πλησμονῆς ἀηδία. οὐ γὰρ ἥττον λιμοῦ τὰ σώματα ἡμῖν ἢ πλησμονῇ διαφθείρει καὶ ὀδυνᾷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον· καὶ ὃν ἂν θέλῃς μοι δοῦναι, εὐκολώτερον αὐτὸν διαβρῆννύω τῇ πλησμονῇ τοῦ λιμοῦ. ὁντως γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκείνου φορητότερον· ὅτι λιμὸν μὲν ἂν τις καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἐνέγκῃ, πλησμονὴν δὲ οὐδὲ δύο μόνας· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν προσπαλαίοντες δινηκῶς οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐν ὑγιείᾳ εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ δέονται ἰατρῶν· ταύτην δέ, τὴν πλησμονὴν λέγω, οὐκ ἂν ἐνέγκοιεν μὴ συνεχῶς καλοῦντες ἰατρούς· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων βοήθειαν ἤλεγξε πολλάκις ἡ ταύτης τυραννίς. καὶ ἡδονῆς μὲν οὖν αὕτη τὰ πρῶτα ἔχει· εἰ γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι ἡδίων, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ εἶναι τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι, καὶ τὸ θαρρῆναι τοῦ τρέμειν καὶ δεδοικέναι, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρκούντων ἀπολαύειν τοῦ πάρα τοῦ μέτρου εἰς τὸ τῆς τροφῆς καταποντίζεσθαι κλυδώνιον, βελτίονα ἄρα ἐκείνης αὕτη ἢ τράπεζα καὶ ἡδονῆς ἔνεκεν. καὶ τὰ τῆς δαπάνης δὲ ἐνταῦθα βελτίονα· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ δαπανηρὰ, αὕτη δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ. He goes on to speak of the anxious preparation for a luxurious feast, which keeps the host restless at night, etc. Dr. Parkes, in his valuable little tract, *The Personal Care of Health* (S.P.C.K.), holds that sensible working men are better fed than any other class.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

AN ILL-USED PASSAGE IN IGNATIUS (*AD PHILAD.* 8, 2).

IN an often quoted passage occurring in Ignatius' epistle to the Philadelphians (8, 2), that Church Father states that some people refused to believe certain things which they did not find expressly recorded in the Gospel. The text runs thus according to all editors (*Zahn, Funk, Lightfoot, Hilgenfeld*): 'παρκαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν πράσσετε (πράσσειν, Hilg.) ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομάθειαν. ἐπεὶ ἡκουσά τινων λεγόντων ὅτι 'Εὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις (G ἀρχαίοις) εὐρῶ, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (εὐρῶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου g*, Hilg.), οὐ πιστεύω. καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὅτι Γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι ὅτι Π ρ ό κ ε ι τ α ι. ἐμοὶ

δὲ ἀρχεῖα (ἀρχαία g*, Hilg.) ἐστὶν 'Ιησοῦ κτλ. Here the words in spaced type ὅτι and πρόκειται represent editorial misreadings of great consequence. But before discussing them, I think that classical students may be interested to know that this passage constitutes one of the *loci classici* in early Christian doctrine, and that it has been the subject of keen controversy among leading Biblical critics of our times.

In the oldest Latin version L (apparently of the 13th century) the passage reads thus: 'Quia audiui quosdam dicentes quoniam "sinon in veteribus invenio in evangelio

non credo"; et dicente me ipsis quoniam "scriptum est," responderunt mihi quoniam "praeiacet." mihi autem principium est Jesus Christus' etc. Still more fanciful is Chevalier's translation (as quoted by Scrivener, Introduction, ii, 527): 'unless I find it [what?] in the ancient writings [ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις], I will not believe in the Gospel. And when I said to them 'It is written (in the Gospel), they answered, 'It is found written before' (in the law)." But we cannot ignore the weight of the authority of such critics as Zahn, Funk, Bishop Lightfoot, and Hilgenfeld (the latest editor) who reprint the passage though widely disagreeing, or rather altercating, as to its true meaning.¹

Now all their learned polemic loses its

¹ Both Lightfoot in his *Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1885) vol. ii, i, 270—3, then in his *The Apostolic Fathers* (1891) p. 126,—and Th. Zahn in his *Patres Apostolici*, ii, 78, then in his *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i. (Erlangen, 1888) p. 846, and vol. ii (1892) p. 945, agree in the reading of the passage: ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων ὅτι "Εὐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὑρῶ, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (Zahn εὐαγγελίῳ,) οὐ πιστεύω." καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὅτι "Γέγραπται," ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι ὅτι "Πρόκειται." ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχαῖά ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κτλ.,—but they disagree in its interpretation, Zahn translating: "Denn ich hörte gewisse Leute sagen: Wenn ich es [but what?] nicht in den Urkunden finde, nämlich im Evangelium, so glaube ich es nicht. And da ich ihnen sagte: Es [What?] steht geschrieben, antworteten sie: Das ist die Frage. Mir aber ist Urkunde Jesus Christus" u.s.w.—while Lightfoot still less correctly renders the passage thus: 'For I heard certain persons saying: "If I find it [what?] not in the charters, I believe it not in the Gospel." And when I said to them, "It is written" they answered, "That is the question." But as for me, my charter is Jesus Christ' etc.—Zahn, then, in order to refute Lightfoot, reverts to the subject and discusses it in a special chapter of four pages (*Geschichte des neut. Kanons* (ii, 945—8), defending his own interpretation as given above. Involved in this controversy, A. Hilgenfeld in his recent edition *Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrnacii epistulae et martyria* (Berlin, 1902), says in a very long comment (pp. 298—300) on the passage: 'Ignatius audiverat aliquos dicentes: 'Nisi in veteribus [reading ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, as indicated above] (in Veteris Testamenti libris) invenero, in evangelio non credo.' Ignatius dixit: 'Scriptum est' (vel. scripta sunt), sc. in ipso evangelio, cui iam divinae scripturae auctoritatem vindicavit. illi responderunt: 'Quaeritur,' sc. verene scriptum sit vel in divina scriptura doceatur (aliter Ign. II. οὐ γὰρ προκρίνεται τὸ ἀρχαῖα τῷ πνεύματι). Ignatius asseruit: 'Mihi vetera Iesus Christus,' etc. . . . interpretationem meam deridens Zahn, quem Lightfoot non secutus est, post ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ comma posuit, ut hic sensus efficeretur: Quoniam audiui quosdam dicentes: 'Nisi in monumentis litteris conscriptis [pro: in tabulariis] invenero, i.e. in evangelio libro, non credo,' etc.

raison d'être as soon as we remove the editorial misreading ὅτι 'Εὐὰν 'that if,' by restoring the author's words ὁ, τι ἐὰν *whatsoever*:² 'whatsoever I find not in the records (namely) in the Gospel, I believe not.'

The other editorial error underlies the word πρόκειται. As Greek students know πρόκειται does not bear the meaning foisted into it by Zahn: *das ist die Frage*, and adopted by Lightfoot who translates: *that is the question*. For taken impersonally πρόκειται, means not: 'that is the question' (= it is questioned, ἀμφισβητεῖται), *quaeritur*, but the *question is*, and moreover requires a complement: περὶ τούτου, or an infinitive, or at least a definite subject (τοῦτο πρόκειται μοι, 'I am concerned with this). In other terms πρόκειται means *it forms the subject under consideration*, just like the French *il s'agit* and the German *es handelt sich*.—As a matter of fact, πρόκειται here is a scribal or editorial misreading; it should be read πρὸ σκεῖται (= προστέθειται), seeing that in old MSS both *προ* and *προς* are represented by the same graphic contraction or ligature, namely by a Π with a tiny ρ planted upon it: Πρ, so that ῥίσκεται = πρόκειται or πρόσκειται. Accordingly the answer given to Ignatius by certain persons (τινὲς) was: 'that which you allege as being written (ὅτι γέγραπται) is spurious: πρόσκειται, it has been added, it is superadded.' Cp. Pl. Crat. 393 D οὐδ' εἰ πρόσκειται τι γράμμα οὐδ' εἰ ἀφήρηται. Victor Antioch. in Mark 16, 1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων πρὸ σκεῖται . . . ἀναστὰς δὲ κτλ., ἐροῦμεν ὡς δυνατόν ἦν εἰπεῖν ὅτι νεόθενται τὸ παρὰ Μάρκου τελευταῖον ἐν τισι φερόμενον. Cramer's Catena 102 (Eph. 1, 1) Ὁριγένης δὲ φησι: 'Επὶ μόνων Ἐφεσίων εὑρομεν κείμενον τὸ 'τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὐσιν.' καὶ ζητοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ παρέλκει προσκείμενον τὸ 'τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὐσιν', τί δύναται σημαίνειν.

There is no doubt then that the above passage of Ignatius alludes to such critical or protestant Christians as refused to believe anything not found in the genuine or canonical text of the Gospel. Accordingly the passage should read in English: 'For I heard certain persons saying, 'Whatever I find not in the Records, in the Gospel, I believe not. And when I said to them, 'It is written,' they answered, 'It is added.'

A. N. JANNARIS.

² It is well known that ὁς ἐὰν for ὅς ἐάν is very common in post-classical and Biblical texts.

ADNOTAMENTA IN PAPYROS MUSEI BRITANNICI GRAECAS MAXIMAM
PARTEM LEXICOGRAPHICA.

I.

Dum luculentam Kenyoni editionem¹ per-
curo investigandi causa quicquid ex nova
illa Graecae linguae memoria de verborum
formis ac notionibus possit erui, haud pauci
sese offerunt loci, quibus scripturae reliquias
aut rectius supplendas aut melius enarrandas
esse censeam. Quorum e numero qui ad
linguae potissimum usum spectant deinceps
singillatim recensebo alios alias tractaturus.
Stellula praefixa ea vocabula signari moneo,
quae lexicis sunt inserenda.

I 20²³ 391. οὐδὲν δ' ἑτερον (errore scriptum
pro οὐδένος δ' ἑτέρου) | περιγινόμενον ἡμῖν διὰ
τὴν τῶν | γραμματέων Γ παρα|στραγίας πλὴν
τοῦ καταφθεῖσθαι. Sic dilucide legitur.
Littera Γ sicut spatia docent (-ΤΕΩΝ Γ
ΠΑΡΑ-) numerum significat, vertendum
autem 'ob malas trium illorum scribarum
artes nil nobis reliqui est nisi perire'. Illud
*παραστραγία originem ducit a voce στραγός,
quae vulgo στραγγός scribitur; de sensu
vero cf. στραγότερος· ἀναιδέστερος Phot. et
στραγγός· σκολιός, στρεβλός, δύσκολος Suid.
Quod est in altero illius libelli apographo,
στρ[αγί]α (διὰ τῇ[ς] τῶν γρα[μμα]τέων
στρ[αγία]ς P. Paris. XXXIII 18), iam e
Polluce IX. 137 notum sensu tergiver-
sationis;² huius vocis vim in pagella
Londinensi accessione praepositionis παρά
auctam esse videmus, cf. e vocibus in
papyrorum memoria repertis παραγράφειν
τινά 'nimium vectigalis poscere ab aliquo',³
παραλογίζεσθαι 'decipere' (hoc verbum
saepissime recurrit), παρασυγγραφεῖν 'pacta
scripta migrare', παραχειρογραφεῖν eodem
sensu, al.

78⁴⁰³ πειθο δικαιοσυνη χλαμυδηφορε πτηνο-
πέδειλε Kenyon, qui in litteris πειθο voca-
tivum vocis πειθώ inesse statuit. At scriben-
dum *πειθοδικαίουσιν 'qui iustitiae es
suasor'. Versus enim est heroicus Mercurii
epitheta continens, quem aliae sequuntur
acclamationes. In altera papyro (105⁶⁷⁰)

¹ Greek papyri in the British Museum (I) 1893, (II) 1898.

² Illo Marci Antonini loco: ἀπαλλάσσει γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη πρόθεσις (scil. ἐπὶ τὴν σύντομον αἰετρεχέ) κόπων καὶ στρατείας καὶ πάσης οἰκονομίας καὶ κομφείας V 51 novissimus editor Ioannes Stich ne memoravit quidem conjecturam στραγέλας iam dudum prolatam, qua nullam vidi in Antonino certiore.

³ Cf. παραγράφμαι τῷ πράκτορι ὡς ὁφέλων] πρὸς τὰ ἀπελικά τοῦ λ (ἐτους) (δραχμῶς) (ἐνεμήκοντα) P. Petr. II. 42, 2. Queritur libelli auctor exactoris iniuriam.

corrupte scriptum ΠΕΥΘΟΔΙΚΕCYN χλα-
μυδηφόρε χρυσοπέδιλε.

90¹⁸² leg. πολλά βι[ν]εῖν δύνασθαι (β...ειν Ken.), et 184 στ[ύ]ειν ὅτε θέλεις (indicatur medicamentum στυκόν). Quod in fine est χρεῖέ σου τὸ πρ... quinam sit supplendum nescio. In papyri imagine πρόσφωπ(ον) potest legit, at desideratur potius πόσθιον. Lasciva praecepta in magicorum libris non miramur.

90¹⁹¹ ...το καταδεσμος αιωνιος K. Recte iam Wessely (Wien. Abh. 1893, 26) vocem *φιλτροκατάδεσμος conferri iusserat, ex aliis papyris magicis notam. Legitur revera φ[ιλ]τοκατάδεσμος, nam hamulus servatus est, quo hasta consonae φ in illa papyro ornatur. Amatoriam doceri artem epilogus declarat: χρ(εῖ) σου τὴν βάλανον.

91²¹² [αλ]ιφε απο τον προσστεον μεχρι των ποδων K., qui tamen de prima vocis προσστεον littera dubitat. Certissime legitur ΤΟΥ. ΕΡΟΟCΤΕΟΥ. Inter Υ et Ε videtur quidem esse Τ, sed negligentia scribae hoc factum esse apparet. Nam litteram iota initio vocabuli positam duobus lineolis signare solet, e.g. ΤΕΡΑ 100⁵¹⁷ (col. XIV), quae illo loco in unam coaluere. Voluit ergo librarius ΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΟCΤΕΟΥ. Vox *ιεροοστέον, cuius quarta littera melius exularet (at cf. e recentiorum temporibus ιπποϊατρός, ἀρχίατρός, τετραάρχης alia) idem significat atque ιερὸν ὁστέον (ὁστούν) 'os sacrum'. In iis, quae sequuntur πρ(ὸς) καθημε[ρ]ινὸν νυκτερινόν necessario legendum πρὸς καθ. καὶ νυκτερινόν. Indicatur enim remedium in utroque febrium genere (cf. etiam πρὸς ῥιγοπυρέτιον καθημερινόν 91²²⁸) efficax.

95³⁵³ ηγεμονας απειρων διοικητας κραταιοχθο-
νος χασμαθ' ὑπουργους K., leg. *χασμαθθυ-
πουργούς, 'tartari ministros'. Perperam librarius duas discerni voluit voces. Adde quod etiam κραταιόχθονος negligenter scripsit pro κραταίόχθονας.

96³⁷⁰ πρ(ος) πανθηριον και ενυδρον K., l. πᾶν θηρίον.

97⁴¹¹ λαβὼν κοκκοφάδιον τὴν καρδίαν. Voce *κοκκοφάδιον gallum significari suspicor, cf. verbum κοκκῶ de galli cantu adhibitum ('Υπερείδης δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐπ' ἀλεκτρύνων τὸ κοκκῶζειν ἐπὶν Poll. V 89, ἀλέκτωρ κοκκῶσδων Theoc. VII 124 al.), κοκκυβόας ὄρνις (i.e. gallus) Sophocl. fr. 723 N², 'coco coco', Petron. 59, 2.

98⁴³² ἀπλακαν ἐς μολιβήν ἀπο ψυχοφόρου τοπου ἐνχαράξον ὁ βουλεῖ Κ. Quidnam istud ἀπλακαν sibi vult? Recordemur alium huius libri locum: λα(βών) ῥάκος λινούν καθα[ρό]ν γρ(άφε) εἰς αὐτό κτλ. 96³⁵⁹, ubi λα(βών) compendio est scriptum hoc modo Λ. Archetypi scriptura cum in ΑΠΛΑΚΑΝ esset corrupta vocula ἐς a librario est addita, ne deesset, quo ἐνχάραξον spectaret. Restituendum autem meo quidem iudicio λαβών¹ πλάκαν μολιβήν ἀπὸ ψυχοφόρου τόπου κτλ., cf. etiam λαβ(ών) μόλιβ(ον) ἀπὸ ψυχοφόρου σωλήνος ποίησο(ν) λάμναν καὶ ἐπίγραφε χαλκ(ῶ) γραφ(είω) ὡς ὑπόκειται 97³⁹⁷.

98⁴⁵⁰ εἰάν δὲ καταρυκτικὸν ποι(ῆς) ἢ ποταμόν ἢ γῆν ἢ θάλασ(σαν) ἢ γονν ἢ θήκην ἢ εἰς φρέαρ γρ(άφε) τὸν λόγον. Et primum quidem ΗΓΟΥΝ in ΗΡΟΥΝ (ἢ ρούν) corrigendum esse nemo opinor non videt, multo vero difficilius de voce καταρυκτικὸν iudicium, pro qua Wessely καταρυκτικόν ediderat (ΚΑΤ//ΛΠΥΚΤΙΚΟΝ pap., sed inter Α et Τ duae lineolae apparent, quae quid sibi velint nescio). Vocem librarii incuria corruptam in *κατορυκτικόν corrigendum esse arbitror, cf. κατορύξεις δὲ ἐπὶ ᾧρον θήκη(ν) τὴν λεπίδα pap. mag. Parisina vs. 2215 (Wessely, Wien. Denkschr. 1888, 76). Incantamentum condendum esse dicit auctor sive flumine sive terra sive mari sive aquae ductu sive sepulcro sive puteo. Quae si recte sum commentatus, superest ut praepositio εἰς toti ordini praefigatur: εἰάν δὲ κατορυκτικὸν ποι(ῆς) ἢ <εἰς> ποταμόν ἢ γῆς κτλ., cf. ἢ εἰς φρέαρ.

100⁴⁸⁸ φορεῖ περὶ τὸν τραχήλον μετ' ἐπικαλσας εἰσελθε παρα σεαντω Κ. Rursus vitiosam intulit librarius distinctionem, qui scribere debuit *μετεπικαλσας 'simul precatus domum abi'.

100⁵¹⁷ τῇ ἱεράλμῃ Κ., sed rectius τῇ ἱερὰ λίμ(ν)ῃ Wessely, cf. Ἀχερουσία τε λίμνῃ Ἀΐδου Wien. Denkschr. 1888, 57.

103⁵⁹³ ἐγγ. λαβων υξον ἀμιλτωτον ποιησον ἐλλυχνιο[ν] . . . πλοιοῦ νεναναγηκοτος Κ., λαβων [λυχνιο]ν εἰ[. . .] υξον ἀμιλτωτον ποιησον ἐλλυχνι[α ζ απ]ο πλοιοῦ νεναναγηκοτος Wessely. Sunt enim septem candelae fila, quae deinceps singillatim memorantur. Eiusmodi filum etiam μύξα appellatum est, cf. e.g. τὴν μύξαν τοῦ λύχνον Hes. s. μύκητες. Unde novina δίμυξος et πολύμυξος formata, siquidem saepius in eadem candela plura extabant ellychnia, cf. etiam εἰκοσι μύξαις πλούσιον λύχνον Callim. epigr. 59. Cum illis

vocabulis coniungendum ἐπτάμυξος papyro Londinensi sine dubio servatum.² Tota vero periodus sic legitur: λαβών λ[ύχνο]ν ἐπ[τά]μυξον ἀμιλτωτον ποιήσον ἐλλυχνιοῖ[α π]οῖον νεναναγηκότος. Quominus enim ἐλλύχνια ζ legatur impedit papyrus, neque haerendum in voce ἐλλύχνιον sensu colectivo posita, quamquam postea scribitur: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ [α] ἐλλυχνίου γρ(άφε) ΖΡ/ΙΑΩ: ἐπὶ τοῦ β[ε] ΑΔΩΝΑΙ etc.

106⁶⁹⁴ πακίδαμει αβουλοδαμεια Κ., leg. πακιδάμεια βουλοδάμεια; πακιδάμεια idem est ac *παγιδάμεια 'quae rumpit retes' (invocatur enim Ursa stella caelestis). Tenuem interdum in mediam converti iam e LXX versionis codicibus notum, cf. πακίδες Ps. XVII 6 Sinait. man. prim. πακίδος XXIV 15 Sin. πακίδας LVI 7 et LXIII 6 Sin. man. prim. etc.

111⁸⁴⁴ σχεδὸν δὲ [σ]υ ποιεῖσθαι τὸ παν ἀγνος Κ., leg. σχεδὸν δὲ οὐ (sic iam Wessely) ποιεῖς ἢ τὸ πᾶν (τὸ πᾶν adv.) ἀγνός. Quae sequuntur hunc in modum sunt legenda: τὸ δὲ φυλακτήριον ὅπου τὸ πρ(ᾶγμα) ἔγ<γέ>-γραφας θές πρὸ<ς> κεφ(αλήν) σου.

112⁸⁸⁰ ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε δέσποινα (Iuna est) τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου καθηγούμενος (sic) θεᾷ μεγαλοδύναιε . . . (894) προσκαθηγούμενον τῆς νυκτός κτλ. Deleatur vox προσκαθηγούμενον, quae nihili est, scribaturque προκαθηγούμενη. Voculas πρὸ et πρὸς invicem permutat librarius in transcribendis archetypi compendiis parum diligens.

118⁷⁰ λίβανον ἄδμητον id est ἄτμητον.

120¹⁰⁴ leg. ἔχων πρὸ<ς> κεφαλῇ⁴ σου πλίνθον ὠμήν: ἔστιν δὲ ὦ (=ὀ) γράφεις κτλ. Paulo post ἔχων . . ἐν . . τῇ δεξιᾷ χερὶ ξίφος καμπῇ ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον κειμένης itidem corrupte traditur. Medelae viam imago appicta demonstrat, in qua virum cernimus dextra manu gladium tenentem, quod in collum est conversum, unde legendum ducō ξίφο<ν> <ν> <ν>⁵ ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον κειμένην.⁶

GUILELMUS CRÖNERT.

SCRIPTI BONNAE.

² λυχνία ἐπτάμυξος Eriphan. I 909^b al. (Thesaur. III 1941^b).

³ Scilicet id quod a numine petis, cf. εἰσάκουσον μου καὶ ποιῶν τὸ δ(ε)ῖ(να) πρᾶγμα pap. mag. Paris. Wien. Denkschr. 1888, 27, ἐλθὲ ἐπ' ἐμαῖς θυσίαις καὶ μοι τὸδε πρᾶγμα ποιῶν 93 al. Vocem πρᾶγμα in compendio illo inesse Kenyoni quoque est sententia (cf. pg. 254).

⁴ cf. θε[ς] πρὸς κεφαλῇ¹⁰⁵ 605.

⁵ Forsan quispiam vocem καμπῇ 'curvam gladii aciem' significare suspiciet. Sed haec notio cum omnino sit nova neque similitudinem vocum (καμπτήρ καμπύλος al.) exemplis firmata, librarii vitium quam mirum auctoris usum sumere praestat.

⁶ An potius legendum κειμένον?

¹ Sic iam Wessely olim correxerat (Wien. Denkschr. 1893, 35).

TWO LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

I.

IN the well-known Locrian inscription (I.G.A. 321 = Roberts, *Introduc. to Grk. Epig.* i. No. 231, lines 38 ff.) the following words occur: ὅσστις κα τὰ ΦεΓαδικότα διαφθείρη τέχνα καὶ μαχανὰ καὶ μιᾷ, ὅτι κα μὴ ἀνφοτέροις δοκέη, Ὀποντίων τε χιλίων πλήθη καὶ Ναΰπακτίων τῶν ἐπιφοίῳων πλήθη, ἄτιμον εἶμειν καὶ χρήματα παματοφαγεῖσται. The meaning is of course clear enough: if any one seeks to circumvent the provisions of the document, such an one shall be ἄτιμος, and his property shall be confiscated, for παματοφαγεῖσται can mean nothing else than δημοσιεύεσθαι. Van Herwerden in his new *Lexicon Graec. supplementorium et dialecticum* says of the word 'Mirus usus; originem enim vocabuli spectans crederes significare κατεσθίειν τὰ πατρώα. Sed enim contextus illud valere non sinit dubitari. Patria igitur dicitur damnatorum possessiones devorare.' But how does παματοφαγεῖσται come to get this notion of confiscation? πάμα = κτήμα is plain, but the attempt has been made to associate √φαγ in the φαγεῖσται with the more general notion of the Sanscrit *bhaḡ*, that is to get into the word the idea of distribution, and meanings allied to this notion. In Vaniček's *Lexicon*, for example, we find under BHAG, Skr. *bhaḡ* (1) austheilen, zutheilen, (2) verleihen, bringen, (3) begeben, ausrüsten, (4) erhalten, theilhaftig werden, sich betheiligen; zu geniessen haben. The definition of the Petersburg *Lexicon* is essentially the same. See also Prellwitz, *Etymol. Wbch. d. gr. Spr.*, p. 337. It is in connection with these definitions that the late Professor F. D. Allen (*Curtius' Studien* iii., 1870, p. 276) sought to interpret the meaning of the second part of the compound in παματοφαγεῖσται, and according to this explanation the notion of eating in √φαγ does not enter into the word. A few years ago I chanced to talk with Professor Allen on this subject, and I afterwards had from him a letter in which he made some very characteristic remarks on the compound. He intended to print a note on the word. Professor Allen wrote as follows: 'As to παματοφαγεῖσται, I think I know what that is now, though what I wrote about it twenty-five years ago is rot. At a time when πάματα and κτήματα consisted of flocks and herds, confiscation of property consisted in seizing on and eating up, in a general

public feast, the victim's sheep and oxen. This is παματοφαγεῖν (= κτήματο-φαγεῖν). Doubtless the δωροφάγοι βασιλῆες in Hesiod are similar; the bribes were fat lambs and the like, and the wicked kings roasted and ate them. Doesn't this seem probable?'

It may be noted that L. Meyer, *Hdbch. d. griech. Etymol.* iii., p. 366, has doubted the correctness of the common explanation of √φαγ; 'Die gewöhnliche Zusammenstellung mit altind. *bhaḡ*, erlangen, erreichen' und causal 'theilhaft werden lassen, austheilen, zutheilen' wird zu wenig der Bedeutung von φαγ- gerecht, um richtig sein zu können.

About the time that I received this letter from Professor Allen the same idea of the word was suggested to me by line 429 of Odyssey 16. Penelope is upbraiding Antinous for his faithlessness and ingratitude to Odysseus, seeing that his father had as a fugitive won the protection of Odysseus when the Thesprotians sought to kill him and to appropriate his ample substance:

ἦ δὲ κατὰ ζῶν φαγεῖν μενοεικέα πολλήν.

Here in ζῶν καταφαγεῖν we seem to get near to the origin of παματοφαγεῖσται. The context points distinctly to the thought of the confiscation of an individual's property by the public, and not simply to a metaphorical use of 'eat up,' common enough, I suppose, in all languages and found certainly in both Ancient and Modern Greek.

II.

Inscription No. 8 of the Thera Appendix to the last edition of Roehl's *Imagines* is as follows:

Α Ζ Μ Α Δ Δ Σ Δ Χ Ο Λ

Λοκ(h)αία Δαμία.

IN *I.G.I.M.A.* the inscription is No. 361, where there is the following comment: 'Enucleavit P. Wolters. Photii glossam λοχαῖος σῖτος] ὁ βαθύς· ἢ ὁ δι' ἐπομβρίαν κεκλημένος (where it is possible, I believe probable, we ought to read κεκλημένος) attulit Wilamowitz. Est igitur eadem quae Aiginae cum Damia colebatur Auxesia.' The Hesychian gloss s.v. λοχαῖος· κλ[ε]νόμενος εὔσιτος· ἀπὸ τοῦ.....εὐτροφείν may also be cited as making a similar suggestion. λοχαῖος, then, apparently re-

ferred to the thick rich growth of corn, whether etymologically it suggests corn which could not stand upright (cf. *κεκλιμένος*, 'lodged' grain, as one hears in New England) and we connect it with the root *legh-lie*, including the Greek derivatives *λεχ*, *λοχ*, or not.

It thus seems likely that the inscription designated a statue of or an offering to two goddesses of fertility called Damia and Lochaia and that these suggest the Aeginetan cult of Damia and Auxesia described by Herodotus and recently confirmed by an inscription which turned up in Thiersch's excavations (see *C.R.*, xv. pp. 474 and 477).

Now in L. Meyer's *Grammatik*, p. 935, under the root *lagh* the word *λάχεια* is cited with the remark, 'dunkles Beiwort einer Insel (Odys. 9, 116) und des Meeresufers (Odys. 10, 509) statt dessen Bekker und Nauck aber *ἐλαχεία* "klein" lesen.' See also L. Meyer's *Hdbch d. griech. Etymol.* iv. p. 564.

The first passage referred to (9, 116) describes the island which lay just off the land of the Cyclopes, where Odysseus and his companions disembark to engage in the chase. *Νῆσος ἔπειτα λάχεια παρέκ λιμένος τετάνυσται* are the words. The second passage (10, 509) is in Circe's description of the shore upon which Odysseus must land when he makes his descent into Hades.

ἐνθ' ἄκτῃ τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσέα Περσεφονείης.

It should be said that in Hom. Hym. in Apol., 197, the word *λάχεια* appears in some MSS., but there is little doubt that *ἐλαχεία* should be read in this place.

In these passages from the Odyssey, as has already been said, some editors read *ἐλαχεία*. This was the reading of Zenodotus.

Aristarchus probably gave *λάχεια*, and this has been retained by most editors. The scholiasts interpret the word by *εὖγεως*, *εὖσκαφος*, and seek to connect it with *λαχαίνω*. Whatever their idea of the etymology may have been, it is clear that they thought it referred to the fertility of the soil. Many modern editors, however, have not shared this view. For example, Nitzsch tried to connect the word with *λάχνη*, *λάχανον*, understanding it to mean 'overgrown' and 'rough' (see Lobeck, *Path. Proleg.* p. 177, note, who accepts this view); Döderlein on the other hand associated it with *λεχ*, and interpreted 'low-lying.' See also Prellwitz *Etymol. Wbch.* p. 177, where 'flach' is used to explain the *λάχεια νῆσος*. In Hesychius we get again the scholiasts' interpretation: *λάχεια* εὖσκαφος, εὖγειος· παρὰ τὸ λαχαίνεσθαι, ὃ ἐστὶ σκάπτεσθαι πυκνῶς.

Now this notion of fertility is distinctly the meaning the context calls for in the first passage of the Odyssey. The second passage is too brief a description of the locality referred to to make it of much help, but here too *λάχεια* may well mean 'with rich soil,' since the trees in the grove of Persephone are abundant. But of the island off the country of the Cyclopes it is said at line 134,

ἐν δ' ἄροσις λείη· μάλα κεν βαθὺ λήϊον αἰεί,
εἰς ὥρας ἄμῳεν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πῖαρ ὑπ' οὐδας.

The poet thus certainly thought of the island as being of wonderful fertility for the raising of crops, had there been any inhabitants to till it.

May we not then connect *λάχεια* with the divinity *Λοκ(η)αία* or *Αὐξήσια*? It is for the etymologists to say.

J. R. WHEELER.

THE GORTYNIAN INFINITIVE IN -μην.

THE infinitive ending -μην, which appears in inscriptions of Gortyn¹ in Crete, has been explained in two ways. Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ 228, would derive -μην from an Idg. locative -mēn. On the other hand G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*³ 665, is inclined to regard -μην as an analogical transformation of -μεν. That the latter view is the correct one, is shewn by the distribution of the forms in the inscriptions of Gortyn.

¹ -μην is a purely Gortynian ending. In *ἡμην*, Cauer² 121, η seems to denote εἰ.

In the collection of old Cretan inscriptions published by Comparetti, *Monumenti Antichi* vol. iii., the oldest inscriptions of Gortyn shew the ending -μεν:—*διαπορθήμεν* 12-13, *ἡμεν* 18, 19, *ἀποδόμεν* 18. Later inscriptions have -μην:—*ἡμην* 152, 153, 154, 171, *κατισσταμην* 152, *θεμην* 152, *δομην* 152, *καταδομην* 175. Such a distribution is obviously incompatible with the derivation of -μην from an Idg. -mēn.

The distribution of the endings -μεν and -μην has a curious parallel in the distribution

of the endings *-εν* and *-ην* from verbs in *-εω*. Doric dialects, in which verbs of the type φέρω have the infinitive in *-εν*, have likewise infinitives in *-εν* from verbs of the type φιλέω; contraction had taken place before the¹ analogical development of *-εν*. Examples are Delph. ἐνοικεν, ἀπογραψεν, Arg. πωλεν, Ther. διοικεν, τελεν, λειτούργεν. The early inscriptions of Gortyn have *-εν*:—μῶλεν 2, ἐνφοικεν 18, like ἔκεν, λειπεν. In the later inscriptions verbs in *-ω* have still *-εν*, but verbs in *-εω* have now *-ην*:—καλην, μωλην 152. As Professor Thurneysen has pointed out to me, this is doubtless a secondary distinction analogical to the distinction between verbs in *-ω* and verbs in *-εω* in other parts, e.g.

¹ As to *-εν*, Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ 361, suggests that δόμεν by δόμην may have led to ἔχεν by ἔχην. But as *-μην* has turned out to be simply a late Gortynian form, that explanation is impossible. The Rhodian ending *-μεν* is a contamination of *-μεν* with *-εν*. Is *-εν* a similar contamination of *-ην* with *-μεν*? Such an explanation would be possible in the Doric dialects. The difficulty lies in Arcadian, which has *-εν* but not *-μεν*. But our knowledge of the Arcadian verbal system is very imperfect; it is possible that *-εν* originated here otherwise than in the Doric dialects.

φέρετε and καλήτε. We may compare Delph. καταγορεῖν, ἀδικησεῖν, ἐπιτρεψεῖν, οἴσειν.

The parallelism between *-μεν -εν* and *-μην -ην* in the earlier and later inscriptions of Gortyn can hardly be accidental. The only reasonable explanation is that one of the two forms has been influenced by the other. Now *-ην*, as we have seen, admits of a very simple explanation. Hence the inference can scarcely be avoided that *-μεν* became *-μην* under the influence of *-ην*. Why the verbs in *-εω* should have exerted this influence is not very apparent. In the Cretan forms which I have before me the only coincidence is in the subjunctive, e.g. θῆ and καλῆ. Perhaps further discoveries in Crete will make this clear too.

Many of the infinitival forms quoted above have been left unaccented, because the true accentuation is to a great extent very uncertain. However, there can hardly be any doubt that μωλην, καλην should be accented μωλῆν, καλῆν. This suggests that ἡμην, δομην, θεμην, ἱσταμην should be written ἡμῆν, δομῆν, θεμῆν ἱσταμῆν.

J. STRACHAN.

EPILOGOMENA ON LUCRETIUS.

When the observations, with which the writers in the *Jahresberichte über die Fortschritte der Class. Altertumswissenschaft* garnish their reports, proceed from a critic of Professor A. Brieger's candour and competence, they command a consideration which might not otherwise be theirs. So when the Lucretian scholar complains (*op. cit.* 109, p. 156) that he does 'not understand' what I mean by certain emendations propounded in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, and subsequently mentioned in the *Classical Review* (vol. xiv. p. 353), I am impelled to take an early opportunity of enlightening him.

I will deal with the longest passage first, which, to avoid prejudice to the argument, must be set out in its context:

V. 380 sqq.

Denique tantopere inter se cum maxima
mundi 380
pugnent membra, pio nequaquam con-
cita bello,
nonne uides aliquam longi certaminis
ollis
posse dari finem, uel cum sol et uapor
omnis

omnibus epotis umoribus exsuperarint?
quod facere intendunt, neque adhuc
conata patrantur: 385
tantum suppeditant amnes ultraque
minantur
omnia diluuiare ex alto gurgite ponti,
nequiquam, quoniam uerrentes aequora
uenti
deminuunt radiisque retexens aetherius
sol,
et siccare prius confidunt omnia posse 390
quam liquor incepti possit contingere
finem.
tantum spirantes aequo certamine
bellum
magnis inter se de rebus cernere
certant,
cum semel interea fuerit superantior
ignis,
et semel, ut famast, umor regnarit in
aruis.

To bring out the requirements of the passage and the difficulties of the vulgate rendering I print Munro's translation with certain portions italicised:

'Again since the chiefest members of the world fight so hotly together, fiercely stirred by no hallowed

civil warfare, see you not that some limit may be set to their long struggle? either when the sun and all heat have drunk up all the waters and gotten the mastery: this they are ever striving to do, but as yet are unable to accomplish their endeavours: such abundant supplies the rivers furnish, and threaten to turn aggressors and flood all things with a deluge from the deep gulfs of the ocean; all in vain, since the winds sweeping over the seas and the ethereal sun decomposing them with his rays do lessen them, and trust to be able to dry all things up before water can attain the end of its endeavour. Such a war do they breathe out with undecided issue, and strive with each other to determine it for mighty ends; though once by the way fire got the upper hand and once, as the story goes, water reigned paramount in the fields.'

That the thought requires the sense of Goebel's *patrarent* in 385 'as yet they have not accomplished their endeavour' and of the Italian MSS.'s *ultra* in 386, any one can see. Whether the words of the tradition will furnish it, I need not stop to consider here.

To pass to what is more vital. Munro's 'the sun and all heat' is dark to me and I get no light from subsequent editors. 'sol et uapor' appear to be two causes of evaporation—the sun's rays and diffused heat—distinguished here as the *aetheris aestus* and the *radii solis* are in 483 sq. To whom are they opposed in the unhallowed warfare? To *umor* or *umores* to be understood from *umoribus* is, I suppose, to be the reply. In itself this is conceivable. But it does not seem to be in Lucretius' thought which here takes a different turn. Here the adversaries of the *sol* and *uapor* are the *rivers*, mentioned also in 415 'constiterunt imbres et flumina uim minuerunt' which far from yielding in the strife, continually pour water into the sea to replace the *umores epoti* and threaten in their turn a universal deluge. An *a* for an *o* will restore them to their place; *amnis*, the object of 'exsuperarint.' I have never claimed this correction as my own though Prof. Brieger apparently ascribes it to me. All my part in it is recognising the acc. plur. in *-is*. Some unknown has pencilled 'amnes?' in the margin of my Munro. Who was its author I have not the least idea.

For 387 again Munro's version shows us the sense demanded and its absence from the vulgate. *ex* is in fact senseless; an ablative of the instrument is required 'with the ocean waters.' *alto* too may be impugned: the 'ponti gurgis' is always deep. My *exalto* meets both objections. The flood comes when the sea is over-deep. This word is said by Georges (Lex.) to occur in Apuleius (Met. 6. 14), where it is only a

plausible conjecture of Hildebrandt's, the MSS. having 'exarto' and the last editor, van der Vliet, emending 'extrito.' It is to this place I presume Prof. Brieger refers when he calls the word 'nachklassisch.' I lay no stress upon the Apuleius place, and 'nachklassisch' begs the question. There are plenty of classical adjectives compounded with *ex*. *praealtus* (which Lucretius does not use) and *exaltus* are just as good a pair as *praeceus* and *excelsus*. And I claim for *exalto* that it has quite as much support in the tradition as *ex alto*. For we need pay no attention to the ignoramuses who divided the words in the archetype of the Leyden MSS. and produced within a hundred lines of the present passage such results as *omnigenus* (428, 440), *alte uolans* (433) and *salsos offudit* (482).

VI. 80 sqq.

quam quidem ut a nobis ratio uerissima longe
reiciat quamquam sunt a me longa profecta
multa tamen restant et sunt ornanda politis
uersibus est ratio *caelique tenenda
sunt tempestates et fulmina clara canenda, 85
quid faciant et qua de causa cumque ferantur
ne trepides caeli diuisis partibus amens
unde uolans ignis peruenerit aut in utram se
uerterit hinc partem.

For *qui faciant* (86) which I have proposed I referred to Munro on IV 1112 (not 1113 as it is printed in the *Reporter*) and Aetna 208; but I should have said that I took *faciant* in the sense of 'act' 'do something' 'produce an effect,' which is not quite the same as Munro's 'hoc facere.' As my nearest parallel, the Aetna passage, is doubtful, I will throw over *qui faciant* to Prof. Brieger, provided I am not expected to accept *qui fiant*, Bockemueller's improbable conjecture. Let us then keep *faciant* and read *quae* (neuter nom.) The sense is the same as with *qui fiant*, Lucretius mentions more than one cause of storms, &c. in the sequel, and the postponement of the first word of the subordinate clause, Lucretian as this is (e.g. v. 37, 77, 183), was enough to mislead a copyist.

On the same passage Prof. Brieger criticises my *notanda* for *tenenda* (*C.R. l.c.*), for slight reasons as I think. I will however suggest an alteration in the hope that he will reconsider his preference for *docenda* which again is destitute of palaeographical proba-

bility. Suppose we interchange the two similar verse-endings *tenenda* and *canenda*, and putting a longer pause at the end of 83 take the *tenenda*, now in v. 84, in closer connexion with *ne trepides*. The reason, Lucretius will then say, why you must grasp the things that make storms and lightnings and the various causes that set them in motion, is that you may no longer lose your wits with fear when they do occur. This seems fairly coherent.

To V. 1009 *sq.* (see *C.R. l.c.*) I should not again refer but for Prof. Brieger's serious misconception of the force of my proposal. I had argued that the lines should be thus written

illi imprudentes ipsi sibi saepe uenenum
uergebant, medicis nunc dant sollertius
ipsis

nunc dant being the accepted correction for the *nudant* of OQ, *ipsis* that of Bergk and others for *ipsi* and *medicis* my own supplement. On this Prof. Brieger comments 'als ob die Aerzte in jener Zeit für eine Giftmischerzunft gegolten hätten!' *suum! sibi habeat*. The printed Latin means 'In early days men often poured draughts of poison down their own throats but nowadays they administer it more expertly than physicians themselves.' Where in all this is there anything about a 'poisoners' guild'? The words do not even necessarily mean that physicians did poison in Lucretius' time: 'do administer' and 'can administer' are both legitimate expansions of the thought. The point is not here at all. It is that the increase of knowledge has done harm and that a non-professional can poison as expertly as one whose business it is to be acquainted with the properties of drugs. That *dant* has here a technical reference,

Palmer (who mistakenly conjectured *medici —usi*) saw; and Duff following Palmer points out the same in his note. It forms a suitable contrast to that rather strange word *uergebant* which implies a certain recklessness of action, as when the contents of a patera are upset on a victim or a tomb: compare Servius *ad Aen.* 6. 244, Heinsius on Ovid *ex Pont.* 1. 9. 52. *sollertius* is also most suitable as *sollers* (*sollus* and *ars* 'all skill') is frequently applied to those who are masters in any craft or profession.

The words may very well after all carry a sidelong imputation. The faculty which wields the pharmacopoeia has in all ages been liable to the suspicion of abusing its powers. To prove this for Roman times one quotation from the celebrated invective of Pliny is enough: *N.H.* 29. 20 'non deseram Catonem tam ambitiosae artis inuidiae a me obiectum aut senatum illum qui ita censebat idque non criminibus artis adreptis ut aliquis expectauerit, quid enim *uenenorum fertilis* aut unde plures testamentorum insidiae?' May be the expression was suggested to the poet by some scandal of the day—some ancient Palmer or Lamson case. At all events it is quite in that saturnine vein of his to which I have recently adverted in this *Review* (*C.R.* xvi. 113b, 114b). To those who would accept my supplement if they could attribute the omission of the word to haplography, I would point out that, as *e* and *i* are confused perpetually in the MSS. of Lucretius, *med* and *nud* are convertible groups of letters, and thus in '*medicis nudant*' a scribe might easily write '*nudant*' when he should have been writing '*medicis*.' But, as I have said before, words are omitted in our tradition without any such contributory cause.

J. P. POSTGATE.

A NOTE ON SALLUST'S *JUGURTHA*.

In ch. 3 of the *Jugurtha* Sallust says he thinks the pursuit of a political career at the present time undesirable:

quoniam neque uirtuti honos datur neque illi, quibus per fraudem fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. *nam ui quidem regere patriam aut parentis, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen inopportunitatem est... frustra autem niti neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere extremae dementiae est.*

nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciose libido tenet potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

Jacobs explained the first seven lines of this passage as follows: '*nam ui quidem* &c. explains the preceding thought. In carrying out the duties of office one has only two courses between which to choose: either one must use force or one can do nothing. The former course, at the best is

dangerous and objectionable; the latter could only suit a fool.'

This explanation appears to me undoubtedly correct. But in the later editions (at all events in the last, 1894, revised by Wirz), a different one is given, which is in the main the same as that given by Fabri and, I think, almost certainly wrong.

Fabri says '*uis* is opposed to *virtus* and *fraus*, and denotes a third way of obtaining influence in public life. For the elliptic *nam* cp. Cat. 58. 20.' So far, Fabri and Jacobs-Wirz agree exactly: the latter adds Cat. 13. 1 as a parallel for the use of *nam*. They vary however as regards the explanation of the words *frustra...dementiae est*. Fabri says they mean 'when one can do nothing [even] with the aid of force,' Jacobs-Wirz take them to refer to the case of a man who, after usurpation (*uis*), makes no attempt to use his power. But both agree in making the clause the alternative to the clause *quamquam...corrigas*.

That Sallust uses the elliptic *nam* is undeniable. As certain exx. I would take the two cited above from the Catiline, and Jug. 19. 2. In all these cases *nam* has no direct reference to the preceding clause, and the words 'I say nothing of.....' have to be supplied before we can translate it by the English 'for.'

The conjunction of *nam* and *quidem* is also not uncommon in the Jugurtha—it does not seem to appear in the Catiline. In none of the cases, I think, is the *nam* elliptic. I will take them in order.

24. 9 quid est reliquum, nisi uis uestra, quo moueri possit? nam ego quidem uellem... haec una forent potius quam miseria mea fidem uerbis faceret. sed quoniam eo natus sum ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non iam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor.

The first clause is a rhetorical question, equivalent to 'no one is left but you,' and the *nam* clause explains why this is so: 'for I can do nothing.' The editions of Jacobs (including Jacobs-Wirz) give practically the same explanation.

31. 2 multa me dehortantur a uobis, Quirites... : opes factionis, uestra patientia, ius nullum, ac maxime quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. nam illa quidem piget dicere his annis xv quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint uostri defensores...sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obuam ire animus subigit.

The *nam* clause simply explains the

words that precede, especially those that follow *ac maxime*. It is certainly not elliptic here, and none of the three editions suggests that it is.

31. 20 (the times when the oligarchy had everything) uos autem...satis habebatis animam retinere. nam seruitutem quidem quis uestrum recusare audebat?

Here Fabri says *nam* is elliptic, and adds 'so below, § 23.' Jacobs-Wirz agrees, referring to the note on 3. 2. But there is no ellipse at all: *nam* simply introduces the justification for the strong words *satis*—*retinere*.

31. 23 uobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intelletis aut seruiundum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam. nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est?

I do not deny that *nam* may be elliptic here (as Fabri and J-W say), and that the words 'these are the only courses open to you' may be supplied before it. But it is certainly open to us to take the *nam* clause as explaining why they will suffer *aeterna sollicitudo* or why they will understand they have got to choose between two courses.

85. 27 (I know my adversaries can beat me at speechmaking, but the office I hold is a gift from you, they keep abusing not only me, but also you, and so I did not see fit to hold my tongue lest people should think I admitted my unworthiness). nam me quidem nulla oratio laedere potest...; sed, quoniam uestra consilia accusantur..., etiam atque etiam reputate.

Here *nam* explains the theme of the previous clause: 'this abuse affects you, not me.' No ed. explains it, either as elliptic or otherwise.

Thus in all five cases *nam* followed by *quidem* can (in four of them *must*) be taken in its usual sense: it introduces a clause justifying a definite and emphatic statement just made. So far, then, as usage goes, we are more likely to be right in taking it so in chap. 3. The definite and emphatic statement here is that those who get office are not *tuti aut eo magis honesti*.

And, usage apart, this seems to suit the context better. The aforesaid statement needs explanation. Cæsar might serve as an example of those who, getting office, used *uis* and yet he was not *tutus*. And his colleague Bibulus, avoiding *uis*, might be said *frustra niti neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere*, and so to incur the charge of *extrema dementia*. This last corresponds to the (*non*) *eo magis honesti* above. For the confusion of the idea of *folly* and

dishonour ep. Sallust himself, Jug. 107. 1 *nec quemquam decere...in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis uortere*, a direct translation from Xenophon, who however writes *μῶρον...τὸ...τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σόματος...ἐναντία τάπτειν κ.τ.λ.*

That *S. is*, in this sentence *nam—dementiae est*, bearing in mind the words *tuti aut... honesti* is, I think, made certain by the words which follow—*nisi forte* etc. Here he *does* suggest a third course open to the office-holder, only to stigmatise it as open to each of the objections against the other two: *inhonesta et perniciosa lubido*.

With the other explanation of *nam*, the clause *frustra—est* is awkward. As shown above, the advocates of that explanation

differ in their interpretation of these words. My difficulty with regard to both explanations is this. If we grant that *S. did* mean to reckon *uis* as a *third* method of getting office, did he not sufficiently stamp it as undesirable (and that is his point here) by saying that, even at its best, it was *importunum*? Why further refine, and carefully subdivide according to the use made of his office by the office-holder? Jacobs-Wirz's view of the clause seems to me in addition to attach an unlikely meaning to *frustra niti* (which must mean then 'take much trouble and yet, when one gets the desired object, not use it).

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

VIRGIL'S AENEAS.

What! did the hand then of the Potter shake?—OMAR.

CHARLES JAMES FOX, writing to his friend Trotter, speaks of the Aeneid thus:— 'Though the detached parts of the Aeneid appear to me to be equal to anything, the story and characters appear more faulty every time I read it. My chief objection (I mean that to the character of Aeneas) is of course not so much felt in the three first books; but afterwards he is always either insipid or odious; sometimes excites interest against him, and never for him.' The student of Virgil may turn to Dr. Henry's powerful vindication of the phrase *Sum pius Aeneas* (i, 381), to which Fox takes especial exception, and if Dr. Henry does not satisfy him, he can read Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and from Marlowe's Aeneas, with his bows and compliments to the queen, let him go back to Virgil's hero and consider whether after all he is not at once more natural, more manly, and more attractive!

But Fox's criticism is one to which it is probable that a large number of Virgil's readers will subscribe, and we are forced to ask ourselves whether it is just; whether it is possible that Virgil's highest conception of manhood is after all so worthless? Or even, if we suppose Fox to use the words 'insipid' and 'odious' with something of the exaggeration of Jane Austen's beaux, must we confess that Aeneas is still funda-

mentally a failure? By lightly accepting such a judgment we should probably lose something which the poet felt intensely to be vital to himself and to everybody. Virgil has a right to require of us some effort to discover this.

Probably no one has ever read Homer and Virgil without remarking the broad gulf between their two heroes. Everyone recognises at once the intense and true humanity of Achilles. There is no doubt that he is a real man, but about Aeneas we are not so sure. Achilles is 'the natural man,' and, as is usual with the creations of a great poet, we like our kind better because Homer has shewn us Achilles, we are reconciled to life and death and have something of Ben Ezra's feeling—'Thanks that I was a man.' Aeneas is not the natural man. He represents a stage at once beyond and behind that of Achilles. He has seen a great deal more of life, he has felt the lifting of a great purpose, he is part of a larger world, but he does not 'see the whole design.' Hence there is a want of poetic satisfaction about him. Aeneas—that is, the ideal Aeneas of Virgil, uncomplicated by outside considerations, is at once an older man than Achilles and the child of a later age of mankind. In the interval between the fall of Troy and his arrival in Italy he has seen many more cities than Odysseus saw and learnt the minds of many more men, and these many minds have confused him. He is a dreamer, and thinks of many things where Achilles looked straight before

¹ Henry, *Aeneidea* i. 647 ff.

him. He is a pilgrim, a man with a quest, a conscious agent of Heaven, and about such men there is something remote from common humanity.

Again, though Aeneas can explain to others where he is going and why he is going, he does not seem able to explain it to himself. He knows, more or less clearly, that he is to seek Italy, but in spite of his abundance of revelations he is outside the counsel of the gods. He needs from time to time the hand of heaven to push him forward. His quest is not a spiritual necessity to him. Crete, Epirus, Sicily, or even Carthage would have satisfied himself. That he was not to rest till he reached Italy was no part of his conviction. The Pilgrim Fathers knew why the *Mayflower* crossed the Atlantic, and they knew what they meant to find at or near Plymouth Rock,—or some other rock; the place was immaterial, but the impulse which drove them westward, they felt, no doubt, to come from heaven, and they understood it. They might not see all that would follow, but they had that priceless gift which their descendants have never lost for long—a conviction of a future, which would be the necessary spiritual outcome of their principles. This Aeneas had not consciously, and though Virgil plainly means that the Roman Empire is the outcome of character of the type of his hero's, this want of clearness and conviction tends to mar a fine conception.

To sum up, Achilles satisfies us, because at every point we feel that he is a man; he thinks, he feels, he suffers as a man; and his experience, deep and intense as it is, is the common lot of humanity, felt and interpreted by a poet. Aeneas does not satisfy us, for his experience, though not improbable, indeed though highly probable and often enough actually true, is not enough universalized; it is not brought 'into every man's business and bosom'; it lies outside us; the ways of God are here justified to our historical faculty perhaps, but not to our hearts; we do not go with Aeneas; but with the poet we watch him from the throne of Destiny, overawed but hardly convinced.

The character of Aeneas then is a failure, for want of completeness and conviction, but a failure which threw into the shade every poetic success between Sophocles and Dante; a failure, which opened for poetry for all time a door into a new world, which brought under poetry's survey great conceptions, unthought and almost unfelt before—of man the agent of heaven, attempting and achiev-

ing acts small in themselves but of incredible consequence for mankind; of a divine purpose and providence, in the least as in the largest things, working through individual suffering the general good; and of something like a mutual intelligibility of man and God, a community of purpose, perhaps even a spiritual unity. These things are not indeed worked out adequately in the *Aeneid*, but they are suggested, even implied. The poet has caught sight of them and is quickened by the sight, but at times it comes over him that he may be deceived. Hence there is a wavering and an uncertainty about the whole poem, a feeling of pain and suspense—*aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila*.

Aeneas then is not at all a hero of the type of Achilles, and if we come to the *Aeneid* with preconceived opinions of what the hero of an epic should be, we run the risk of disappointment and also of losing Virgil's interpretation of human life. Virgil obviously did not intend to make a copy of Homer's Achilles or of any of Homer's heroes. That was a feat to be left to Quintus of Smyrna. If, as it is, there is an air of anachronism about Virgil's Aeneas, there would have been a far profounder anachronism about him if in Augustus' age he had been a real Homeric hero. The world had moved far and fast since Homer's day. It had exhausted the spiritual impulses which moved it in Homer's day, as we can see in Plato's repudiation of Homer. A new outlook and new principles were needed in view of new conditions of life and the new thoughts which they waked. In its turn the new impulse, with which we connect the literature of Athens, and such names as Euripides, Plato, and Aristotle, was itself spent, though not before it had made an imperishable contribution to the growth of mankind. The world was awaiting another fresh impulse, and, till this should come, it was occupied in analysing, co-ordinating, and developing its existing stock of ideas, not without some dim consciousness that they were already inadequate. It was at this moment that Virgil wrote, and being a poet, and not an antiquarian, he sought to bring his Aeneas into connection with his own age, while still, if possible, keeping him a Homeric hero. It was hardly to be done. If Aeneas as the ideal hero was to be 'heir of all the ages,' it would be difficult to keep the simplicity of Homer's outlook and philosophy. Aeneas could not stand in Achilles' relation to men. He must have new virtues which had been

discovered since Homer's day, if he was to be a hero near the hearts of Virgil's contemporaries—the new private virtues, which Menander and Cleanthes and many more were finding out, and the new political virtues which Alexander and the Ptolemies, Julius and Augustus, were revealing to the world. Aeneas again could not stand in Achilles' relation to heaven. The gods no longer came among men in bodily form, they were far away; and yet perhaps they were not so very far away after all—*deum namque ire per omnes*. (*Georgics*, iv, 221)

Here then is the reason that Aeneas' appeal to us is not so successful as Achilles'. The fusion of the Homeric and the modern types is not complete. Virgil's Aeneas is two heroes in one, perhaps more, for beside the Homeric hero and the modern hero, one feels sometimes that we have another creature, which is not a hero at all, but an idea, an allegory of a virtue, and a political virtue at that, partially incarnated.

To understand the character and the poem of which it is the centre, it will be necessary to analyse more closely the various elements in Aeneas.

I. First of all, there is Aeneas conceived as a Homeric hero. Aeneas has of course the heroic manner, in measure, but not quite the manner of Homeric heroes, a more magnificent, a more courtly manner. He has the wealth of the Homeric hero and his habit of giving splendid presents and receiving them. At times Virgil would have us think he feels the same wild delight in battle which we find in Homer's heroes. 'Lie there now, terrible one! No mother's love shall lay thee in the sod, or place thy limbs beneath thine heavy ancestral tomb. To birds of prey shalt thou be left or borne down in the eddying water, where hungry fish shall suck thy wounds' (x. 457, Mackail). This is what Aeneas remembers to have read in the *Iliad*; he blends what Odysseus says to Socus (*Il.* xi. 452) with Achilles' words to Lycaon (*Il.* xxi. 122). But the words are still Homer's, they are not Aeneas'. Again the reservation of eight captured youths to be sacrificed to the Manes of Pallas (xi. 81 *vincerat et post terga manus quos mitteret umbris inferias caeso sparsurus sanguine flammis*; cf. x. 517–520) can be defended by the Homeric parallel of Achilles slaying Trojans over Patroclus' pyre (*Il.* xxiii, 22–3, 175) by more awful contemporary parallels, but still it is not convincing. Augustus may have ordered or performed a human sacrifice, but when Virgil transfers this to Aeneas, the reader

feels the justice of Aristotle's paradox; 'there is no reason why *some* events that have actually happened should not conform to the law of the probable and possible.' This is an actual event, perhaps, but it is not 'probable' here, as we shall see.

But perhaps the most incongruous Homeric touch in Virgil's story of Aeneas is the beautifying of the hero by his mother to enable him unconsciously to win Dido. That Aeneas is 'like a god in face and shoulders' we can well believe, but the addition of the 'purple light of youth' to a man of years, 'long tost on land and sea,' worn to grandeur by war and travel, is surely a triumph of imitation over imagination. Dido was not Nausicaa.

II. Virgil's Aeneas implies a new relation to heaven. Greek thinkers had moved, and brought mankind with them, beyond the Olympus of Homer. Men no longer might expect to

Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn.

There was a gain however in their loss, for it was a deepening consciousness of the real character of the Divine nature that carried men away from Olympus to look for divinity in a higher region. The divine was more remote, but it was more divine. It had less contact with humanity, but it was freer from the weaknesses and the vices of humanity. It was perhaps less interested in the individual, but it might exercise a wider and a firmer power over the universe. On this point opinions were divided. Virgil in his earlier days probably went with Lucretius, and held (at least provisionally) that 'the nature of gods must ever in itself of necessity enjoy immortality together with supreme repose, far removed and withdrawn from our concerns; since exempt from every pain, exempt from all dangers, strong in its own resources, not wanting aught of us, it is neither gained by favours nor moved by anger' (*Lucr.* ii. 646, Munro).

This was not Virgil's ultimate view, but it has left its traces upon his epic. He handles his gods with a caution that excludes warmth. Though Aeneas is favoured with one theophany after another, and though they re-assure him for a while, he is not on such easy terms with the gods as was Achilles. He sees them less frequently and his relations are more formal. In fact, the complete rejection of the Homeric pantheon by educated people in favour of eastern religion or Greek philosophy was too strong

for the poet.¹ He was personally less disposed than many of his day to quarrel outright with the gods of his fathers, but Homer's gods were weaker, because more marked, characters, and by this time were little more than symbols, subjects for the painter and for Ovid. These gods in accordance with epic usage had to watch over the hero of the epic, but it was little they could do.

But Virgil had not remained an Epicurean. If some believed that the gods were unconcerned with the world, others rejected the Homeric pantheon because it did not sufficiently relate the world with the gods. They traced the world's origin back to divine intelligence, they recognised the diviner element in man's nature, his power of remembering and re-discovering the divine 'ideas,' and they leant to a belief in the moral government of the universe. With the gradual direction of philosophy to individual life, men came to believe in a personal concern of heaven with the individual man. If fate is hard and unrelenting, it has recognised the individual, and on the whole the individual may accept it without resentment. Hence Cleanthes bids fate lead him in the destined way and he will be fearless, reminding himself meanwhile that there is no question about his following. Man is thus entirely dependent upon the divine.²

Here is one of the great differences between Homer and Virgil. Destiny, as M. Boissier remarks, has its place in Homer. His heroes often know well that they are doomed to fall, but as a rule they forget it and act as if they had not the knowledge. The action is only now and again darkened by the shadow of Fate, but in general we have the free development of the individual's story, as he carelessly abandons himself to the fever of life and forgets the menaces of the future in the interests of the present.³ Aeneas, on the contrary, is entirely in the hands of heaven, and for guidance keeps his eyes fixed on superior powers. If the individual gods, as named by Homer, have less vitality, the great idea of Providence or Destiny—shaping the world and controlling the individual, has gained in strength, and on the whole it is rational

and moral. Aeneas resigns himself to this Providence as a willing, if not entirely intelligent agent. Wherever his great quest is concerned, he is a man of prayer, anxiously waiting for a sign from heaven, which never fails him.

Aeneas then is the chosen vessel of Destiny from first to last—*fato profugus*, he is guided by fate throughout all his wanderings:—

*quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
quidquid erit superando omnis fortuna
ferendo est,*

says one of his captains (v. 709). He so entirely subordinates himself to Fate, and, in spite of Virgil's shewing him to us, 'this way and that dividing the swift mind,' he so frequently flies to prayer rather than to reflection and resolution, that the reader feels that life, if not easy, is at least made clear to him, and that his pilgrimage is tedious rather than dark or perplexing.

It was a Roman conviction that Rome was under the special care of heaven—a belief which great Roman generals extended to cover their own personal fortunes. 'It was not by numbers,' says Cicero, 'that we overcame the Spaniards, nor by our strength the Gauls, the Carthaginians by our cunning, or the Greeks by our arts, nor lastly was it by that sense, which is the peculiar and natural gift of this race and land, that we overcame the Italians themselves and the Latins; but by piety (*pietas*) and by regard for the divine (*religio*) and by this sole wisdom—our recognition that all things are ruled and directed by the will of the immortal gods—by these things we have overcome all races and peoples.'⁴

As this utterance is from a speech, we may take it to represent the belief rather of Cicero's audience than of himself, and this assumption is confirmed by similar language addressed to the Romans by Horace, *dis te minorem quod geris imperas*. Probably Virgil shared this popular feeling more than either Cicero or Horace could, and consistently with his habit of shewing the future in the past, the spiritual sequence of events from principles, he endows Aeneas with this thoroughly Roman attitude towards the gods. Aeneas, the founder of the race, like all his most eminent descendants, holds the belief that his country—for he calls Italy his *patria*—is beloved and chosen of heaven; like them,

¹ Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile*, p. 276: 'Avec lui (Virgil) on est déjà dans la mythologie; avec Homère on était dans la religion.'

² 'Ἄγρον δέ μ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη
ὑποὶ ποτ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος
ὣς ἔσομαι γ' ἄοκνος· ἦν δέ μὴ θέλω
κακὸς γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἥσσουν ἔσομαι.

³ *La Religion Romaine*, i. p. 244.

⁴ Cicero *de Harusp.* *Resp.* 9. 19.

he subordinates himself to heaven's purpose for his country, and on every occasion, seeks to learn at once and in the directest possible way what is the will of the gods; and, once more like them, he finds that heaven never fails Rome.

From Polybius to Prudentius the theory ruled the world that Rome was chosen by the supreme God, pagan and Christian giving him different names, and seeing different motives in his great purpose, but agreeing that with the fall of Rome the world must inevitably end. Virgil's poem would not have been so intensely national and Roman, and of such real value to every Roman citizen, if it had lacked this great belief.

But we must go further than this when we are dealing with a great poet. Providence, for its own purposes, watches over Rome, and over Aeneas so far as he is serving Rome, but does Providence care for the man as apart from the agent? Is the foundation of Rome the supreme thing for which Providence should care?

M. Boissier holds that the *Aeneid* is a religious epic, because the chief purpose of Aeneas is the introduction of the gods to Latium—*inferre deos Latio; sacra deosque dabo* and so forth. But Virgil at least links with this another purpose, which elsewhere seems to overshadow it. Take these lines

*multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio—genus unde Latinum
etc. (i. 5)*

with the line a little below, in which he sums up his theme again—

*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem
(i. 33).*

Virgil had not been an Epicurean for nothing. The gods whom Aeneas was bringing to Rome, he might now recognise as symbols of divinity, but he could hardly attach such superlative importance to these particular symbols. They have hardly any significance in the story which is not shared by Mercury or Father Tiber—hardly more, one might even hazard, than the white sow and her thirty white porkers. Aeneas carefully brought them from Troy, but it is clear that they really derive their importance from Rome, and that Rome does not owe her importance to them.

The founding of the city is then the first thing, but is it a satisfactory theme for a religious epic? We may believe that there

is a power that 'providently caters for the sparrow,' and that will at least do as much for an empire, that will use an empire as a means to some end (what end we may or may not discover), but we have within us a feeling that an empire is after all a small thing when we look at Providence, that the main concerns of Providence are greater and of more eternal moment, more vitally bound up with human nature and moral law, more spiritual in a word. The Roman Empire is of course one of the greatest factors of the modern world, *one* of them. It has been outgrown like Homer's theology, and its interest has long been mainly historical, a temporary interest, and while we may include it in the Providential design for the Universe, we shall prefer to think of Providence furthering something more permanent. And we shall, from another point of view, prefer to see poetry also concerned with something more permanent, meditating

On man, on nature, and on human life.

For we feel that Virgil has not brought the foundation of Rome into any sufficiently vital relation with human nature or with moral law. The fall of Troy is historically of no moment whatever, while the foundation of Rome is of the highest. Yet the *Iliad* touches us more closely than the *Aeneid*. Virgil has not mastered the affairs of Providence, and they will not take their place in his poem. He has not convinced us that Rome is so vital to heaven as his poem requires.

Now, turning to the other point, we may ask the more universal question—How do the relations of Aeneas with heaven bear on the general life of man? Does heaven care for the man as apart from the agent? No one could well be more loyal to the bidding of heaven than Aeneas, but on the whole his loyalty seems to give him little joy. He is a man who has seen affliction, who expects little else for himself, but does not despair of labour done for others. Sorrow has not narrowed, but broadened his nature. He is always ready to wake in his comrades a hope and a cheerfulness, which he can hardly feel himself; always ready to spend himself for the future of his people, but hardly happy and profoundly solitary. Virgil is true here to human experience, for with his story of pain and with a doubt at his heart, Aeneas could hardly be other than he is. He can never forget the story he tells to Dido.¹ The poet has seized the

¹ Aeneas' words to Dido, *Aen.* iv. 340, give the keynote of his character.

meaning of the fall of Troy and interpreted it in this quiet, wounded, self-obliterating man. If Virgil's hand shakes here and there, his picture, as he saw it in his mind, is true. Underneath the trappings of the Homeric hero is the warrior-sage, who has sounded human sorrow, and who, though he cannot solve the riddle, will not believe that all is vanity and a striving after wind.

Virgil is anticipating a later age, and Aeneas resembles more closely the character of Marcus Aurelius than any other in classical history. *Erat enim ipse*, says his biographer of Marcus, *tanta tranquillitatis ut vultum nunquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae*.¹ This face of impassive calm is sufficient index of the mind within, unsatisfied in its deepest longings for an explanation of life, yet resolved to endure without satisfaction. It implies a consciousness of the inadequacy of all conceptions of the divine yet achieved. Virgil, Suetonius says, meant on finishing the *Aeneid* to give himself to philosophy. Of himself as of his hero, the words are true:

per mare magnum
Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvimur
undis. (v. 628).

III. We have now to consider Aeneas as influenced by the long study of man which marks the centuries between Pericles and Augustus. We must begin by setting aside the elements in his character which are mere external imitations of Homer, and the episode of Dido, which has not in the *Aeneid* its proper psychological effect on the mind of Aeneas.

Few epithets have been more misconstrued than the untranslatable *pious*, which Virgil has associated with the name of Aeneas; yet to understand it thoroughly is necessary, if we are to have a clear comprehension of the whole poem. What is *pietas*? It is not merely 'piety' for that is only a part of its connotation, nor is it enough to add 'pity' to 'piety' in accordance with the happy suggestion of a French critic unless one give both the words a large and generous rendering. Let us take a few illustrations of the spirit indicated by the word.

First, the death of Lausus, who in rescuing his father was killed by Aeneas in battle:

At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,

ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit
et mentem patriae subit pietatis imago.

'quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus
istis,

quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
arma quibus laetatus habe tua; teque paren-
tum

manibus et cineri, siqua est ea cura, remitto.
hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
Aeneas magni dextra cadis.—(x. 821—830).

This is how Aeneas makes war. Sheer necessity compels him to strike down Lausus; but in a moment the dying face, the boyhood, and the filial love of his victim turn Aeneas from foe to friend. Lausus is but a boy—*puer*—but he has done what Aeneas did himself years before, he has saved his father, and now all the honour that a hero can pay to his peer, Aeneas will render to Lausus. *Pietas* covers his feeling for Lausus as well as his feeling for Anchises.

We pass naturally to the scene that rose in Aeneas' mind—the fall of Troy, the rescue of Anchises, carried away by his son, and the rescue of Iulus. Enough has been said of Anchises, but mark the picture of the child—

dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit, sequiturque patrem non passibus
aequis.—(ii. 723).

The instinctive act of the child—taking his father's right hand—is his comment on Aeneas' *pietas*, and it is surely significant that at such an hour and in such a place the little footsteps of the child are one of the signal memories of the night.³

Now another picture of Iulus. During the siege of the camp (Book IX) he is galled by the taunts which Remulus Numanus levels at the Trojans, and, with a prayer to Jupiter for success, he shoots an arrow at him and brings him down. The boy is delighted with his shot, and the Trojans cheer him. His father is not there, but his place is for the moment taken by Apollo, and though the action and the words are Apollo's, they are in the spirit of Aeneas, and may illustrate the quality we are considering—*pietas*. The god applauds the boy in an aside, and then in clearer tone adds a word for gentleness:—

atque his ardentem dictis adfatur Iulum:
'sit satis, Aenide, telis imprime Numanum
oppetiisse tuis; primam hanc tibi magnus
Apollo

² J. R. Green, *Stray Studies*, p. 267, brings this out well.

¹ *Hist. Aug. M. Anton.* 16

concedit laudem et paribus non invidet armis, cetera parce puer bello.—(ix. 652).

‘C’est à la fois,’ says Sainte-Beuve, ‘ménagement et respect pour le fils de leur roi et pour l’espérance de la tige ; et puis Ascagne est trop jeune pour la guerre ; si jeune, on devient trop aisément cruel. J’entrevois ce dernier sentiment sous-entendu.’¹

That we are right to suppose that this is the real sentiment of Aeneas as well as of Apollo, we can see from Aeneas’ words of farewell at the bier of Pallas—

nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli fata vocant: salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, aeternumque vale.—(xi. 96).

It is the revolt of *pietas*, in its broadest and finest quality, against a destiny which drags the hero against his will into war.

Let our last illustration of *pietas* be the familiar utterance of Aeneas when he saw the pictures of the Trojan warriors, including himself, on the walls of Dido’s temple—

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.—(i. 462).

Professor Tyrrell holds that *rerum* and *mortalia* mean ‘things inanimate’ and ‘the works of men’s hands.’ In this case Virgil would mean to suggest the appeal of art to the sympathetic temper. Wordsworth and Sainte-Beuve think rather of the appeal of man’s lot to man.

‘Tears to human sufferings are due ; And mortal hopes defeated and o’erthrown Are mourned by man.’—(*Laodamia*).

The former rendering is not at all impossible or un-Virgilian, but the latter gives a broader and deeper sense. Aeneas recognises that at Carthage too, human creatures have human hearts, and he takes courage, knowing what appeal human sorrow makes to the human heart in himself.

If to Terence’s *nil humani a me alienum puto* we might add *nil divini*, the enlarged expression (if a little cumbrous) would very fairly represent that new attitude of the quickened man, with which Virgil endows his hero, giving it the name *pietas*, by which he links a modern and rather Greek habit of mind to an old Roman virtue, enlarging the one, and naturalising the other.

IV. We have not yet considered Aeneas

as prince. Achilles and Agamemnon may be kings in Homer, but the essential royalty of Virgil’s Aeneas dwarfs them at once into tribal chieftains. Mycene may have been rich in gold, and yet had, like Ithaca, a midden at the palace doors ; but Virgil was writing under a monarch who could boast of Rome *marmoream se relinquere quam latericium accepisset* (Suetonius, *Augustus* 28). It was a boast that implied imperial resources, imperial power, and an imperial outlook, and all these come between the Homeric chiefs and Aeneas, and make him a prince in manner, in attitude, and in ideal.

To take a telling example of the princely manner of Aeneas, we may turn to the episode of his killing the stags in the first book, which is of course modelled in Virgil’s way after Odysseus’ story of his stag-killing. It has been well handled by Sainte-Beuve, whose account of it may be paraphrased, ‘The difference between the two pictures,’ he says, ‘one feels instinctively. Aeneas and Odysseus are voyaging at the same time, but there is a distance of some centuries between their manners and methods. Odysseus, the hero of the simple ages, whose only aspiration is toward his poor Ithaca, withdraws alone from his companions and goes to spy out the island ; he sees a big stag, one only, and it is quite enough ; he kills it without needing to ask his arms of his squire (he has no squire or confidant), and, as it is necessary to bring back the beast at once and this involves difficulty, he tells us in detail how he did it, how he made a cord, and how he lifted the animal on to his neck, and made his way, leaning on his spear ; he forgets nothing. All is naive and frank, quite in the style of Robinson Crusoe, a style Virgil is careful not to apply to the founder of the future Roman Empire. How could these two men Aeneas and Achates, have carried their seven big beasts to the ships ? It is a question not even asked in so dignified a tale. Imagine the figure of Aeneas, drawn with a stag upon his shoulders and his head appearing among the four feet of the animal ! Virgil could not, for a moment, entertain the idea of such a picture. Between his Aeneas and Odysseus had come *cette production fine délicate dédaigneuse ; l’urbanité était née.*’²

Yes, *urbanitas* was born, and Aristotle

² Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile*, p. 243. The passages of Homer and Virgil are *Odyssey* x. 144–171, and *Aeneid* i. 180–193. The German critic, Rohde, has also called the *Odyssey* ‘die älteste Robinsonade.’

¹ Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile*, p. 178.

had written of the Magnificent Man. It was the mark of a vulgar mind, said the Greek comic poet, to walk 'unrhythmically' in the street. Court etiquette had grown up round Alexander, and probably still more round his less great successors. Some part of this would inevitably find its way to Rome, where it would fit in well with the national affectation of *gravitas*. The world was still a long way from Abraham Lincoln. Let us, however, call the thing dignity in Aeneas, and recognise it as a mark of the great prince, even if we regret now and then a certain stiffness which it involves.

But, if Aeneas has the outward bearing of the prince, he has the higher qualities too, for he is Virgil's picture of an ideal ruler. Morality for princes was probably already becoming a branch of ethics; certainly a little time after Virgil's day, it is well developed. Dio Chrysostom wrote treatises on it for Trajan, and in the fourth century A.D. Julian, Claudian, and Synesius, have a plentiful supply of honourable and ancient maxims for Emperors. But it is unlikely that Virgil troubled the minor philosophers for their commonplaces. With a poet's feeling he read the story of Alexander, and watched the work of Augustus, and rising, in his way, from the particular to the universal, he developed in his own mind the idea of a great prince and drew him in Aeneas.

Aeneas has the statesman's temper. A man of broad outlook and of quick intelligence, he thinks for a nation, and as their ruler subordinates himself to the good of his people. Apart from the affair of Dido, nowhere does he fail to put his people, his people present and future, before himself. Not that he submits to their will or inclination, for he is every inch a King and not a President; he gives orders and they are carried out, he does not take mandates except from the gods. Yet he is not unwilling to listen to advice—from Anchises or Nautes, from the old and the trusted. Like an Alexander he dots the world with his foundations. The Homeric chief had destroyed towns, Aeneas builds them.

He makes war and peace as a prince with full apprehension of what they mean for his people. If as a man, worn with war and travel, he desires peace, he also desires it as a prince for his people and his neighbours. To the Latins, who come to beg the bodies of the slain, he speaks thus:—

*Pacem me exanimis et Martis sorte peremptis,
oratis? equidem et vivis concedere vellem.*
(xi. 110).

This is always his attitude, but, if war is forced upon him, he makes war like a prince. He carries his allies into action with him, and no cost of death or suffering will tempt him to falter. War and real war his enemies have, if they choose it; but he had rather they chose peace.¹ Aeneas is here a thorough Roman, and he hardly needed his father's words to supplement his own instinct—

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*—
(vi. 851).

Latinus and Turnus are his foils; the one unable or unwilling to make up his mind and act on it, and by this weakness bringing defeat and death on his people; the other heedless of national well-being or divine decree, if, at any cost to anybody and everybody, he can gratify his own wishes. If the reader wearies at times of Aeneas in the pageantry of the prince, still, as prince in council and prince in action, Aeneas is well and strongly drawn. The weariness, which the reader feels, may be his own fault as much as the poet's, for it takes more mental effort to picture and to realize to oneself the hero as king than in some other characters.

Aeneas represents, here as elsewhere, a later age than Homer. No doubt, in Homer the chief leads, and the people follow the chief as 'shepherd of his people.' But the Homeric chief is nearer Remulus Numanus; he has the weakness, too persistent in Greece, for petty war and the pillaging of his neighbours—

*semperque recentes
comportare iuvat praedas et vivere raptis.*—
(ix. 612).

Aeneas' mind is other, and he belongs to a later and more developed society. Witness his admiration of the rising Carthage, its walls, its senate-house, its port, its theatre—even its streets and their noise—

*miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas, strepitumque et strata
viarum.*—(i. 421).

But it is as a prince, that he looks at the great city, with the spirit of an Alexander rather than of a Pericles. Democracy and its factions flourish among the Italian tribes; Drances and Turnus have each his

¹ Cf. Caesar's words after Pharsalia, *hoc voluerunt*.

party; but there are no parties among the Trojans. They have no politics but loyalty to their prince. This means a certain lack of interest. The Trojans generally 'want physiognomy.' Like the Romans under the later Emperors, they lack initiative; they are helpless and almost spiritless when without their prince; and the life of the nation is summed up in the prince. Virgil's political philosophy is not Cicero's. On the whole perhaps the poets are not generally republicans. 'For myself,' Goethe said to Eckermann, 'I have always been royalist.' Aeneas is Virgil's ideal of a princely character, as he is his ideal of manhood.

To conclude, we may sum up the matter perhaps most truly by saying that Aeneas is Virgil's picture of the 'Happy Warrior.' The traditions of epic poetry, involving the Olympian gods, make Aeneas less reliant upon the 'inward light' than Wordsworth's warrior, even if Virgil had been as clear as Wordsworth on the possibility or sufficiency of such a guide in life. Aeneas,

'if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment, to which Heaven has
joined
Great issues, good or bad, for human kind,'
is certainly not 'happy as a lover,' nor
'attired with sudden brightness like a man
inspired.' A genuine Roman, he is not
supremely concerned with the labour 'good
on good to fix,' nor, perhaps, to 'make his
moral being his prime care.' Yet much
of Wordsworth's poem is true of Virgil's
Aeneas:—

Who, doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear and Bloodshed, miserable train!
Turns his necessity to glorious gain:
In face of these doth exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower;
Controls them and subdues, transmutes,
bereaves
Of their bad influence, and their good
receives;
By objects, which might force the soul to
abate

Her feeling, rendered more compassion-
ate . . .

Who comprehends his trust, and to the
same

Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim; . .

Is yet a Soul whose master-bias leans

To homefelt pleasures and to gentle
scenes . . .

More brave for this, that he hath much to
love.

The differences between the two characters are not so much contradictions as the result of a progression in the ideals of humanity. If Aeneas has sight of virtues unknown to Achilles, the 'Happy Warrior' has in like manner advanced beyond Aeneas. The greatness of Achilles is not lost in Aeneas, but developed by the ripening and enlarging of human experience. Aeneas is morally on a higher plane, in spite of the occasional vagueness in Virgil's drawing of him, and in spite of the uncertainty about the supreme things, which passes from the poet into his creation. The 'Happy Warrior,' in turn, has lost nothing of Aeneas' greatness, but he has regained the clear look of Achilles: he is not distracted by unreconciled views of the universe; he 'finds comfort in himself and in his cause,' and is 'happy as a lover,' because he has, what Aeneas at heart lacked, 'confidence of Heaven's applause.' Aeneas falls short of the 'Happy Warrior,' but he is of the same family.¹

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¹ I may be allowed to quote Sainte-Beuve once more, *Étude*, p. 112: 'Ce personnage si distinct, si accompli, le *pius Aeneas*; pieux envers les hommes autant qu'envers les dieux, et que (sauf son moment d'erreur et d'oubli à Carthage), considérant toutes ses vertus, ses dévotions et religions, ses preuves d'humanité, de prud'homie, de courage, je suis tenté de nommer le Godefroy de Bouillon, ou mieux (je l'ai dit déjà) le saint Louis d'antiquité;—le plus parfait idéal de héros que puisse présenter cette religion des Numa, des Xénophon, dont Plutarque est pour nous le dernier prêtre.'

SOME NOTES ON LIVY, BOOK. I.

(1) 1. 8. 7 'consilium deinde viribus parat.'

Consilium is usually translated by 'an advising body' or the like. No doubt Livy

has in mind the 'regium consilium,' but *consilium* here may well be quite abstract in meaning, e.g., 'guidance.' The combination of *consilium* with *vires* is a favourite

one with Livy, cp. 2. 56. 16. 'Tempus . . . consilium viribus additurum,' and 3. 62. 7 'consilio etiam Sabini vires adiuvero.'

(2) 1. 13. 7 'id non traditur, . . . aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint.'

This use of *ve* to express an alternative within an alternative deserves notice. It performs the same bracketing function as *ac* in such passages as Cic. Off. 3. 1. (magnifica vox) et (magno viro ac sapiente digna) —see Madv. § 433. Compare 1. 29. 2 (effractis portis stratisve ariete muris) aut (arce vi capta), 21. 35. 2 'utrumque aut (locus opportunitatem daret) aut (progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent),' 25. 1. 12 '(libros vaticinos precationesve) aut (artem sacrificandi conscriptam),' 34. 35. 4 ('mancipium regium publicumve) aut privatum,' 44. 1. 3 'neu (iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove) aut (propius inde mille passus . . .) veheretur,' 45. 25. 2 'qui (consules praetoresve) aut (legati) gesserant . . . bellum.'

In such instances (cp. Madv. § 436) *ve* expresses the minor and less important distinction; *aut*, etc., etc., the major and more essential.

1. 19. 2 'quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse.'

suesco and its derivatives have not fared well at the hands of Lewis and Short. They cite 31. 35. 3 'genus pugnae quo adsueverant,' without noting that this is the only certain instance of the ablative with *adsuesco* in Livy; they quote but one case of a dative and that with *adsuescitur* impersonal passive; they never mention *adsuesco* or *adsuetus* with the infinitive in Livy; nor in the same writer *adsuetus* meaning (1) 'usual' of persons or things (2) 'familiar to' of things with the dative.

The following citations then may well be added to their article on *adsuesco* :—

(A) Under I (ε) Hor. Sat., 2. 2. 109 'hic qui | Pluribus assuerit mentem.'

I(δ).

Livy 21. 3. 2, 24. 18. 11, 38. 34. 9, 39. 9. 5, and (uncertain whether dative or ablative), 1. 19. 2, 2. 3, 4. 45. 4, 10. 22. 3, 25. 26. 12, 28. 27. 2, 38. 34. 3.

Also *adsuetus* = 'accustomed' of persons with dative 5. 48. 3, 10. 17. 10, 21. 16. 5, 24. 30. 12, 27. 47. 5, 28. 2. 7, 28. 32. 7, 38. 52. 2, and (uncertain whether dative or ablative) 5. 42. 8, 6. 9. 6, 22. 18. 3, 24. 23.

10, 24. 24. 2, 24. 39. 1, 26. 40. 18, 28. 25. 8, 28. 46. 3, 40. 36. 2, 42. 11. 7, 42. 15. 3, 45. 29. 2, [add 10. 19. 16, 'adsueti inter se hostes'].

Under I. (β).

Livy 5. 6. 15, 22. 34. 2, 23. 35. 6, 24. 24. 2, 25. 9. 13, 30. 28. 8, 39. 25. 15, 42. 17. 5, and (with *adsuetus*) 2. 3. 2, 2. 6. 11, 10. 6. 11, 10. 19. 19, 10. 41. 2, 22. 46. 5, 23. 40. 10, 27. 12. 5, 27. 39. 8, 29. 6. 4, 31. 34. 4, 33. 48. 9, 37. 42. 5, 38. 29. 7, 45. 32. 4.

Under II.

Livy 24. 10. 12 'adsuetos collis eius cultores, 25. 9. 9 'portula,' 36. 18. 4 'praesidio,' and, meaning 'familiar to,' with the dative 5. 54. 3 'adsueta oculis regio,' 25. 17. 5 'motibus suae cuique genti adsuetis' and 38. 17. 5 'Romanis Gallici tumultus adsueti' where L and S (I ζ) read 'adsuetis,' and provide a unique instance of 'adsuetus' with the genitive.

Finally the absolute use Cic. *ad Fam.* 9. 22, 'sic enim assuevi' might be inserted.

B. In the article on *insuesco* I (β) the verb is quoted as taking *ad* in Livy 5. 6. 1 'ad disciplinam certe militiae plurimum intererat insuescere militem nostrum non solum parta victoria frui. . .' But *ad disciplinam* goes with *intererat* and the instance should be classed under I (γ).

C. Under *consuetus* meaning 'customary,' no cases are cited from Livy. The following should be inserted: 2. 61. 5 'asperitate,' 3. 20. 8 'remediis,' 5. 23. 4 'modum,' 9. 45. 15 'fremitum,' 36. 7. 5 'imperium.'

D. In the article on *insuetus*, insert under B (β) 'also absolutely of persons Livy 21. 35. 3, 38. 21. 6.' And under II correct Livy 28. 21. 16, to 28. 27. 16. One might also add Livy 2. 64. 11 'equo,' 7. 17. 3 'specie,' 39. 23. 13 'libertatis,' 39. 31. 2 'ignominia.'

E. Under *insolitus* with genitive I (γ), quote the only case in Livy viz., 10. 28. 9 'insolitos eius tumultus equos.'

1. 31. 2 'quod cum credi vix posset.'

Here *credo* is used personally in the passive, as frequently elsewhere with a neuter pronoun as subject. The following citations, however, will show that the construction is by no means confined to neuter pronouns: 1. 7. 8, and 1. 15. 6 'divinitate credita,' 5. 15. 1 'prodigia parum credita,' 10. 10. 3 'nec aspernanda res visa neque incaute credenda,' 28. 24. 15 'mors Scipionis falso credita,' 40. 9. 1 'quoniam non creditur nisi perpetratum facinus,' 45. 5. 4 'credita sanctitati.'

Cicero even (*Rosc. Amer.* 22. 62) has 'res tam scelestā credi non potest,' but I know no certain instance in him of other nouns than *res* so constructed. With *credo* as with *dissero* he, perhaps, never goes further than *id, hoc, illud*, &c. and *res*. At the same time, but for the analogy of *dissero*, one can hardly see why Cicero, if able to write 'res credi non potest,' could not also have said (*Pro Sulla* 15. 43), 'illud indicium . . . temere creditum.' Certainly Dr. Reid's note on the passage would not lead one to suppose that Cicero had ever been guilty of the construction in *Rosc. Amer.* 22. 62.

Livy has the 'personal construction' or 'nominative with the infinitive' on several occasions—Gildersleeve and Lodge 528 Rem. 2, condemn it as 'poetical and late'—e.g. 2. 7. 2 'Silvani vocem eam creditam,' 22. 51. 4 'mora eius diei satis creditur salutis fuisse urbi,' 29. 32. 9 'ipse periisse creditus,' 39. 34. 10 'Casander . . . veneno creditur sublatu.''

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NOTES ON SENECA'S *MEDEA*.

22–24.

The MSS. all give

*Me coniugem optet, limen alienum expetat,
iam notus hospes quoque non aliud queam
peius precari, liberos similes patri.*

Medea is cursing Jason for his unfaithfulness. Leo transposed *me coniugem optet* and *iam notus hospes*. How he sought to justify this step I do not know. As a matter of fact the MSS. text is thoroughly good. The position of *iam notus hospes* after the curse is particularly effective, since the phrase virtually = *sed frustra* or *et (=et tamen) frustra*. The whole = 'Let him be for ever seeking the portals of others, and since men know the sort of guest he is, let him be for ever turned therefrom.' To put *iam notus hospes* before the curse is to anticipate wrongly, and to rob the sentence of part of its force. Further, the traditional text gives an arrangement of thoughts which can be neatly illustrated from other sources. We have in these verses three clauses, the first and third of which are closely similar in thought; *me coniugem*, 22, and *liberos*, 24, stand for 'home, sweet home.' For such an arrangement cf. Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 317–319, Aeneas's speech to Andromache. Aeneas, like Medea, is labouring under great excitement and strong feeling. His first question is based on his conception of Andromache's fate before he had heard the startling rumour referred to in 294–297; in his second question he has in mind this rumour; in his last question his mind reverts to the thought which prompted his first inquiry.

This arrangement seems entirely natural; the mind dwells most on the thoughts it has habitually entertained. Somewhat similar is *Aen.* iv. 242–244; the passage begins and ends with the thought of Mercury's mighty power over the souls of the dead. So Medea begins and ends her curse with the hope that Jason may for ever lack a home. More than once in the play she gives expression to her own sense of desolation in that she not only has lost her father's home but is now deserted by Jason himself.

301–339.

THE MSS. are a unit with reference to the order of these verses; nay, they offer very few variants in the text of the individual verses themselves. Yet Richter deleted 307, 308,¹ the sole reason for this procedure being, so far as I know, his desire to make this choral passage conform to the theory of metrical responsion in Seneca which he and Peiper held. We may reject Richter's view as arbitrary and unfounded.²

Leo, followed by Kingery,³ rejected 305, 306, asserting that these verses are a ditto-

¹ The line numbering is that of Leo's edition.

² Teuffel (§ 290, 3), Leo (i. 135 ff.), and others have rightly rejected this theory. A single example of the 'violent methods' (Teuffel) by which Peiper and Richter sought to carry their theory into effect will suffice. They transpose 385, 386, and assume that a verse has been lost after 390. Yet on general grounds it is impossible to pick any flaws in the traditional text. In 301–379 they reject six verses, unobjectionable in themselves, and transpose seven others.

³ *The Medea of Seneca*, edited by H. M. Kingery, Crawfordsville, Indiana, 1900.

graphy of 301, 302. This, however, is not the case. Repetition of the thought of 301, 302 there certainly is, but 305, 306, as handed down by the MSS., give a touch not found at all in 301, 302. I refer to the words *dubio...cursu*. At first sight these words are at variance with *audax nimium*, 301, but if we interpret them rightly, as meaning 'with uncharted course,' we shall see, first, that the words are not inharmonious with *audax nimium*, but rather confirm and strengthen that phrase, and, secondly, that these words form the transition to 309 ff., as given in the MSS. In other words 309 ff. are a perfectly natural expansion of 305, 306; *nondum...norat* = *nondum quisquam enim*, etc.¹ 301—317, as delivered to us by the MSS., form but a single sentence, consisting of a statement, 301—308, followed by the justification of that statement in 309—317. These facts can be brought out more clearly if instead of a period, the usual pointing, we put a colon after 308.

With *ausus Tiphys*, 318, the second thought begins. Thus far the poet's attention has been concentrated upon the daring of the man who first sailed the seas. He passes on now to name this man. This second thought runs through *sipara velo*, 328. The poet is not content, however, merely to name this first venturesome sailor, but, even as he names him, takes the opportunity to elaborate yet further the description of his daring. Just as the new touch added in 305, 306 makes these verses appropriate after 301, 302, so the added statements in 318—328 make these verses appropriate in spite of 301—308.

Verses 329—338 belong closely together. The poet has dwelt on the daring of the first voyager; he has also given his name: his thoughts now revert naturally to the good old days before Tiphys ventured to cross the seas (328—334). At 335 the thought is, 'But the Argo changed all this'; note the adversative *asyndeton*.

It has been made clear, I hope, that the MSS. order of the verses yields an entirely satisfactory series of ideas, and is therefore justifiable. If this is so, then any and all alterations of this order are unnecessary and unscientific.

Let us, however, briefly consider the

arrangements of these verses proposed by others.² Richter, followed by Leo and Kingery, put 329—334 after 308; Peiper wished to set these verses between 317, 318. If any change at all is to be made, Peiper's suggestion seems to me preferable to that of Richter, for I cannot believe that *nondum...norat*, etc., 309, is to be divorced from *dubio...cursu*, 305. With Richter's arrangement the order of thoughts is as follows: (1) the daring of the first voyager; (2) the good old days that preceded his fateful voyage; (3) the name of the first voyager, and (4) the iniquity of the *Thessala pinus*, 335—339. There is here no logical development of ideas, unless 335—339 are to be taken as giving the result of 318—328. There is nothing, however, in the form or the expression of these verses to indicate that they are to be thus taken. Again, one is not pleased by the transition from Tiphys (318—328) to the *Thessala pinus* (335—339). Look now again at the MSS. order. There the contrast between the original state of things, as decreed by the gods or by nature (cf. *foedera*, 335), i.e., the purity of the primitive time, and the wickedness of later days, is finely brought out; the adversative *asyndeton* is particularly effective.

Leo, in adopting Richter's view, has improved upon it somewhat, for he grouped together 329—334, 309—318, and set a colon after 334; it is evident that he took *nondum quisquam*, etc., as giving the explanation of the preceding verses. This arrangement is in itself not bad, but it has no MSS. authority, and is, in my opinion at least, inferior to the arrangement offered by the MSS.

I pass now to another point. It is interesting to compare Seneca's description of the doings of the first voyager with Horace's (*Carm.* i. 3). Horace had described the first voyager as sailing from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, i.e., as doing what people in Horace's own time were constantly doing. Seneca is similarly up-to-date in his description, for he makes the first sailor as skilful in handling sails as was any of his successors and the equipment of his ship is that of the *naves Alexandreae*; see Seneca, *E.*, lxxvii. Seneca's description is particularly interesting, for whereas

¹ In passing we may note the resemblance between 305, 306, and Juv. xii. 57 ff. 'I nunc et ventis animam committe, dolato Confusus ligno,' &c. For another verbal resemblance between Seneca's *Medea* and Juvenal cf. *aurca pellis*, *Medea* 361, with *furivae...aurum pelliculae*, Juv. i. 10, 11.

² In his *Latin Literature of the Empire*, ii. pp. 100, 101, Prof. Gudeman prints this chorus after Leo, but in his *Appendix Critica*, p. 490, he writes: 'traditum ordinem rectum esse nunc mihi persuasit M. Muellerus.' Where, when, or how he was thus persuaded he does not say.

Horace's account of the first voyager's exploits was naturally conditioned by his thoughts of Virgil's voyage, which was the occasion of the poem, there was no such special motive to colour and determine Seneca's language. That Seneca had Horace in mind elsewhere in 301-339 is apparent to even the most superficial reader. *freta...rupit*, 301, 302, recalls *qui fragilem...primus*, Horace, i. 3, 10-12, *audax nimium*, 301, *ausus*, 318, *audax*, 346, duplicate in rather skilful and subtle fashion Horace's double *audax*, 25, 27; *dissaepti...mundi*, 335, and *mare sepositum*, 339, together reproduce Horace's *prudens Oceano dissociabili* (and make, be it noted, for Kiessling's interpretation of *dissociabili*); *tangens*, 331, is perhaps a subtle reminiscence of Horace's *non tangenda rates...vada*, 24.¹

350-360.

At first sight one is tempted to punctuate *Quid? cum Siculi...hiatus, quis...malo?* If we consider these five verses (350-354) by themselves, this is certainly a more effective pointing, but *quid cum Ausonium*, etc. (355) militates against this arrangement, for there it is hardly possible to point off *quid* by itself. To do so would be to leave *cum Ausonium...sequi* in mid air without a predicate or main clause. The truth seems to be that 353, 354 form the predicate not only to 350-352 but to 355-360 also. These two verses are thus pivotal verses. If we keep the MSS. order at 389-391, as I firmly believe we should,² we shall have in the phrase *omnis specimen affectus capit* an expression similarly pivotal in character, as summing up what has been said concerning Medea's condition and conduct and as forming a starting point for a fresh treatment of the same subject. Latin poetry shows many examples of such pivotal verses; cf. e.g. Horace, *Epp.* i. 1. 32, i. 1. 52, Juv. i. 14.

If now we consider 353, 354 as the predicate also to 355-360, we have to notice that Seneca seems to have made here a mistake in art. Since 346 he has been trying to describe the punishment that overtook the Argo (and its crew) for its wickedness. 350-354 are thus in point; the punishment here thought of lies in the agony of waiting. For this idea we may compare *Aen.* vi. 614 *inclusi poenam exspectant*. This phrase is inconsistent with *Aen.* vi. 570 ff.,

¹ The foregoing note was part of a paper read at the meeting of the American Philological Association, July, 1902.

² I have discussed this point in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1902.

from which we should suppose that the entrance into Tartarus proper marked the beginning of punishment. Virgil's picture, however, is very effective, dwelling as it does on the agony of waiting in full sight of such spectacles as are described in 602 ff. In 357 ff. Seneca begins aright in an attempt to emphasize further this agony of waiting by picturing the sufferings of the crew of the Argo as they awaited the outcome of the struggle between Orpheus and the Sirens. In *paene coegit Sirena sequi*, however, the poet has, I think, allowed a false note to creep in, for this phrase suggests a mitigation of their sufferings, (unless, indeed, Seneca means us to think of the grief that comes when success which seems certain after all slips from one's grasp).

Elsewhere Seneca allows incongruous ideas to slip into his verses. In 114 the chorus exclaims, *tacitis eat illa tenebris*, *Si qua peregrino nubit fugitiva marito*. The taunt can hardly be said to be well-timed, since Jason himself was a *fugitivus*. In 238-241, *Virgini...occidet*, Medea makes a striking use of the figure of vision in connection with certain past events; with all this *tuus...gener*, 240, which belongs so intensely to the present, is out of keeping. In 454-456 Medea says, *Pontici fauces freti (me petere iubes), per quas revexi nobilem regum manum, adulterum secuta per Symplegadas?* Here *adulterum* seems in bad taste; Medea was herself as bad. We may, to be sure, avoid this criticism by saying that *adulterum* refers only to Jason's marriage with Creusa, and so = 'one who was to prove himself an adulterer,' but this seems harsh.

In *Aen.* iv. 42 Virgil has similarly allowed his narrative instinct to play him false. Conington and others long ago pointed out that *regio deserta siti* has no proper place in this catalogue of the difficulties and dangers by which Dido's infant realm is beset. *Soporiferumque papaver*, *Aen.* iv. 486, falls under this same general category.

883 ff.

The MSS. give

NUNT. Et ipse miror vixque iam facto malo potuisse fieri credo. CHOR. Quis cladis modus?

NUNT. Avidus per omnem regiae partem furit, etc.

In 884 Leo (followed by Kingery) gave *Quis cladis modus* to the messenger. For

this change there is no justification, since the traditional text gives an unimpeachable progression of thoughts. The messenger enters to announce the overthrow of the state and the death of father and daughter. The chorus asks (881), 'By what guile o'erthrown?' The messenger replies, 'By the common bane of kings, presents.' The chorus asks, incredulously, 'Why, what guile could there be (this time) in them?' The question really = 'Surely there could have been in this case no guile in them.' The messenger's answer (883, 884) has a two-fold value; on the one hand it expresses sympathy with the incredulity of the chorus, on the other it declares that, incredible as the news may seem, it is none the less true. Then, according to the MSS., the chorus asks *Quis cladis modus?* This is perfectly natural; satisfied by the messenger's strenuous assurances the chorus asks no more about the fact of the calamity but passes on to inquire its extent.

With the simplicity of all this Leo's text compares most unfavourably. The messenger is represented as passing himself from his assurances of the correctness of his tidings to ask, in very rhetorical fashion, concerning the extent of the calamity he is reporting. The question must then be taken as = '(but true it is and) no one knows how far the evil will go, where it will stop.' If we had such a text in the MSS. we might find a parallel to it in Seneca, *Medea* 868, 869

nunc ira amorque causam
iunxere: quid sequetur?

Fortunately, however, it is not necessary to look for such justification, since, as has been shown, the MSS. arrangement is unimpeachable.

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THE MOSCOW MANUSCRIPT OF COLUMELLA.

On page 20 of the 'Wissenschaftliche Beilage von Prof. Dr. Häussner' to the Report of the Grossherzogliches Gymnasium Karlsruhe for 1888-89 (*Die Handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des L. Iun. Mod. Columella (de re rust.) mit einer kritischen Ausgabe des X Buches*) occur the following words (italics are mine).

'der aus dem XIV. J. stammende, jetzt in Moskau in der Bibliothek Demidoff liegende codex (membr. 264 fol.)'

This important codex formed a part of the Demidov collection, which has been incorporated in the Library of Moscow University. In 1779 it was collated, though, unhappily for the tenth book alone, by C. F. Matthaei (*Lectiones Mosquenses* 1779) as Prof. Häussner states (p. 21). But since then have occurred the Napoleonic invasion of Russia and the burning of Moscow; and the Demidov Columella, like the Demidov Propertius, is not to be found.

I owe this information to the kindness of

Professor Pokrovskij, who at the request of Mr. E. H. Minns, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has recently made search for the MS in the University Library, and I hasten to communicate it to the *Classical Review* lest the statement quoted above should cause trouble to others in the future or perhaps even send some scholar on a fool's errand to Moscow.

J. P. POSTGATE.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above note was in type, the first fasciculus of Lundström's text of Columella has come into my hands. The Mosquensis is described in the *præfatio*, as 'anno 1812 flammis deuoratus.' But I have not suppressed my note as I gather from the reference to the codex in Schanz *Geschichte der röm. Litteratur* II² (1901) p. 392 that its fate is not generally known.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF MARTIAL.

(3 families of MSS. :

- A from archetype A^A = H (with its copy T) and R,
 B from archetype B^A = LPQf,
 C from archetype C^A = EXAV and many others.)

The recent additions to our knowledge of the text-tradition of Martial, in particular the discovery of the Lucca MS. (L), provide some emendations which require no discussion :

IX li. 3 Stygias nam Tullus ad *umbras*.

Editors have accepted *undas* under the mistaken idea that it was the reading of P.

IX xc. 1 Sic in gramine *florido* reclinis.

Here too the accepted reading *floreo* has been wrongly attributed to P.

X xix. 2 Sed non rusticulum *tamen* libellum.

The *nimis* of our editors is a mere conjecture of Renaissance scholars to remedy the patent defect of the MSS. of the C-family which have put a word from a neighbouring line in this place. The B-family MSS. have *tamen*.

IV xxxiv. 1-2

Sordida cum tibi sit, verum tamen, Attale, *dicit*,

Quisquis te niveam *dicit* habere togam.

The Perfect Tense *dixit* in both lines was falsely supposed to be the reading of T.

The following title-headings in the Xenia (Book XIII) and the Apophoreta (Book XIV) require recognition :

XIII xli. Porcellus *lactans*,

XIV lxxxiii. Scalptorium *eboreum*,¹

and possibly XIII xxvii *Petalium* caryotarium ; for some such word as *petalium*, lit. 'little leaf,' i.e. a leaf-shaped bunch (!), and not *palathium*, seems required by the readings of our manuscripts : PETAVIVVM (*sic*) T, PETADIVM B^A, PETALIVM C^A.

And we now know that the only readings which have traditional authority in the following passages are :

I lxxxix. 2 *garrire*, cxvii. 13 *nec roges*, II

¹ This excellent reading of L (the only representative, except Q, and occasionally F, of the B^A headings in these books) settles the question of the true order of epigrams lxxxiii, lxxxiv. F also has the adjective. Q omits it.

Epist. 1 *parum enim*, 12 *fueris*, xxix. 10 *quid sit*, lii. 1 *loturos*, lxxiv. 7 *Fuficulenius*, lxxxiv. 4 *ab*, VI lxxiv. 4 *defulane*, X lxx. 5 *non*,² xxx. 17 *a*, XI xxxv. 2 *ad te*, XII lvii. 15 *quis*. In I lxxviii. 2 *suos* is a vagary of P. Both B^A and C^A had *ipsos*. In I xlviii. 6 all three archetypes had *caveae*, unless the *caveat* of T represents something else.

(For other instances see *Class. Rev.* xv. 419 ; xvi. 316).

In VI xxvii. 7 the reading of B^A was, I think, *sit pia, si locuples, et potet filia mustum* and should be accepted. In III xx. 12 whether its *rufus* (*Rufus*) is superior to the *rursus* of C^A is not clear (cf. II xxxiii. 2, where C^A shews *rusa* for *rufa*).

But further the whole conditions of textual emendation have been altered. We now know that our three archetypes, A^A, B^A, C^A, represent three different ancient editions of Martial, and that the B^A-text has come down to us by an Italian channel, the C^A-text by a French. How this new knowledge affects the emendation of the text will be best seen from an example. The 80th epigram of Book XI has caused difficulty to editors :

Litus beatae Veneris aureum Baias,
 Baias superbae blanda dona Naturae,
 Vt mille laudem, Flacce, versibus Baias,
 Laudabo digne-non satis tamen Baias.
 Sed Martialem, Flacce, malo quam Baias,
 Optare utrumque pariter inprobi votum est.
 Quod si deorum munere hoc tibi detur,
 Quid gaudiorum est Martialis et Baiae !

The emendation *tamen*, for *tibi*, in the second last line has been supported by the argument that the mediaeval contraction of *tamen*, viz. *tn* with suprascript stroke, might, owing to the bad light of a scriptorium or the illegible state of the page, be mistaken for the mediaeval contraction of *tibi*, viz. *t* with suprascript *i*. But what becomes of this argument now that we know that *tibi* was the reading both of B^A and C^A and therefore presumably (since contact of the Italian and French archetypes is unlikely) of the ancient copies from which B^A and C^A are derived ? The confusion of the mediaeval contractions might account for the reading

² In v. 12 LP agree in *rogent*, Qf in *-et*. The evidence of LP greatly outweighs the other. Martial uses the plural verb after two subjects joined with *ve* again in X xxx. 8 *Non blanda Circe Dardanisæ Caieta Desiderantur* (cf. *Class. Rev.* xvi. 316).

in one archetype, but not in both, unless (as is here obviously not the case) the confusion were one so inevitable that it would be likely to be made independently by transcribers in different countries. The emendation *tamen* would be perfectly suitable for the traditional text of most Latin authors; for our Latin MSS. are usually all derived from the same archetype, generally of the time of the Revival of Learning under Charlemagne, and the usual problem for the textual critic is to explain the manuscript variants as separate divergences from one and the same Carolingian text. Our MSS., or rather our archetypes, of Martial, are quite of a different order. Their variance gives us a divergence of reading that characterized different ancient editions, in many cases editions of the poet's own time; their agreement gives us the current text of possibly the third century A.D., a period not very far removed from the life-time of Martial himself. Gilbert's emendation *mihi* is therefore more attractive than *tamen*, for we can more easily imagine *tibi* to have been substituted for *mihi* at a very early stage of the text's history and to have been a corruption in that current edition from which the ancient sources of B^A and C^A may be both derived.¹

Most unfortunately the greater part of the emendations of Martial's text are of the same nature as this proposal of *tamen* for *tibi*. They go on the assumption that the traditional text of Martial is of the same kind as the traditional text of other Latin authors. Their method clashes with our new knowledge of the history of the text.

But not merely is the method of these emendations impugned by our new knowledge. The very *raison d'être* of emendation is called in question. Of course ancient MSS. and ancient editions were not infallible; but for all that one feels that there is not the same licence for attacking a reading supported by the consensus of three (or even two) ancient editions and a reading which depends on a single mediaeval MS. or archetype. The real field for textual emendation,

following its usual methods, is, we may almost say, narrowed to the *Spectacula*, a part of Martial's works for which we have the evidence only of one archetype, A^A. It may be worth our while to examine somewhat minutely the nature of this evidence.

The Archetype A^A is known to us only through three excerpt MSS., two of the ninth century, *R* and *H*, and one a little later than these, the famous codex Thuanicus (*T*). *T* is a copy² of *H* and since only a fragment of *H* is preserved, our three MSS. really resolve themselves into two, *T* and *R*. Sometimes *T* and *R* happen to choose the same epigram or part of an epigram, but more often their excerpts are different.

The first question that suggests itself with regard to the *Spectacula* is 'How much of the work has been lost?' To answer it, we must follow the usual method of induction and proceed from the known to the unknown. In the books³ whose whole text has been preserved to us by the other archetypes we find that the average portion of epigrams excerpted (in whole or in part) by one or other of the two MSS. is nearly a half, in the opening books rather more than a half, in the rest rather less. We may therefore guess that rather more than a half of the full number of epigrams in the *Spectacula*⁴ have been excerpted (in whole or in part) and that the actual number of

² And a very careless copy too. Witness I iii. 5, where *rhonchi* (followed by a word beginning with *i*) was written *runsi* or perhaps *runc* in A^A. This appears in *H* as *runt*, but in *T* this *runt* has become *fuertunt*. In the Thuanicus the Epithalamium of Catullus follows immediately on the Martial extracts, and is written by the same scribe. We must estimate his value as a witness for the text of Catullus from his testimony to the text of Martial. For example, he seems to have found a difficulty with the unfamiliar abbreviations of *quae* (*que*) and *qui* in his original. The Thuanicus spelling in v. 12 of the Epithalamium, *requirunt*, must not be too strongly vindicated against the spelling of the other MSS. *requacerunt* (-*que*-).

³ The *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, usually called Books XIII-XIV, were not excerpted in *H*, but transcribed in full, so much of them as remained in the archetype.

⁴ That the book was smaller than Book I I infer from I xlv, which surely contains a reference to the *Spectacula* as '*charta minor*' (i.e. *liber chartaceus minor*), contrasted with Book I (cf. vi, xxii), which is called '*charta maior*'.

Lascivos leporum cursus lusisque leonum
Quod maior nobis charta minorque gerit
Et bis idem facinus, nimium si, Stella, videtur
Hoc tibi, bis leporem tu quoque pone mihi.

The poem on the lion and the hare in the *Spectacula* has not been preserved. I xlv is another reply to the same charge of repetition. Martial 'more suo' is paving the way for a reiteration of the

¹ Friedlaender's defence of the traditional text is, however, I fancy, correct. He explains *Martialem* to mean, not the poet himself, but his cousin Julius Martialis, who is often referred to by this single name (V xx; VI i; X xlvii). The epigram seems to me a very cleverly worded discharge of the delicate task of suggesting to Flaccus that he should include Julius Martialis in the invitation to Baiae. In a recently published monograph ('The Ancient Editions of Martial'—Parker, Oxford, 1902) I have tried to glean what information is available regarding the three ancient editions of the poet and the three archetypes of our MSS., and have added collations of *L* and *E*.

lines preserved to us is about a half of the full amount.

Another doubtful point is the proper division of the excerpts. In the other books we find that *R* has a preference for couplets and either selects an epigram which consists of only two lines or else excerpts two lines of an epigram and discards the rest. *T* (*H*) sometimes takes a whole epigram, sometimes a portion. Often it takes two portions of the same epigram and writes them continuously. Thus of I xxxiv we find in *T* vv. 1-5 and 8-10, with no indication of a gap. It would seem that *T* (*H*) must have followed the same practice in the *Spectacula*, although modern editions do not recognize any instance of it. Editors prefer to suppose that the excerpt MSS. have in some cases¹ run two separate epigrams into one and in others² have wrongly divided a single epigram into two with the provision of a 'bogus' title-heading for the spurious 'new epigram.' If we examine the excerpts in the books where the proper division is revealed to us by the other families of MSS., we find that these mistakes of 'conflation' and 'wrong division' are hardly ever committed by the two Anthologies. Since *T*, the only MS. which has xvi and xvi^b, does not exhibit in its usual unmistakable fashion the word *vexerat* of xvi^b as the opening word of a new epigram, one is tempted to follow the Renaissance editors in uniting the couplet and quatrain into one piece:

Raptus abit media quod ad aethera taurus
harena,

Non fuit hoc artis, sed pietatis opus.

Vexerat Europen fraterna per aequora
taurus:

At nunc Alciden taurus in astra tulit.

Caesaris atque Iovis confer nunc, fama,
iuvencos:

Par onus ut tulerint, altius iste tulit;

same offence (cf. xlviij, li, lx and, more remote, civ.)

The content of the page of A^A seems to have been some thirty-six lines. At *Spect.* vi. 6 and vii. 7 are two defective lines: *hoc [et] iam femineo* and *denique supplicium*. It is natural to refer them to the same hole in the parchment of A^A, and to guess the size of the interval which originally separated them. Both fragments are in the MS. (*T*) represented as the beginnings of lines. This would be possible if the page of A^A were written (as seems likely) in two columns. The one defective line would be in the left-hand column of a recto, the other in the left-hand column of a verso. Otherwise we should be forced to regard the *hoc etiam femineo* of *T* as, not the beginning, but the end of a line, e.g. <Quis iaculo abuerit tal> *ia femineo*?

¹ Thus Schneidewin makes a new epigram at iv. 5, Friedlaender at xii. 7.

² The Renaissance editors print vi and vi^b as one epigram.

for the reference seems to be to some 'bestiarius' (Carpophorus?) who was raised into the air to receive the applause of the spectators, he being attired as Hercules and seated on a bull. But it must be remembered that this book deals with the incidents of the opening festivities of the Colosseum and that the same incident would furnish a number of epigrams, each striking a different note on the same theme (cf. xii, xiii, xiv). The *T*-heading of xvi is DE HERCVLE QVI INSIDENS TAVRO RAPTVS EST and of xvi^b IDEM.

Two epigrams, generally attributed to the *Spectacula*, xxxi and xxxii, are preserved only in another class of Anthology MSS. of a much later age, (*N*, *D*, *Fris.*). Whether the two come also from the archetype A^A cannot be determined. But if we look closely at the text of the few epigrams preserved for us by this trio of MSS., we find that it is not of good quality. Very often it offers a reading which is clearly a 'doctored' reading, not traditional, e.g. VIII lix. 4 *piceata* instead of *piperata*. It would not be safe to regard it as a direct transmission of the text of A^A or of any equally good archetype.

Nor can we find any justification for the view that the Italian Renaissance MSS. may have drawn upon A^A itself or on lost transcripts of A^A, which were superior to the existing transcripts. There is nothing to indicate that any Italian scholar or scribe had at his disposal better manuscript material than we have, except that he may have had access to the archetype B^A itself. We possess only transcripts of B^A; but there are four of them and they furnish us with a quite satisfactory text of their original.

Besides the text, the arrangement of the epigrams has new light thrown on it by our fuller knowledge of the MSS. There is a natural tendency to acquiesce in the order determined by the earliest printed editions; for, after all, epigrams are isolated compositions and their order cannot be of great importance. Yet we often seem to see evidence of careful arrangement on the part of Martial; and now that we have sufficient manuscript material to elicit the genuine traditional order, it will be well to follow it, especially since no great disturbance of the accepted numbering is required in any part of the volume:

in the *Spectacula* the right order of sequence is xxix, xxvii, xxx, xxviii, and, so far as the evidence goes, xxxii, xxxi, in Book VI, lxi, lx,

in Book VIII, l, li, xlix, lii, lv, liii, lvi, liv,
in Book IX, vi–ix, v,
in Book X, xx, xiii–xix,
in Book XI, l, xlix,
in Book XII, iii–v, ii, xxvii–xxix, xxvi,
xlvi, xlv.

Another thing in which editors have wrongly acquiesced is the stop-gap *Pontice* for the omission in XII xxix. 1 :

Hermogenes tantus mapparum * fur est.

Martial does not use Proper Names at hazard. The name *Ponticus* has a definite rôle (or rôles) assigned to it, *Aeschylus* has another, *Zoilus* another. Whatever name Martial actually employed in this line, it seems certain that he could not have employed the name *Ponticus* : it would be unsuitable for this context. The most likely name of the required metrical form appears to be *Castricus* ; for we find epigrams couched in narrative form, describing the follies or foibles of other people, addressed to Martial's friend *Castricus*, e.g. VII iv, xxxvii. So we had better read :

Hermogenes tantus mapparum, *Castrice*, fur est.

Another possible name would be *Maximus* (cf. V lxx ; X lxxvii).

I would keep the traditional reading in II xlvi. 7–8

Tu spectas hiemem succincti lentus amici

Pro scelus ! et lateris frigora trita times,
with the meaning 'you express polite apprehension in case your client should feel the cold with his thread-bare coat,' *times* having the sense of *timorem exhibes* or *dicis te timere*. All three archetypes agree in this reading. Perhaps also in XII xxxviii. 1–2, where the evidence of the best archetype is wanting :

Hunc qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris

Incedit tota notus in urbe nimis,

making *cathedris* depend on *notus*. In XIV xl (the evidence of A^A is again wanting) *Cicindela*, the traditional reading, is right. It was a term for a kind of lamp. Cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. II 338, 24, where we have evidence of a glossary with *cicindela* glossed as *kandela* ;¹ Anth. Lat. I 185 tit. DE

CICINDELO (*sic*) ; see also Georges s.v.

In XII lxxvi. 1 *uicenis* of *T* practically supports the *uigesis* (-*gessis*) of B^AC^A, which

¹ The use of *k* (common before *a*, e.g. *karus* for *carus*) made the word look like a Greek word, and may have led to its inclusion in a bilingual glossary.

should be accepted. For the Gen. cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV ix. 9, not to mention Catull. v. 3 and Seneca *Ep.* 123, 11. In XII lxxxviii. 1 it is possible that the two archetypes B^AC^A (A^A *n.l.*) have made the same mistake of writing *ego* for *nego*. On the other hand their reading might be defended by a reference to I xli. 18 Non cuicumque datum est habere nasum, 'to have satirical talents.'

The point of II lxxix. 2 is surely that instead of the usual formula of declining an invitation to dinner, 'I am already engaged,' 'I am dining out,' there is substituted 'I am dining at home' :

Invitas tunc me, cum scis, Nasica, vocasse.

Excusatum habebas me rogo : ceno domi.

We should read *vocasse* with A^AB^A, not *vocatum* with C^A.

In III xciii. 20 the manuscript tradition point to *sisätiae*, Gen. Sing., governed by *quid*. Was this a slang word connected with the 'nursery' term *sisciare* ?

For VIII lviii :

Cum tibi tam crassae sint, Artemidore,
lacernae,

Possim te Sagarim iure uocare meo,

the only explanation I can offer is that it was a reply to some epigram aimed at the poet, something of this fashion :

Cum tibi tam tenues sint, Marce poeta,
lacernae,

Possim te Tanain iure vocare meo.

Another difficult epigram is IX xcv :

Alphius ante fuit (fui), coepit (-pi) nunc
Olphius esse,

Uxorem postquam duxit Athenagoras.

Was 'ölpha' a current name for the letter we call 'Omega,' a name coined after 'alpha' ? And is the meaning 'He (or I) was once the chief friend of Athenagoras, but now of no account' ?

Of X lxxxviii :

Omnes persequeris praetorum, Cotta, libellos
(A^A : locellos B^A)

Accipis et ceras. Officiosus homo es,

Friedlaender remarks 'Ein bei jeder Interpunktion völlig unverständliches Epigramm.' May it not be that Cotta, not content with the published programme at the Games, provided himself with wax-tablets in addition ? The *quid faciat* of II lxxiii seems to convey the same pun as the *quid ego ago* of Plaut. *Most.* 368.

In XIII lxv. 2 the A^A reading is rightly preferred by editors (cf. Isid. *Orig.* XII vii. 63). Here, as in so many other passages,

A^A represents an ancient edition which was drawn from better sources than the other two editions. They may however contain the poet's first setting of the line. It is difficult to decide whether *mandere* and *condere* are mere scribal variants (cf. *Class. Rev.* xv. 417 n.) or divergent readings of ancient editors. Reading *mandere*, we may supply *mensis* after *lautorum*; but *condere* is hard to justify, even if we supposed *saepe* to be not the Preposition but the Ablative of *saepe*. The spelling in the MSS. may represent *inlautorum* equally with

in lautorum; but *inlautorum* would go better with *credere* (often confused with *condere*). The *ponere* of Q is a mere scribe's vagary, caused by the opening word of the epigram, *ponitur*.

In XIV xxix. 2 *mandatus*, 'an official order,' (so A^AB^A) is surely satisfactory. The *nam ventus* of C^A is either a genuine 'first thought' of the poet or a conjectural emendation of some corruption like *nam datus*. But for the *nam flatus* of Isaac Pontanus there is no room whatsoever.

W. M. LINDSAY.

NOTES ON PLINY'S LETTERS.

THE MSS. and editions referred to in the following notes are as follows: **B**, cod. Ashburnham R. 98 (37) of the Medicean library in Florence (once in the chapter library of St. Mary's of Beauvais, and later in the Riccardian library at Florence); **F**, cod. S. Marci 284, of the same library; **M**, cod. plut. xlvii. no. 36, of the same library; **V**, cod. Vat. lat. 3864, of the Vatican library; **o**, cod. Ottobon. lat. 1965, of the same library; **u**, cod. Vrbinas lat. 1153, of the same library; **a**, first ed. of Aldus, Venice, 1508; **A**, ed. of Avantius (X. 41-121); **O**, copy in the Bodleian library described by Mr. E. G. Hardy in *Jour. Philol.* v. 17, pp. 95 ff., and in his edition of the correspondence with Trajan. All the readings given are from my own collations, with the exception of those ascribed to **O**, which are taken from Mr. Hardy's works just referred to.

I. 2. 1 ζήλω a zelo ou stilo (but marg. 1 h. al ZHΛΩ) **B** stilo (though sti- app. over slight blot) **F** libro **M** libro (but later erased and stillo add. marg. 2 h.) **V**.—The testimony of the Beauvais codex shows the early prevalence of the gloss *stilo*, but as surely gives, though as an alternative, the original reading. The question of the relative value of the MSS. of the Letters is not here concerned, though it is both interesting and important to find that we no longer need imagine that the restoration of the text in this place may be due only to an acute emendation of the 15th century. Iwan v. Müller pointed out (*Jahresb. über d. Forts. d. Altw.* 1883, p. 170) that ζήλος came to be in the imperial period a technical synonym for *χαρακτήρ*, and so for *stilus*. This may well explain how ζήλω in the text came to

be glossed by *stilo*, and therefore finally displaced by it, but is not convincing for the meaning of ζήλω in this passage. Here the Greek word probably represents a colloquial usage, which helped *zelus* to supersede *studium* in the Romance languages (cf. French *zèle*). That the Greek word is the original, and the Latin the gloss, may probably be accepted at sight, in view of the reading of **B**, and the comparison of the blind attempt of the progenitor of **M** to fathom the meaning. The argument necessary to establish the point would be along familiar and elementary lines.

I. 2. 2 pauci equitius adsequi possunt (possint **B**) **BF** pauci quos aequus (equus **V**) amavit qui possunt **MV** (a second hand has inserted in the margin of **V** nam pauci uim tantorum uirorum quos aequus assequi possunt) pauci quos aequus assequi possunt **o** pauci equos assequi possunt **u** pauci, quos aequus, assequi possunt **a**.—I hope to be able to point out elsewhere that Aldus follows in the main the tradition of a line of MSS. to which, of all extant MSS., **B** is most closely related. In some instances where the readings of Aldus vary slightly from those of **B**, or of **BF**, and appear to give the truth, his readings are doubtless due to a remarkably keen discernment of the original underlying a MS. error. In other instances it is unsafe to say that his MS. was not simply better than **B**. The present instance may be difficult to classify in this regard, but that the reading of Aldus, though apparently emended in a single letter through a misunderstanding of the meaning, is otherwise the writing of Pliny himself appears to me most probable.

Pliny apparently wrote 'pauci quos

aequus' adsequi possunt. Aldus may have had a source like that of the second hand of **V**, but at any rate he shows no confusion in the words that precede those immediately under consideration. And the reading of **o**, with its slight emendation in the direction of supposed sense, as well as that of **u**, which tries to make sense by boldly striking out *quos* altogether, indicate the prevalence in the 15th century of that brief reading which is clearly the one that **B** and **F** sturdily maintain, though in unintelligible form. It was to be expected that early scholars, recognising the familiar quotation from Verg. *Aen.* vi. 129, should be unwilling to let the quoted sentence hang fire at the end. Accordingly a progenitor of **M** added the next word *amavit*, which completed both the Vergilian line and the syntactical form, while the *editio princeps* (possibly following some MS. of not very much earlier date than itself) added to *amavit* the missing subject *Jupiter* from the beginning of the next line of the Aeneid. But that Pliny should remind his correspondent of the familiar quotation by a mere initial tag, syntactically incomplete, need surprise no one. Compare, for example, Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 4 ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον οὐδὲ βοείην,—a familiar instance from the writings of a man who was Pliny's constant admiration and model. It may be said, to be sure, that Sidonius Apollinaris, whose echoes of Pliny are very frequent, quotes this Vergilian passage with *amavit* (*Ep.* iv. 3. 10 *nam te... 'pauci quos aequus amavit' imitabuntur*), but this is not of importance in the face of such evidence as that given by the MSS. For not only are **BFa** in general superior in authority to **MV** and *a fortiori* to all other MSS., but in addition to this fact it is easier to account for the later insertion of *amavit* in such a well-known phrase than for its later omission, had it stood originally in Pliny's text.

I. 12. 9. It may be interesting to note that Keil's conjecture of *Geminum* for *Geminium* (**BFua**), or *Germanium* (**M**), or *Germanum* (**V**), though doubtless wrong, is the actual reading of **o**.

I. 20. 19 *lata et magnifica et excelsa* **BFMVa** *alta magnifica et excelsa* **o** *elata magnifica et excelsa* **u**.—In the face of such a consensus in favour of *lata* it is perhaps too bold a venture to believe that Pliny wrote instead of it *elata*, as **u** happens to read,—though the testimony of **MV** alone would amount to but little on precisely such

a point as this, since so frequently the tradition of **MV** shows traces of an early rhetorical revision, one part of which apparently consisted in the lopping off of prefixes. The only thing to cause a moment's hesitation about *lata* is the fact that Pliny, when using such rhetorical triplets, inclines to select those that approximate pretty closely in meaning, and *lata* does not fit in with the two other epithets quite as well as *elata*,—which, moreover, is the reading in i. 8. 5. *est enim paulo quasi gloriosius et elatius* (though **V** reads *latius*, and **ou** even *clarius*), also on a point of rhetoric. More striking yet is iii. 13. 4, where *elata* and *excelsa* are joined together in a characterization of style (only **ou** read for *elata*, *et lata*). On the other hand *lata* goes better with adjectives like *uber* (cf. iv. 17. 11 *latius et uberius*), and nowhere else in Pliny is joined with adjectives like *magnifica* and *excelsa*.

II. 11. 23 ΑΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ **F** ΜΠΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ **MV** *om. in blank (but later h. λειτούργιον o)* **ou** λειτούργιον **a**. A later hand in the margin of **F** writes λειτούργιον, and gives as its Latin synonym *negocium*. The same word occurs also in ii. 12. 1 ΑΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ **F** ΑΙΠΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ **MV** *om. in blank (but later h. εἰτούργιον, and space left for initial Δ o)* **ou** λειτούργιον **a**.—The testimony of **B** is lacking, on account of the loss of two leaves of the MS. The general meaning of the word is made clear enough by its context. It must denote a small piece of business, perhaps supplementary to a larger one (cf. the marginal gloss in **F**). But the known meanings of the familiar and classical λειτούργιον do not fit the case. Nor does its etymology hold out any hope. On the whole the reading of **F** in ii. 11. 23 is left as the best refuge (and **F** is not a sophisticated MS.). λῑτούργιον may be connected with λῑτός. If it was a technical, or semi-technical, word, or a colloquial word, its absence from classical Greek writers need occasion no wonder, and would account well enough for the substitution for it in the 15th century of the well-known λειτούργιον. Cf. the character of some of the Greek words in Cicero's letters.

II. 11. 23 *sestertia decem milia*.—This, with one or two orthographical variations, is the reading of **FMVoua**. (The leaf of **B** containing this passage is lost, but the consensus of **F** and **a** indicates that the reading of **B** would have been the same). The earliest editions agree upon the same reading,—but in a copy in my possession of the

edition printed at Treviso in 1483, which contains many corrections in the handwriting of Pomponio Leto, and appears to have been used by him in preparation for his own edition issued at Rome in 1490, *sestertia* has been changed by Leto to *sestertium*; and this is the reading given by him in his edition, and by a number of other early editors as well as by later. To the reading *sestertium* Mommsen also commits himself in Keil's critical edition of 1870. The reason must be either that *sestertia decem milia* means ten million sesterces,—too magnificent a *buona mano* to be extorted from Marcianus even by the servant of a Marius Priscus,—or that Pliny at least, if not other writers, cannot use *sestertia decem milia* to mean ten thousand sesterces. To be sure *HS* (= *sestertium*) may easily have been expanded into *sestertia*, but it is manifestly unreasonable to advance even the simplest and most satisfactory hypothesis concerning the origin of an error, unless it can previously be shown that an error certainly exists, despite the consensus of MS. tradition. Neither of the possible contentions mentioned above can be established. To take them up in inverse order, in no other place in Pliny, unless I miscount, does *sestertia* occur. In ten places *sestertium* occurs, but in each instance with the numeral adverb, the MSS. reading unanimously in every instance *sestertium*, as they should, and showing no tendency toward *sestertia*. In one instance only (X. 37. 1) *a*, the only authority, reads *HS*, and here also the following numeral must be taken as the adverb. Evidently then the cases in Pliny are not calculated to show by inter-comparison that he could not use *sestertia* in ii. 11. 23 in any sense of which other writers of a good period considered it patient. And to return to the first point, Hultsch seems to have shown clearly enough (*Griech. u. Röm. Metrol.*,² p. 293 f.) that *sestertia* was not rarely used adjectivally with *milia*, whether standing before or after the numeral. There seems therefore no reason to challenge the reading of the MSS., nor to doubt that *sestertia decem milia* in II. 11. 23 means 'ten thousand sesterces.'

VII. 27. 8 *aduentare etiam ut Mou aduentare etiam, ac iam ut a aduentare, et iam ut edd.*—The reading *et iam ut* would be entirely acceptable, were it not for the testimony of *a*, which in general deserves much more careful attention than it usually receives, especially in that part of the correspondence that follows V. 6, with which

the testimony of *BF* ceases. I hope to be able to show elsewhere the importance of *a*, and the ground for belief that *M* (and *V*) present the results of a (perhaps tolerably early) revision of the text in the interests of a closer conformity to commonplace rhetorical standards. The doublet in *a* suggests the less commonplace *ac iam* as possibly the original reading, which has sometime been glossed by *et iam* (read later as *etiam*). This has then made its way into the context, and by virtue of its apparent applicability to the preceding *aduentare* has not displaced *ac iam* in the tradition represented by *a*, though the more critical redactor of the progenitor of *Mou*, recognising truly that both readings could not stand, thrust out the rightful occupant of the place.

ac iam seems indeed to be Pliny's most characteristic way of bringing a string of particulars up to a climax; cf. e.g. I. 14. 7 *quaesturam, tribunatum, praeturam honestissime percucurrit, ac iam, etc.*; V. 10. 1 *appellantur cotidie et flagitantur, ac iam periculum est ne, etc.*

X. 79. 2 *edictum diui Augusti quo permisit minores magistratus ab annis duobus et uiginti capere Aa* X. 80. *non minores duo et uiginti annorum A non minores duorum et uiginti annorum a.*—Pliny has just remarked that Pompey, in organizing the province of Bithynia under Roman administration, set the age of thirty as that at which admission to the local senate could be gained by *adlectio*, or the lower magistracy held that admitted to the senate. This was entirely in accord with the law in Rome itself at the time, and it is well known that in the organization of its municipalities Rome endeavoured to frame their regulations as closely as possible after those of the capital. (Cf. e.g. the *lex Iulia municipalis*, of the year 45 B.C., in *Bruns Fontes*⁶, p. 109, which agrees in the age limitation with the specific decree of Pompey, and establishes it as the ordinary law of all municipalities, colonies, and praefectures.) Now Augustus reduced the age at which the quaestorship could be held in Rome, and consequent admission gained to membership in the Roman senate, from thirty to twenty-five years. It might therefore be expected that municipal regulations framed by authority from Rome after that date would follow suit, and fix twenty-five years instead of thirty as the date for the holding of the *minores magistratus* and for admission to the municipal senate. There is no reason in the nature of things why Augustus should have made the

age-limit in Bithynia lower than in Rome, and precedents for such action appear to be lacking. Accordingly I am tempted to believe that Augustus kept up the previous Roman policy, and lowered the age-limit in Bithynia (and doubtless in other provinces) to accord precisely with the reduction made at Rome. We should therefore read in both Pliny's letter and Trajan's reply *quinque et uiginti* in place of *duobus et uiginti* and *duorum et uiginti* respectively. The source of the error in *Aa*, or in their archetype, is of course easy to conjecture, the numeral *xxxi* being read as *xxii*. Indeed that the number was indicated by numerals instead of words not very far back of the time of printing may be guessed from the ungrammatical variation of *A* in Trajan's answer (X. 80). I trust I do not need to apologize for not following Keil (and in a sense the earlier editors) in denoting the book of correspondence with Trajan by *Trai.*, instead of calling it Book X. For not only does Aldus bear indubitable witness to the existence of a ten-book MS. of Pliny's Letters (including, to make up the number, the correspondence with Trajan), but since Keil's critical edition was published the title of the rediscovered codex *B* gives as the original contents of the volume in its un-mutilated form *C. PLINI SECVNDI EPISTVLARVM LIBRI NVMERO DECEM*.

X. 121 *nec dubitandum fuisse si expectasset donec A nec dubitandum fuisset si expectasset donec Oa.*—The reading of the Bodleian copy and of Aldus is evidently a desperate attempt to make sense at the end of the book, and to complete the meaning Aldus felt bound to insert after *adiuvandum esset* below—what is a palpable interpolation—*usum eorum intentioni tuae non profuisse*. Neither Beroaldus with *nec dubitandum fuisse si expectasset*, nor Catanaeus with *non*

dubitandum fuisse si expectasset, offers any new light. Both are evidently trying small and ineffective emendations of the text of Avantius. Nor have later editors succeeded in clearing up the difficulty. Mommsen indeed tries to cut the Gordian knot after the manner of Aldus by a vigorous interpolation, reading *nec dubitandum fuit tibi facere quae sero fecisses si expectasset donec*, and Keil adopts his emendation. But such desperate deeds of valour are not to be resorted to, even in Book X., if anything else can be done. Mr. Hardy, in his edition of the correspondence with Trajan, conjectures *quae dubitanda fuisset, si expectasset, donec*, interpreting 'Trajan says that Pliny's confidence in him would have appeared doubtful if he had waited.' But the use of the gerundive *dubitanda* with *fuisset*, even by Trajan, in the sense of *dubia* or *incerta uisa esset*, or of *suspecta esset* or *fuisset*, arouses doubt. I have wondered whether it could be possible that Trajan wrote *nec fuit tibi expectandum donec*. *Expectandum* might then have been glossed above the line by '*i*' *dubitandum*, suggested in part at least by *dubitavi* in the concluding sentence of Pliny's letter immediately preceding, and *fuit tibi* might not impossibly be corrupted into *fuisset si*, which would surely tend to bring *dubitandum* down into the line before *fuisset*, and to secure the change of *expectandum* into a form grammatically possible after *fuisset si*. I have also imagined at times as an alternative that Trajan wrote *non fuisse tibi expectandum* as an appositive to *fiduciam*, from which clause the evolution into the form of *A* or a would be in about the same line as before indicated.

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A NOMINATIVE FOR *VICEM*.

ALL lexica and grammars agree in the statement that the nominative case singular of *uicem* was not in use. While this is doubtless true of the classical period, I have pleasure in reporting that I discovered an example of the missing nominative some three years ago. This example occurs, not, as might be expected, in some recently published *anecdoton*, but in a work which

has been in print for over four hundred years. [Augustinus] *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (a work written in Italy during the last quarter of the fourth century) *qu. lxxxiii.* reads thus:—*forte non contradiceretur, si pro hac misericordia uices illi aliqua redderetur*. The printed text (Migne *P.L.* xxxv.), based on a late MS. or late MSS., reads *vicis*, but six ninth century

MSS., which I have collated, have *uices*, and this must be preferred. Lest it should be retorted that *uices* is plural and that *aliquae redderentur* should be read, I must point out that *uicem reddere* is a favourite phrase of this author occurring altogether twenty-one times, and that the plural occurs once only.¹ [Ambrosius] in 2. Cor. 8, 14 is the reference: *haec est aequalitas ut quia isti in hoc*

¹ References and quotations will be given in my forthcoming *Study of Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge Texts and Studies), chap. iii.

tempore ministrant sanctis reddantur illis uices in futuro. So the printed text (Migne P.L. xvii. 327 D), but some MSS. give *reddatur illis uices*, while one gives *reddant illis uicem*. Sound criticism will, I believe, agree with those which read *reddatur*, and thus give us a second example of the nominative singular. The nominative singular of *uicem* was, then, neither *uicis*, nor *uix*, but *uices*.

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ETYMOLOGICAL VARIETIES.

I.—*The Accent of μήτηρ.*

THE accent of *μήτηρ* was originally on the same syllable as that of *πατήρ*, as the evidence of their declension and the Sanskrit cognates shows. Why has it shifted? On the analogy of the vocative, I should answer straightway, were I to use analogy as a *deus ex machina* to be invoked whenever a phonetic knot can not be untied. But I am convinced that analogy can override custom only in virtue of superior power, and so I must face the difficulty that *πατήρ* has kept its accent unaltered by the analogy which has affected its correlative. A little reflexion however proves it to be far from a serious one. In the Greek household the vocative of *μήτηρ* would be in far more frequent use than that of *πατήρ*—amongst the girls to the end of their unmarried life, and amongst the boys until they joined the outdoor pursuits of their father. So while *μητήρ* went a-wandering after *μητρει*, *πατήρ* stayed where it was.

II.—*The Greek Comparative and Superlative Adverbs.*

Why, has asked many a puzzled schoolboy who has heard that these adverbs are neuters of their adjectives, should the Greeks have put the one in the singular and the other in the plural? And no answer has he found. We may darken counsel and confuse the phonetic laws of Greek by accepting Joh. Schmidt's theory that *κάκιστα*, e.g., is the singular nominative of an abstract substantive. But we are no further on. The singular of the comparative adverb presents no difficulty, as the parallel of Latin shows. *λέγεις κάλλιον τούτου* 'you speak better'—that is the one comparison—'than

he.' But in the superlative *λέγεις κάλλιστα τούτων* 'you speak best of (all) these' your speaking is compared more than once, to that of at least an A and a B: the comparisons are several, and so the neuter shifts into the plural. This shift is characteristic of lively Greek and cannot be expected from Latin. Latin forms its superlative adverbs by the light of its positives: *pulchre*—*pulcherrime*. This is not surprising. For the intensive sense 'very beautiful' is far more deeply impressed upon the Latin superlative, adjective and adverb, than on the Greek, as is shown not only in their difference of usage, but by the fact that the superlative survived, when it did survive, in the Romance languages in the intensive or 'absolute' sense alone, being replaced in the other sense, 'most beautiful,' by new formations, *il più* etc. This is in harmony with what we have observed above about the superlative adverb.

III.—*On arma victricia and the like.*

Prof. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 371, compares the use of the suffix in *-ic* with neuter nouns to the extension to the Neuter of the S-suffix of the Masc. and Fem. [in the Nominative] in Adjectives like *audax*, *diues*. Both are extensions; and that is all. For, as Mr. Lindsay notes, after Neue ii.³ p. 15 (rather § 15) *uictrix* is not used as a neuter in the singular till late Latin. In Augustan Latin, where it first appears, the peculiarity is still further restricted. You will only find it in the form of the heading, Verg. Prop. Ov., and in *uictricia fulmina* Ovid. Later we have '*uictricium armorum*' '*uictricibus armis*' Val. Max. on the one hand, and '*uictricia signa*' Lucan, '*u. spicula*' Silius, '*u. bella*' Statius (also '*u. castra, colla,*

regna, uexilla in later writers) and ‘*ultricia bella*’, Sil., ‘*ult. tela, Tartara*’ Statius (and in later or unknown writers ‘*ult. uerba, arma*’) on the other. It is clear that the usage started with a case-form in *ā* and with a word (*arma*) that had no singular, and was gradually extended. Of the extensions we may consider those which confined it to the case-form in which it started as the more legitimate, since it clearly sprang from the feminine associations of the short *-a*. This drift of the *a* of the plural had, as is well known, an important influence in shaping the declension of these neuters in the Romance languages, issuing often in irregularities like that of the Italian: Sing. *il membro* (Masc.), Plur. *le membra*, partially feminine, but also *i membri*, completely masculine, *le membre*, completely feminine.

IV.—On the passive infinitive with *iri*.

The two idioms last discussed show the very characteristic which Prof. Sonnenschein on Rudens 1242 *mihi istaec uidetur praeda praedatum irier* (ed. minor) regards as an argument against Palmer’s and my rendering of the infinitive there as active in sense (will go a-plundering) and against Neue’s and my explanation of the future passive infinitive in *iri*: ‘an active *praedatum iri*—says Prof. Sonnenschein, ‘is grammatically inconceivable...the construction is not only contrary to rule, but also incapable of analysis.’ The last statements, true as they are, do not frighten a comparative philologist, nor force him to admit the truth of the first.

An adverb in the plural and a neuter noun with a feminine adjective are appearances ‘contrary to rule,’ ‘incapable of analysis’; but if grammatically inconceivable, so much the worse for grammar. The tenour of of Prof. Sonnenschein’s note assures me that he would interpret the line of Plautus as we wish if he saw his way out of the grammatical difficulty. This is not after all such a serious one. It is recognised on all hands that all the other so-called ‘passive’ formations are employed in deponent verbs without the passive force. Why should this future infinitive passive be an exception? If ‘*praedor, praedaris, praedatur*’ with a deponent sense are not anomalies, why should *praedatum iri* with the same be one either? These *iri* formations are by no means common; and that only a single instance of the use has been preserved need not surprise us.

The origin of the formation in *iri* is far clearer on Neue’s theory than on the current one. This breaks down completely when confronted with the well-known crux ‘*reus parricidii damnatum iri uidebatur*,’ quoted by Quintilian. To make out of an active future ‘to go to condemn’ a passive future ‘to be ‘goned’ to condemn’ is no doubt a rather crude proceeding: but is it cruder than to give *potest, nequit, coepit* the passive inflexions when they have a passive infinitive depending on them and make of them *potestur, nequitur, coeptum est*? I trow not.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTES.

ON HERODOTUS I. 207.—ἐκείνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔα αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν.

This comparison of human affairs to a revolving wheel (which Herodotus puts in the mouth of Croesus) is common in the East to this day. The Greeks give expression to the idea in two homely proverbs: ὁ καιρὸς εἶναι τροχός, and ἐγὼ ὁ τροχὸς γυρίσματα κ’ οἱ μῆνες ἐβδουάδες; while the Turks embody it in the following aphorism: *Boo dooniâ teharkifellek’dîr; ask olsoon tcheverindây*, ‘This world is a wheel; happy the man who can turn it (i.e. control its revolutions).’

G. F. ABBOTT.

DEMETRIUS περὶ ἐρμηνείας AND PLINY THE YOUNGER.

Demetr. § 296 καθόλου δὲ ὥσπερ τὸν αὐτὸν κηρὸν ὁ μὲν τις κύνα ἐπλάσεν, ὁ δὲ βούν, ὁ δὲ ἵππον, οὕτω καὶ πρᾶγμα ταῦτόν οἱ μὲν τις ἀποφαινόμενος καὶ κατηγορῶν φησιν...ἕτερος δὲ ταῦτόν ὑποθετικῶς προκίτταται.

Plin. ep. vii 9 § 11

ut laus est cerae, mollis cedensque sequatur
si doctos digitos iussaque fiat opus,
et nunc informet Martem castamve Minervam,
nunc Venerem effingat, nunc Veneris puerum,
sic hominum ingenium flecti ducique per artes
non rigidas docta mobilitate decet.

Other parallels in Casaubon on Pers. iii 28, Jahn *ibid.* v 40, Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. *cera*,¹ p. 80, the *Paroemiographi* of Leutsch ii 74 col. i, Wetstein etc. on Rom. 9 20. Add Quintil. x 5 2 nec aliena tantum transferre, sed etiam nostra pluribus modis tractare proderit: ut ea industria sumamus sententias quasdam, easque versemus quam numerosissime, velut eadem cera aliae atque aliae formae duci solent. Hieron. ep. 52 3 pr. (i 272b Vallarsi) mollis cera et ad formandum facilis, etiam si artificis et plastae cessent manus, tamen τῇ δυνάμει totum est, quidquid esse potest.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

* * *

QUERY: DANTE'S EUNOE AND AN ORPHIC TABLET.
—In the well-known Orphic tablet in the British Museum (Kaibel, *I.G.S.I.* No. 641 and *J.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 112) the soul in Hades is bidden to abstain from a well-spring on the left hand—presumably Lethe—and to drink of another well flowing from the mere of Mnemosyne.

Εὐρύσειε δ' ἐτέραν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον.

Mr. F. M. Cornford drew my attention to the fact that the two Orphic well-springs have a close analogy in Dante (*Purg.* xxviii. 130, xxxi. 98, and xxxiii. 127)

Quinci Letè, così dall' altro lato
Eunoè si chiama.

Commentators say nothing as to whence Dante borrowed his Eunoè. Can any reader of the *Classical Review* supply his source? My immediate reason for asking this question is that, in another Orphic tablet (Kaibel, *I.G.S.I.* 642), the words occur:

ἀλλ' ὁπότεαμ' ψυχῇ φάος ἡελαιο
δεξιὸν ε . . οίας.

Kaibel restores εἰσιθι ὡς δεῖ, Prof. Comparetti *εὐνοίας*; neither seems to me quite satisfactory, and I would suggest δεξιὸν Ε[ὐν]οίας. Eunoia, consciousness of good, seems analogous to the Platonic *ἀνάνησις* and the well may lurk in some obscure Neoplatonic writer. Or is it a local Pythagorean tradition surviving to Dante's time in Lower Italy, the home of the tablets?

JANE E. HARRISON.

REVIEWS.

LUDWICH'S *ILIAD*.

Homeri Carmina recensuit et selecta lectionis varietate instruxit Arthurus Ludwich.
Pars prior. *Ilias.* Volumen prius. 1902.
16 M.

THE great undertaking which Professor Ludwich, now many years ago, put before himself,—of collecting the documentary evidence for the Homeric poems—, has been materially advanced by the publication of this volume. In 1889 Prof. Ludwich gave us the *Odyssey*, in 1896 the *Batrachomachia*; we owe to him also a specimen of the Hymns, various specimens of Scholia, his Aristarchus, his *Homervulgata* and other books and programmes, leading up to his editions, the bibliography of which runs to pages. The world of 'Ομηρίδαι (if, as we have been told, this word is a synonym of 'Ομηρικοί) must offer its warm congratulations to the unwearied worker—collator and collector—upon the achievement of the greater portion of his task.

The book resembles in arrangement the *Odyssey*. A brief preface (which might have been longer, for the readers' convenience) gives a list of the MSS. used. Beside the papyri, which are complete up to date (and therefore slightly fuller than those used in Dr. Leaf's *Iliad*, vol. i, ed. 2) as many as 81 minuscules are cited. Some of these are taken over from older editions, others supplied by contemporary collators—most of the Paris MSS. from Leaf, the two Escorial MSS. from Bethe—the rest are due to the energy of the editor. Such a host of

codices, especially as their variants are given in full, assures to the edition an independent value in face of the rivals which have of late appeared upon the scene. While I acknowledge the merits of Dr. Leaf, it is not to him, nor to a third edition, but to Ludwich, that I turn for information on a given line.

As in the *Odyssey*, Ludwich has not arranged his MSS. in families: he contents himself with a reference to his *Beiträge zur Homerischen Handschriftenkunde* where his views are given. This system has the advantage that the value of the apparatus does not depend upon the correctness of the distribution into families, but it proportionately lengthens the critical notes. I must be allowed to say that the MS.-variants seem needlessly full; e.g. what is the value or significance of 'παμποικίλοι Ω (—πίκιλοι Ο', —ποίκιλοι Ρ^α)' on Z 289, or of 'ἐλένην Χ' and ἐκάβη Ο' on the same page? The editor has also mixed into his commentary the restitutions of philological critics, with whom as he says in his preface he has little sympathy. Exhaustive, the collection might have been useful, and deterrent; but Payne Knight and Brandreth *détournent* among the quotations and the Alexandrians. The reader may be glad that the editor has not in obedience to the a priori critic printed portions of the text in smaller type. He did so in the *Odyssey*, but such a practice is not more trying to the eye than shocking to the judgment, when it meets one in editions which like those of Professor Ludwich, are permanent and standard.

T. W. ALLEN.

THE FRAGMENTA PHILOSOPHORUM.

1. *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*. Edidit HERMANNUS DIELS (Berlin, Weidmann, 1901). 10 M.
2. *Texts to illustrate a Course of Elementary Lectures on the History of Greek Philosophy from Thales to Aristotle*. By HENRY JACKSON, Litt.D. (London, Macmillan, 1901). 4s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR DIELS'S edition of the *Poetae Philosophi* is in some respects a tantalising work. No doubt the series of *Poetarum Graecorum Fragmenta* which owes its inception to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff would have been incomplete without the fragments of the philosophers who wrote in verse. No doubt, too, the only possible editor for these fragments was Professor Diels. And yet the appearance of this volume will be a great misfortune if it stands in the way of another which we have almost a right to expect from the editor, namely a new *Philosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* with a new recension of Diogenes Laertius. Of such a work this volume is indeed an instalment, and an instalment of such value that it seems ungracious to express dissatisfaction with it. But the very nature of the collection to which it belongs makes unity and continuity impossible for it. The *Poetae Philosophi* are but an accident in the history of Greek Literature. The popular handbooks still say that philosophy began by being poetical, and only found its more natural expression in prose at a later date; but the fact is quite the other way. The original language of European philosophy was Ionic prose, and there were never more than two strictly philosophical poems in the language. Everything else in this volume—Xenophanes, Timon, Krates, and the rest—might have found a more appropriate place in some other part of the series; and, since it is the poetry and not the doctrine that the series has chiefly in view, it would hardly have been amiss to associate even Parmenides and Empedokles with the *Orphica*.

Professor Diels has evidently felt these difficulties, and has done his best to break through the barriers imposed by the nature of the series. He says (*Praef.* p. vi.) *poetas edere, non philosophos, huius Corporis instituto iubeor*, but he has found it impossible to carry this out. Unless the most difficult parts of the poems were to be left

unexplained, it became necessary to add a pretty full doxography to each. Nor was it possible to adopt the plan of arranging the fragments of Parmenides and Empedokles according to the alphabetical order of the names of the authors who quote them. The general disposition of the two poems is so clear that it would have been sheer wantonness to disturb it. All this is true; but, if we once admit it, we are committed to an edition of philosophers and not of poets, and the incompleteness caused by the omission of the prose fragments becomes glaring. I do not think this criticism (which does not apply to Professor Diels, but to the plan of the series) is mere cavilling. It is a question of the evolution of 'literary kinds,' and it is important to note that, while Greek literature does recognise didactic poetry as a 'kind,' philosophical poetry is not one at all, and should not, therefore, be given a volume to itself. In such a case, the good may easily prove the enemy of the best.

At the very outset, we are met by the case of Thales. By great good luck, an early and anonymous *Ναυτική ἀστρολογία*, of which not a word remains, was sometimes attributed to him, though the better opinion referred it to Phokos of Samos. This gives the editor a pretext for eighteen pages of valuable work on the biography and doxography of the founder of the Milesian School, including a new recension of the 'Life' in Diogenes Laertius. Unfortunately it did not occur to anyone to ascribe a metrical *περίπλους* or a poem on the gnomon to Anaximander or Anaximenes, and so, after a page on Kleostratos of Tenedos, we pass straight on to Xenophanes. The gap is very sensible indeed.

The treatment of Xenophanes himself is one of the most masterly things in the book. To give an idea of the style of the brief exegetical notes, I will extract one or two from this section. It will be seen that they say all that requires to be said on the vexed question of the monotheism of Xenophanes, on which many (including the present writer) have spent more words than was needful. On *fr.* 23 (1 K. 12 Cr.) εἰς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος, we have this—

εἰς θεός] scil. ὁ οὐρανός cf. Arist. [*Met.* A 5. 986^b 24 εἰς τὸν ὕλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ἐν εἶναι φησὶ τὸν θεόν.] ἔν κ.τ.λ.] cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 573 Sol μέγας

ἐν θεοῖς ἐν θνητοῖσι τε δαίμων; Plato Symp. 178 A ὅτι μέγας θεὸς εἶναι ὃ Ἔρως καὶ θαυμαστός ἐν ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ θεοῖς, loquitur ex vulgi opinione more antithetico pervulgato cf. Hom. Θ 27; T 95.

This is enough to settle the point, though it might have been well to add the words of Herakleitos κόσμον τόνδε τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε.

On fr. 32 (13 K. 24 Cr.) ἦν τ' Ἴριον καλέουσι, νέφος καὶ τοῦτο πέφυκε, κ.τ.λ. we have—

καὶ τοῦτο] ut Sol et cetera astra, quae cum in nebulas evanescent, deorum simul opinio casura erat cf. Arch. f. G. d. Phil. X 533.

Lastly, on fr. 34 (14 K. 19 Cr.) καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφές οὐτις ἀνὴρ γένητ' οὐδέ τις ἔσται εἰδὼς ἄμφι θεῶν τε καὶ ἄσσα λέγω περὶ πάντων κ.τ.λ. we have this—

θεῶν populares deos intellego i.e. inprimis astra et elementa cf. ad fr. 23, 1 περὶ πάντων, ἄσσα λέγω (sic iungendum) explicio περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν, non περὶ παντός (cf. fr. 25), illa dubia, hoc (quod est unum et deus) certum Xenophani, Parmenidis magistro.

Many of the notes on Empedokles are similarly illuminating, but it would take too much space to discuss them here, and the publication of this volume will certainly lead in good time to a fresh examination of all the difficulties. There is, however, one very small point in the *Testimonia Doctrinae* (p. 53) on which I should like to say a word. After quoting the well-known passage in Plato (*Theaet.* 181, a) about οἱ τοῦ ὅλου στασιῶται, Diels proceeds to cite 'Sext. adv. math. x. 46 οὗς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης [scil. in dialogis, Platonis l.c. secutus, non recte om. Rose *Ar. Pseudep.* 718] στασιώτας τε καὶ ἀφυσικούς κέκληκεν, στασιώτας μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως κ.τ.λ.' Now, it is quite likely in itself that Aristotle should have used any given phrase of Plato's in his dialogues, but it is less likely that he should have mis-translated it. In Plato, οἱ τοῦ ὅλου στασιῶται merely means 'the partisans of the whole,' and has nothing to do with their making it stationary. The word means the adherents of a στάσις and nothing else, and the whole context bears out this rendering. It is surely better to leave the credit of the other (which still holds its ground in the handbooks) to Sextus himself, who is *capable de tout*.

With Empedokles, Greek philosophical poetry in the strict sense comes to an end (for the Hymn of Kleantes is excluded), and most of the rest of the volume is taken up by Timon and Krates. Even after Wachsmuth's labours, Diels has been able

to do much for Timon. The account of the Silloi given on pp. 182–184 is as nearly convincing as such an account can be.

It need hardly be said that the text of all the fragments given is thoroughly sound and conservative. Even the temptation to normalise the dialect has been resisted. In the present state of our knowledge, we can never be certain that an apparently anomalous form does not represent a real tradition. It is a great advantage to have a text which represents the best παράδοσις rather than the modern reconstruction of it. There are many places, of course, where the reader may think he can see behind the tradition, but it is impossible to discuss these in detail here. What has been said will be enough to show the value of the present instalment of the work we still expect from the editor. It makes us all the more eager for the rest.

Dr. Jackson's book is also a tantalising one; for it is designed to illustrate a course of lectures which few of us will be privileged to hear. We want the lectures to illustrate the texts as well as the texts to illustrate the lectures. Without these it would be presumption to criticise the selection of passages. It is to be regretted that Diels's volume was not published in time for Dr. Jackson to take his texts as a basis instead of Stein's and Mullach's. It would have been possible for him, however, to make more use than he has done of the separate edition of Parmenides which Diels published in 1897. The plan of the book excludes both critical and exegetical notes, and this has some serious inconveniences. Some of the readings are Dr. Jackson's own, and call for a word of explanation and justification. Those who are not in the secret will hardly be able to construe—

οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ ἢ, εἶναι μὴ εἶντα.

A reference to the editor's article in the *Journal of Philology* (xxi. 72) would not have taken up much space, and might have saved students a good deal of trouble. However, it must be remembered that the texts are chiefly meant to illustrate the editor's own lectures, and, though the ordinary student will not always be able to find his way without a guide, those of us who are acquainted with Dr. Jackson's views will understand and appreciate the principle on which the selection of passages is made. If we admit, as I at least am unwilling to admit, that Plato and Aristotle can be profitably studied in selections at all, there

can be no doubt that this selection is admirably made. It is likely to stimulate interest in the more strictly metaphysical side of Plato's later teaching, and even those of us who cannot accept all his views

on that subject will be ready to admit that no one has done more than Dr. Jackson to give life to that most important but little understood part of the history of Greek philosophy. JOHN BURNET.

ROBERTS' *DEMETRIUS DE ELOCUTIONE*.

Demetrius on Style: The Greek text of Demetrius *De Elocutione*. Edited after the Paris manuscript with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles, etc., by W. RHYS ROBERTS, Litt.D. Pp. xi, 328. Cambridge University Press, 1902. Price 9s. net.

THIS is another of those volumes well and accurately printed, attractive in form and in binding, which men have lately been accustomed to expect from the Cambridge University Press. It is furnished also with two admirable facsimiles of the notable manuscript of which the Demetrius forms a part, which on this evidence would seem to be almost as fair and legible as the print of the Cambridge Press.

I wish it were possible for me to speak of the book throughout in the same way. The editor is so eager and enthusiastic that it will seem to him perhaps ill-natured, or even malevolent in any critic to express the opinion that, if this rendering of the *De Elocutione* be exact and adequate, then the *De Elocutione* does not quite deserve to be set in so beautiful a frame. The Introduction, the Translation, the Notes, and the 'Glossary' all bear so many marks of haste, that I can hold this opinion easily together with the other opinion, or rather, together with the conviction that Professor Rhys Roberts has already proved and is sure to prove often hereafter that he can achieve work of wholly another order.

The bustling haste, quickening often into a scamper, makes of the 'Notes' a sort of *locus paenitentiae* both for text and translation. Thus it is from the Notes that a reader first discovers that others besides himself have stumbled at ἡμιμέτροις in 66.7 (I quote by the pages of this edition); κατακεκομμένη 68, 21; ὑπερβολή 94, 8; δνόματι 114, 31: etc., etc. It is from the Notes too, that he discovers that he has perhaps rightly queried the translation of ἡδύχροον by 'dulcet-coloured' in 156, 17; of διαμόρφωσις by

'detail' 160, 12; of αὐτόθεν by nothing 162, 27; of βεβαιούσαν by 'steady-going'; 172, 2; of μηχανῆς by 'ex cathedra' 176, 9; of χαμαιτύπη by 'earthward-hurled' and παραπλήγια by 'slant-shelving' 192, 21: of ἄχαρις by 'repulsive' 206, 10. The same note, not valuable in itself, may appear more than once e.g. ἄγροικον: specifically Attic word' appears on p. 240, and again on p. 248.

A like hurry manifests itself in every page of the translation. The wrong word would seem often to be preferred to the right. Of course this is not the case—the translator can write admirable English when he chooses—but the rendering for some reason or another has been made in such a hurry that the mind has not been given time for the weighing and selecting of words, and now and then for the catching even of common idioms in Greek construction. It were possible, no doubt, to find Greek terms which ought to be translated, 'like as a horse untethered bounds proudly prancing over the plain'; but the line from Xenophon (§ 89) does not furnish them, but common words that should be Englished: 'like a horse unbridled bounding freshly across the field and kicking up his heels.' In another place (§ 76) horses in a cavalry charge are spoken of as 'running' and their riders as 'falling earthward.' In § 28 'he will have spoken with feeling and from the heart' and again 'he will not excite pity or compassion,' make the reader think that Demetrius, writer on style though he be, is ἀδολέσχης, till he turn to the Greek and find out that 'and from the heart' has usurped the place of 'and expressed sorrow' and that 'pity' ought to be 'emotion.' When the translator does not work against time, he knows certainly what ἱερὰ καὶ ὅσια means, and would never translate (§ 258) ἀνέτρεψεν . . . τὰ ἱερὰ τε τὰ ὅσια τε as he does—'he turned upside down . . . things sacred, and things holy too.' In § 160 Demetrius says: 'And there is mirth too in

likening one thing to another thing, the cock to a Mede because he wears his turban cocked, or to a king because a king dresses in rich colours': καὶ εἰκασίαι δ' εἰσὶν εἰχάριτες, ἂν τὸν ἀλεκτρούνα Μῆδω εἰκάσῃς, ὅτι τὴν κυρ-
 βασίαν ὀρθὴν φέρει· βασιλεῖ δέ, ὅτι πορφύρεός ἐστιν: the editor renders, nor gives any proof that κυρβασία is ever used for a cock's-comb. 'Comparisons also are full of charm—if (for instance) you compare a cock to a Persian because of its stiff-upstanding crest, or to the Persian king because of its brilliant plumage.' The somewhat quotidian expression φύσει κινδυνώδης is split in two without cause and ennobled in part in § 127: ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις Σαπφούς τῆς θείας, ὅτι φύσει κινδυνώδει πράγματι καὶ δυσκατορθώτῃ ἐχρήσατο ἐπιχαρίτως: 'Indeed one cannot sufficiently admire this in the divine Sappho that by sheer genius she so handles a risky and seemingly unmanageable business as to invest it with charm.' But this surely is to give with the one hand and to take back with the other. Sappho may have handled risky businesses so as to invest them with charm, but her 'more golden than gold' is not one of them. What the translator would have said, if he had had the time, would have been this or something far better:—'Indeed in the genius of Sappho there is nothing more deserving of admiration than the grace with which she handles matter so refractory in nature that failure with it is almost inevitable, and success with it hard to achieve.'

The author's characteristic turns are apt to lose their point, e.g. § 246.—'Even sounds that offend the ear are often forcible, as rough roads are forcible': δεινὸν γὰρ πολ-
 λαχοῦ καὶ τὸ δύσφθογγον, ὥσπερ αἱ ἀνώμαλοι ὁδοί: has all its pith removed when rendered:—'Yes, in many passages harshness gives all the effect of vehemence, as though we were jolted on rough roads.' § 274.—'The forcible style means sharp work and short, as when blades cross': ἡ δὲ δεινότης σφοδρόν τι βούλεται καὶ σύντομον καὶ ἐγγύθεν πλήττονσιν ἔοικεν: is hardly recognizable in:—'The forcible style demands a certain vehemence and terseness, and resembles combatants dealing blows at close quarters.'

When late uses of words crop up, they are apt to give trouble, and renderings like the following will have a familiar air to those who know the editor's earlier works.—§ 195 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θεωρήματα ὑποκριτικά: 'Other aspects of the actor's art deserve attention.' But a more serious example occurs in § 122, where imagining that στρατηγός can mean nothing but

'military commander' he proceeds to insert a conjectural ἦ, and annuls thereby the excellent sense of the whole passage.¹

It is by hurry too that I should like to account for the frequency with which little Greek words important to the sense are ignored in the translation. Such is the αὐτῶν, last word but three in § 180. Everything turns upon it; yet it is ignored. Dionysius is speaking of the effect upon the ear of metrical feet adroitly concealed in the close sequence of the words.—'Indeed we,' (who have put them there) 'should ourselves be unable to detect their presence except by taking the sequence to pieces and analysing it.' Among other instances of this sort of omission are καὶ ἀρχὴν 39: ἔτι 56: οὐδέ 110: τάχα 181: πάντων 190: πᾶσα 272:

I have said nothing yet of that side of the book, which is all-important. The *De Elocutione* is a τέχνη or methodical treatise providing rules based upon principles. The words in such a book, if it is worth anything, are chosen with care and used in an exact way. Moreover, technical terms are frequent, and if these are not rendered with knowledge, the meaning, not only of single sections, but of whole chapters may become obscure, or perhaps vanish altogether.

If the criticisms hitherto made, which concern only the untechnical parts, are well founded, then the translator is likely to prove an untrustworthy guide to rhetorical doctrine expressed in terms of art. Should anyone take me for a harsh critic here, he has but to read the translation of §§ 128—190, and ask himself what

¹ Radermacher also would mark a lacuna after κατωρθάκοντα, so I shall translate the passage as it stands; 'There is another way, however, in which little things are turned into great; and this way is not by sinning against good taste, but on occasion by calling them great because we must; as when we desire to extol a magistrate for rectifying little things as though he had rectified great, e.g. because a Spartan ephor flogged a man who had played a game of ball with un-Spartan eagerness. This as first told to us being a little thing, we descent upon it, saying that to let bad customs of a trivial sort alone is to open the way for bad customs of a more serious kind, and that we had better inflict punishment when the law is broken in trifles, and not wait till it is broken flagrantly; and we shall go on to quote the proverb ἀρχὴ δὲ τοι ἦμισιν παντός just as though it were applicable to the little error in conduct with which we deal; or we shall even assert that no error in conduct is trivial. In this way then we may have leave to give to that which is a little reform the dignity of a great reform, yet not by sinning against good taste; but just as a good purpose is often served by belittling what is great, so also may that which is little be magnified.'

he has learned thereby. Before I had read a word of the rendering, there were things even in the brightly written Introduction which made me unsanguine. Professor Rhys Roberts has translated in an earlier book a passage of Dionysius about Thucydides from which he ought to have learned for good, the meaning of λέξις ἐξηλλαγμένη as applied to the style of Thucydides; nevertheless in his sketch of the history of Rhetoric in a passage where accurate language is of consequence (p. 22) he translates ἐξηλλαγμένη by 'highly-wrought,' a meaning which this verb neither has nor can have (cp. 'Glossary,' p. 280, and Translation of § 77). Some pages further on (p. 27) in defining the place of Hermogenes in the history of Rhetoric, he misrepresents his doctrine to a serious degree. Among the seven (?) qualities or features of style, concerning which Hermogenes discourses in the work from which Professor Rhys Roberts here quotes, are γοργότης and ἦθος: and these Professor Rhys Roberts translates by 'poignancy' and 'characterisation.' What poignancy is in style I scarcely know, but γοργότης as explained by Hermogenes himself (W 3, 295 = Sp 2, 343) is not poignancy, but briskness of movement or spiritedness. Then in his account of what he meant by ἦθος Hermogenes is at particular pains to say that characterisation is just what he did not mean. The passage (W 3, 303 = Sp 2, 350) is a capital example of late Greek, expressing straightforward reasoning in straightforward and accurate language, and I give a translation of it below.¹ It leaves no doubt in my own

mind that by ἦθος Hermogenes meant something which may approximately be represented by 'air of good feeling.'

The degree to which men's knowledge of the analysis of Greek style as conducted by the Greeks themselves, has suffered owing to the way in which the Romans misapprehended and misapplied Greek methods, and owing to the persistence of the crude Roman tradition to the present day, is even at the present day seldom realised. The Greek language, accurate, flexible, and resourceful, because those who made it had precision and nimbleness of mind, and a turn for search, furnished Greek students of Greek literature with natural and exact terms, whereby to express their shrewd guesses respecting the causes of literary effect or respecting the origin of sundry distinctions in style. But of course these terms were meant to be significant and informing to Greeks alone. The conceptions expressed by them had in every case been formed by somebody who looked at things as a Greek could not but look at them. Thus it is the spoken word, not the written word, which is in the mind of a Greek when he speaks of Homer or of Sophocles or of Demosthenes as a master of effect. To a Greek the passion which excites him as he listens to the Iliad is Homer's passion; the natural sentiment that wins him when he hears the Odyssey is Homer's own. 'The orator,' likewise for any triumphant portrayal of motive in an adversary or in a client receives from his

the art of speaking for a living, or be such as are in particular designated ἡθικοί, the glutton, for example, the coward, the miser, or the like. Yes, and we shall see when we discuss the perfect orator (viz. in W. 356 ff. = Sp. 390 ff.) which features (in the spoken word) are appropriate to this person, and which to that. *But the other kind, that meant here,* may be employed either alone or in its varieties throughout anything you may say at any time, just as reverence of tone, or severity of tone, or any of the other features may be employed; and it may be employed too after the same manner as are they, and in any several passage may be used with advantage, as may be found to be the case frequently in Demosthenes. My meaning will no doubt become clearer when you study what I say of him.

¹ The manner in which speech is made clear and stately, and further, is invested with beauty too and with spiritedness, has been explained in what precedes; and thereupon should follow as of course our account of ἦθος. It is of no ordinary concern that on the one hand you should be told how this feature too of the spoken word, that, namely into which ἦθος enters, is produced, and that on the other hand being able yourself to produce it, you should either, if occasion there be, impart this kind of ἦθος to the spoken word from first to last, or again should combine it with any or all of the features already described, with violence of tone, for example, or with reverence of tone, or with beauty, etc.; for by ἦθος here I mean not merely that only which cannot but declare its presence in the spoken word from first to last, just as the colour of a substance cannot but declare itself in that substance; but I mean further that which by its nature is fitted to combine with any other feature whatsoever, with violence of tone, and with severity of tone, and with the other features one and all. The former kind will arise as often as the words which you assign to the persons whom you may represent, belong to them and suit them, be they magistrates, for example, or men who practise

Now ἦθος in speech is the product of reasonableness and of simpleness, and furthermore of the impression given respecting either that it is real and represents the mood of the moment (is intuitive). The aggrieved tone falls under speech affected by ἦθος, does not however constitute it, as do simpleness, and reasonableness, and the note of truth and the air of intuition; no, nor can the aggrieved tone be studied in itself, as can each of the features heretofore discussed, but simpleness or reasonableness, or some other of the things connected with ἦθος, must in every case accompany it in a greater measure or in a less.

countrymen credit full and direct. The passions and the sentiments whereby the one person or the other is made to live and move, are spoken of by Greek critics as belonging to the orator from whose creating mind they have emerged. Shift the point of view to that with which some other race is familiar, and the terminology may become at once far-fetched and unnatural, and the men who use it look foolish or affected. Now this, or something like this, did take place when Rome borrowed from Greece her complete system of literary criticism and her complex grammatical and rhetorical terminology; and when the next step was taken, when Rome passed on both the system of criticism and its terminology to Spaniards and Gauls and Britons, the whole art and its methods were changed in nature.

This artificial Latin tradition begotten of Roman insensibility and Roman precipitancy in appropriating, this system in which natural Greek ideas are often turned askew, and expressive Greek terms are often changed to mere tickets, is always the prime obstacle in the path of him who would understand and appraise the methods of Greek Rhetoric: He has to rid himself of so many prejudices and ingrained prepossessions, and has to unlearn so many misnomers and misstatements. But as Demetrius says:—*ταῦτα μὲν δὴ παρατεχνολογείσθω (παρατεχνολογήσθω?) ἄλλως*. These things mean much in themselves, and have a direct bearing upon this version of the *De Elocutione*; but all that they need be held to mean here is that the use by Hermogenes of the term *ῥῆθος* to designate the subtle and elastic element in the spoken word which issuing from the speaker's self determines the manner in which his hearers shall hear, is a use natural in itself and in no sense contradictory to the other and commoner use, if only the term be regarded in each case from the stand-point of the Greeks themselves.

With any purification of Greek literary criticism from Latin influence, any attempt to study it as a thing entirely Greek, Greek in origin, Greek in development, Professor Rhys Roberts has, I should say, little sympathy. He would seem to be a convinced Romanist and to prefer the 'hit-or-miss' renderings of Tully or of Fabius to the veritable meaning of the technical terms employed by the Greeks: and here of course

he is in excellent company. Yet it may be that this attitude, like other things in which I believe him to be mistaken, is after all but the outcome of haste. It takes time and patience to ponder and brood over technical terms, and to find, if find one can, simple English equivalents for them. Nevertheless I am surprised that he has not made more use of a solid and informing, if a dull and unattractive book, by one who also was a Romanist, Ernesti's *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, which would have saved both version and 'glossary' from some disfigurements. Take for example the word *χρεία* occurring in § 170; for nothing can better serve than this seemingly simple term to show how wary the translator of a *τέχνη* must be. Demetrius there says: *τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα γελοῖα χρεῖας λαμβάνει τάξιν καὶ γνώμης*; and this is translated thus: 'Such jests in fact play the part of maxims and admonitions.' Now every pupil in the lecture-room of Demetrius had in his day written and recited many exercises of the kind called *χρεῖαι* and many of the kind called *γνώμαι*. A reference is given in 'Ernesti,' which if followed up would have kept a translator straight, even if he had not read largely in Hermogenes. What Demetrius does say is this: 'Are of the same order as instructive acts or sayings by well-known men and as maxims from the poets.' In the 'glossary' there is vouchsafed strange matter. '*χρεία*. 170. *Maxim*. Lat. *Praeceptum*. Possibly the treatment of *χρεῖαι* which we find in Hermogenes originated, together with other *προγυμνάσματα*, among the rhetoricians of Pergamus. Between them, *χρεία* and *γνώμη* seem to cover the whole ground of sententious philosophy: 'wise saws and modern instances.' Cp. Quint. i. 9 3-6, and see s.v. *γνώμη*, p. 272 supra.' Here again it is manifest that the editor in his haste has not read the authors whom he quotes—he simply could not so write, if he had read them or any other of the authors who tell us what *χρεῖαι* were—and the talk about the Pergamene School is surely *πρὸς οὐδέν*.

This mote moving on the surface shows how the current goes. The brisk and humorous lecturer, who knows his own mind and can make others know it, is changed into a clumsy and somewhat prosy writer treating of things which he does not wholly comprehend.

As verse is articulated by measures (such as the hemistich, the hexameter, and the like), so also is prose articulated and differentiated by what are called

ὥσπερ ἡ ποίησις διαιρεῖται τοῖς μέτροις ὡς ἡ μίτροις ἢ ἐξαμέτροις ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐρημνείαν τὴν λογικὴν διαιρεῖ καὶ διακρίνει τὰ καλούμενα

κῶλα, καθάπερ ἀναπαύοντα τὸν λέγοντά τε καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα αὐτά, καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ὅροις ὀρίζοντα τὸν λόγον, ἐπεὶ τοὶ μακρὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ ἄπειρος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς πνίγων τὸν λέγοντα.

These are the words with which Demetrius begins,¹ and his interpreter begins. But in the Greek there is nothing at all about differentiation, διακρίνειν having the same sense here as it has in § 180, namely, 'to break up' or 'sunder, part from part,' although in a note to that passage the editor repeats that it means 'differentiate' in this. But from what is it 'differentiated'? Not from poetry, as the shape of the sentence clearly shows. 'Just as . . . so also.' In the sections next following the translator by rendering διάνοια more than once in accord with the distorting Romanist tradition by 'sentence' imports into the treatise another conception alien from the mind of Demetrius, e.g. 'Accordingly, as I maintain, a member must be understood to comprise a thought, which either is a complete sentence, or forms an integral part of one. But what Demetrius really says is this: 'I aver therefore that in all circumstances, in every case, the member shall contain a thought either complete in itself, or a part complete in itself of such a thought.'

This process, this endosmosis, if I may so call it, whereby ideas foreign to Demetrius are gradually transfused into the reader's brain, continues without intermission, and creates in the long run, an odd sense of mystification and of insecurity. Nobody but fails at times to catch another's meaning, but haste, I believe, is the cause of downright misrenderings such as are the following:—p. 74, 1-6: 76, 21-23: 106, 2: 118, 7: 160, 15-16: 162, 2-4: 168, 21: 176, 10-14: 192, 29: 194, 4-7: 198, 8: ib. 14. They contribute to the mystification and the sense of insecurity, but they are not the principal cause of either. That, as I have said before, is misapprehension, due itself also to haste, of the technical terms, which in a τέχνη cannot well be avoided, and in any version of a τέχνη ought to be

¹ 'Just as the continuity of poetry is broken by its metres, e.g. < > meters or hexameters, etc., so also in the expression of thought in prose, the κῶλα or members, as they are called, break and sever the continuity, giving thereby rest, it may be said, to the meaning itself no less than to him who expresses the meaning, determining too, it may be said, the spoken word at many determinate points, when it would indeed be long and indeterminate, and would strangle outright him who spoke it.' What is meant by μακρὸς and by ἄπειρος is brought out after the manner of Demetrius in §§ 47 and 202.

'members.' These members give rest, one might say, to the speaker and his discourse; they set bounds to its various parts, since it would otherwise extend itself without limit and would simply run the speaker out of breath.

rendered with the most minute and deliberate exactness.

Perhaps no part of the translation is quite so bewildering as that relating to the 'light style' (ὁ γλαφυρὸς λογός). It is here that the Romanist predilections of Professor Rhys Roberts lead him furthest astray from the purpose and meaning of Demetrius. Following tradition, he renders the cardinal term γλαφυρός by 'smooth,' and then all the subordinate terminology goes wrong. There is one passage from which he might have learned for certain that 'smooth' does not render γλαφυρός, at least in Demetrius, namely, § 183; but this contains technical terms unfamiliar to him, and is so rendered that it does not represent in any sense what Demetrius says. But though more frequent in this section, the enigmas are not confined to it. If the translator had known anything of the class of elementary exercises in rhetoric to which Demetrius alludes with some humour in § 201, he would have understood the term πλαγίωτες better in § 198, and would not have translated the following ἐξ εὐθείας exactly as he has done. From another order of exercises for boys attending rhetorical schools he would also have learned the correct signification of ἦθος in § 28.

It has puzzled me why one of the most interesting and informing terms in the whole book, τὸ καλούμενον ἐσχηματισμένον ἐν λόγῳ, i.e. 'what is termed an attitude struck in speech' or 'a pose in speech' (an effect in language corresponding to some movement of the body or some expressive look) is translated by 'covert allusion' and is not thought deserving of a place in the 'glossary.' To Demetrius, who is interested and particularly interesting in this part of his theme, it is part of the πλάσμα λόγου (§§ 296, 298). He begins his discussion of it in § 287.—'What is termed an attitude struck in speech takes an absurd form in the practice of the present day in which it is coupled with a use of words surcharged with meaning of a vulgar and suggestive kind; whereas any real pose of language is meaning so expressed that these two things go with it, decorum and avoidance of risk,' and ends it thus. § 298:—'Respecting the form given to things by language and the sundry poses which speech assumes, this must suffice.'

It would make a long list if I were to register by the page and the line the cases in which the translator seems to me to have perverted the signification of technical terms. In one place he may hit on the right rendering and, when the word recurs, may forget it and hit on the wrong. In § 45, for instance, he gives what is at least the Romanist equivalent for *περιαγωγή*, but in § 202 he gives the most perverse meaning to the same word, although, as it happens, Demetrius uses it in both places in a comment upon the same sentence from Thucydides. *Ἀλληγορία* is usually rendered simply, but in § 151 for some reason or another it is given the preposterous sense of 'veiled meaning.' In §§ 25, 26, 29 *παρόμοιος* is misrendered 'symmetrical' but in § 247 where the meaning is identical it is again inadequately turned by 'parallelisms of words.'

If only I knew how to handle *τὸ ἐσχηματισμένον ἐν λόγῳ*, I might have discovered five words like Plato's οὐ, ἐν Αἰγῇ γὰρ ἦσαν, in which, if Demetrius is right, Plato packed with such decorum a whole critical review of the character of Aristippus and Cleombrotus, that he incurred no risk in affronting the school of Aristippus. As it is, I have spoken my mind in perfect frankness, knowing withal that though this work has shortcomings—grave shortcomings they appear to me—nevertheless the fact that it exists at all is by itself a proof of very unusual devotion to learning in him who has written it. If Professor Rhys Roberts were an ordinary man, he would never have made the time in which to write the very considerable books that he has published in quick succession in the course of a few years. It is one thing to write in leisure, and wholly another to write amid the infinite distractions of an absorbing professional life in which few tranquil hours can be obtained except when other men sleep. Although aware of all this, I have spoken notwithstanding in open sincerity everything that I think, and I am confident that this will not offend for long, if it offend at all, a fellow craftsman; for he will understand that this sincerity is one way of abetting the very aims in scholarship which he himself pursues earnestly.

I may append one or two conjectures—§. 48 καὶ ὁ Θουκυδίδης δὲ πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν φεύγει τὸ λέϊον καὶ ὁμαλὲς τῆς συνθέσεως, καὶ αἰεὶ μᾶλλον τι προσκρούοντι ἔοικεν ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς τραχείας ὁδοὺς πορευόμενοι, <οἶον>, ἐπὶ ἀν λέγῃ—the omission being due to haplography

of οἶοι when οἶον was written in abbreviation. §. 68 δὲ δὲ οὔτε ἡχώδῃ ποιεῖν τὴν σύνθεσιν, ἀτέχνως αὐτὰ (i.e. τὰ φωνηέντα) συμπλήσονται καὶ ὡς ἔτυχῃ διασπασμῷ γὰρ τὸ λόγου τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ διαρρίψει ἔοικεν· οὔτε μὴν παντελῶς φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν συνέχειαν (leg. συνηχίαν) τῶν γραμμάτων.' 'For your part you ought not so to order your words that they jar on the ear, as will be the case if you let the vowels clash in a bungling manner and for no reason—That is to speak in such a way that the words are violently sundered and flung apart—On the other hand you should not avoid entirely the chime of the letters (the vowels).' Cp. § 73 ποικιλία ἐκ τῆς πολυηχίας. The converse error προσήχεις for προσεχέεις is found in the MSS. of Plut., Alex. 17. § 80 οἶον εἴ τις τῷ τότε τῷ Πύθωνι τῷ ῥήτορι ῥέοντι καθ' ἑμῶν προσθεῖς εἴποι <ὥσπερ>, 'ὥσπερ ῥέοντι καθ' ἑμῶν.' §. 93 δεαδεχόμενοι ὀνόματι, οἶον. Read διαδεχόμενοι [ὀνόματι], οἶον. The ὀνόματι written οἶον is due to dittography with οἶον written οἶον. § 94 By the insertion of ὁ the difficulties of this passage disappear. ἔοικεν γοῦν <ὁ> ὀνοματουργῶν τοῖς πρώτοις θεμελίους τὰ ὀνόματα. The whole will then mean 'They (i.e., words new-made) are particularly impressive because they are in a manner like to sound and are particularly impressive too by virtue of their novelty. They are not the utterance of existing words, but of words coming into being at the time they are used; and the creation withal of a new word looks like a triumph of invention, equal to the creation of language itself. At any rate the coiner of words may be compared with those who first gave names to things.' § 96. I am not sure that we should not read σκυθίζειν τις δόξει <χρόμενος> μεταξὺ Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασιν. § 101. σκότῳ is a mere guess of Victorius and could not well have given rise to the αὐτῷ of the MS. I would suggest ὥσπερ ἐν <ὀνείρ> αὐτῷ καὶ νυκτί and in the next line τῷ <ὀνείρ> αὐτῷ καὶ νυκτί. ΨCΠEΠENONEIPATI The reader's eye ran from the ΕΡ to the ΕΙΡ and he wrote ὥσπερατι, afterwards corrected by someone to ὥσπερ ἐν αὐτῷ. § 249. Does not the MS. plainly suggest ἄνθρωπος ὀδυνήσει σε for the second place? In this case ὀδυνήσει σ' ἄνθρωπος should be written in the first. § 260 τοῦ ὀπλίτου δραμόντος: the active aorist will not translate unless in this race there were but one runner; but can Demetrius have written a form like δραμέντος? § 285. To read ἐπεὶ . . . ἀπώλλυνεν is easier than to read ἐπὶ <τοῦ> . . . ἀπολλύειν. § 256. It is difficult to see how an intel-

ligible and simple word like Radermacher's otherwise excellent suggestion of *προστεχνησόμεθα* could have been replaced by *προστοχασόμεθα*. Perhaps Demetrius, who is fond of proverbs, plays here upon the proverb *πρὸς μυρρίνην ἄδειν* explained in Hesychius thus:—*Ἄδειν πρὸς μυρρίνην· ἔθος ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἄσαι δάφνης κλῶνα ἢ μυρρίνης λαβόντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄδειν*. In a passage upon the theme *κακοφωνία δεινότητα ποιεῖ*, which is supported by the line:—

Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν,

there is some appropriateness in the oddity, *καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τύχην ἄσόμεθα τὰ ὅμοια*: 'We shall sing to hazard the other things like in kind (*i.e.*, we shall allow words to

come in any order, however much they jar on the ear), saying *πάντα ἔγραψεν ἂν* for *πάντ' ἂν ἔγραψεν* and *παρεγένετο οὐχί* for *οὐ παρεγένετο*.'

§ 291. I would suggest as the easiest way out of the difficulty, and as providing just the sense required:—*πολλαχῇ μέντοι καὶ ἔπα<νοι ἔπα>μφοτερίζουσιν* οἷς εὐκέναι εἴ τις ἐθέλοι καὶ ψόγους, ἢ καὶ ἀψόγους εἶναι θέλοι τις κτέ.: in many cases even praise is equivocal; whereto if you would have even censure to be like, nay, would have it to be unlike itself, etc.

One thing more, in the shape of a comment. The *οἰκτρὸν ὄνομα* referred to in the last sentence of § 57 is no doubt *κινύρεσθαι*.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

MONUMENTA PALAEOGRAPHICA.

Monumenta Palaeographica: Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters. Herausgegeben von Dr. ANTON CHROUST. Lieferungen v.-viii. (München, Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann, A-G, 1901-1902). Each 20 M.

THE publication during the past year of parts 5-8 of Dr. Chroust's great work (see *C.R.*, vol. xv., p. 373 ff) completes the first volume of the first series, which is designed to deal with Latin and German palaeography of the Middle Ages. Hitherto the MSS. represented have been almost entirely Latin, and consequently have an interest for palaeographers in general, and not merely for those who are concerned with German handwritings; and it may be said at once that, within its own limits, this work fills, and fills adequately, a place of definite usefulness. It does not compete with the Palaeographical Society (now in course of resuscitation) in trying to represent the general history of writing in western Europe, or in the study of the art of illumination; but it confines itself to a special department of that history—a department hitherto comparatively neglected—and is consequently able to illustrate it with greater thoroughness and completeness.

The department in question is that of Latin writing in Germany, and especially in the region of which Regensburg, Salzburg, and Würzburg are the principal centres. The four first parts dealt mainly with MSS. written at the first-named place; part 5 is

drawn almost wholly from Würzburg; parts 7 and 8 entirely from Salzburg; while part 6 is more widely distributed. By having recourse to the registers of the great monasteries in these towns, Dr. Chroust is able to lay before us a long series of approximately dated hands from each of these centres, and so to provide the materials for a study of local schools of handwriting. Monastic and episcopal registers in all countries provide a rich field of materials for such studies, enabling us to observe both the contemporaneity of dissimilar, and the long continuance of similar, hands—a study admirably well calculated to promote diffidence in assigning precise dates to MSS. on their handwriting alone.

Part 5 begins with a series of exceptionally interesting MSS.: the unique MS. of Priscillian, written probably in North Italy, in two fine uncial hands of the sixth century, now in the University library of Würzburg, where it was discovered and edited by Schepss; another Italian uncial MS., containing Jerome's commentary on Ecclesiastes, of special interest to us as having been at Worcester about A.D. 700, although it had moved on to Würzburg before 900 (a good illustration of the freedom with which MSS. travelled in the early Middle Ages); it is written in several hands, apparently Italian, one of which is compared by Dr. Chroust to the well-known Bobbio MS. (*k*) of the old Latin Gospels, though the resemblance is not really very close; and the Würzburg palimpsest fragments of the Old Latin Penta-

teuch and Prophets, a sixth century uncial, perhaps written at Bobbio, underlying a Merovingian minuscule of the eighth century. These uncials are followed by some examples of Caroline minuscules; a MS. of Bede, *De temporum ratione*, which Dr. Chroust thinks to have been written in north France from an English archetype in or about 800; the Canons of Dionysius, apparently of the ninth century, and perhaps written at Würzburg or Fulda, in a hand in which the Caroline style has not wholly superseded the earlier elements; a copy of the Books of Chronicles, written for Bishop Hunbert (832–842), and an Aldhelm *de laudibus virginitatis* written for his successor, Bishop Gozbold (842–855), both produced at one or other of these same places. The special characteristic of this part, therefore, apart from the early uncials contained in it, is its ample illustration of the hands of Würzburg and its neighbourhood in the course of the ninth century.

The sixth part likewise opens with two very interesting manuscripts. The first is the copy of the Old Latin Gospels known as *q*, formerly at Freising but now at Munich, written in north Italy in the seventh century, in a thick uncial hand. It shows an amount of colour and ornamentation unusual in so early a volume. The other is the Evangelium of Burckhard, now at Würzburg, written in a hand which distinctly recalls the Codex Amiatinus. Its birthplace is a matter of doubt. It contains lections for festivals of a specially Neapolitan character, which naturally recalls to Dr. Chroust's mind the similar phenomenon in the Lindisfarne Gospels, copied in Northumbria from a Neapolitan MS. In text, however, the Würzburg book belongs rather to the Kentish group (Wordsworth's O and X), with the exception of a few leaves inserted in a different hand, in which the text is closely akin to that of the Amiatinus. All this inclines Dr. Chroust to look to Northumbria for the home of his MS.; but the proof of English origin is hardly convincing. The texts of the Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne book, written though they were in Northumbria, are really Italian in origin; Northumbria was not the only place to which Abbot Hadrian brought his Neapolitan Bibles; and it is only the character of the text (since the type found in OX has Irish affinities, and is at present known only in MSS. connected with Canterbury) which at all requires us to look outside Italy itself for the origin of the Würzburg book. There is nothing English about the hands employed in it; indeed,

wherever written, the scribe of it (like the scribe of the Amiatinus itself) can hardly have been other than an Italian.

The remainder of part 6 is less interesting, consisting only of two examples of ninth century minuscules, and a number of German documents of 1427–1437. Parts 7 and 8, on the other hand, not only contain some MSS. possessing individual interest, but also are of special value as a study of a group of hands from a single locality, namely the Salzburg hands, from about 800 to 1245. They begin, it is true, with a manuscript not of German but of English origin, the Evangelium of Cuthbert, or Cuthbert, written (perhaps on the continent) by an English monk of that name in the early part of the eighth century. Within a century, however, of its production it is found at Salzburg, where Dr. Chroust thinks it may have formed a model for the scribes of the nascent local school. This, though an interesting suggestion, can hardly be taken as proved, since it is difficult to see that any traces of its influence appear in the examples of genuine local origin which follow. Six MSS. are then shown which represent the development of the Caroline minuscule at Salzburg from 798 to 874. In their rather dull and lifeless script they well indicate the character of this minuscule when it spread eastward from the lands of its origin. With the tenth century we reach the beginning of the registers of the cathedral and monasteries of Salzburg, and these provide a continuous series of dated specimens of writing from 934 to 1245, with which date part 8 comes to an end. No doubt the writing of monastic registers does not cover the whole ground of palaeography, even within their own period. The hands suitable to such records of monastic property were not ordinarily applied to the transcript of Biblical MSS., and works of theology or literature. Before we can be said to know the German hands of mediaeval times, we must have examined their Bibles, their service-books, their chronicles, and their romances. Only one book belonging to these categories is included in the Salzburg MSS. from which Dr. Chroust has hitherto drawn his examples. This is the Antiphonal of St. Peter's, of which three pages are shown in part 8; one being entirely occupied by a large miniature (a characteristic example of the Carolingian style as modified in Germany, which lagged behind both France and England in this branch of art development), while the second contains a large initial letter, with text in a bold

hand of early twelfth century type, and the third shows text of a similar type but on a smaller scale.

It will be seen, then, that plenty of material is left for the two remaining volumes of Dr. Chroust's first series, and we shall look forward with interest to their appearance. Meanwhile he has laid a good foundation by steadily working at a special department, which some students (especially those of the artistic side of palaeography) may consider comparatively uninteresting, but which nevertheless is of great import-

ance for a thorough knowledge of the subject. Dr. Chroust's descriptions of the plates continue to be very careful and complete, and the photographs themselves are good, though sometimes of a rather unpleasing yellowish tint. If the recently founded New Palaeographical Society can do with the registers of the great English monasteries and cathedrals something of the work that Dr. Chroust has done with those of Salzburg and Würzburg, it will have good reason to be satisfied.

F. G. KENYON.

SAMUELSSON'S *ADVERSARIA ON APOLLONIUS RHODIUS*.

Ad Apollonium Rhodium Adversaria, scripsit J. SAMUELSSON. Upsala and Leipzig, 1902.

THIS interesting dissertation discusses over fifty passages in Apollonius concerning which Mr. Samuelsson declares his object to be 'rather to illustrate the received text by a fresh interpretation than to restore the true reading by emendation.' While on the one hand several passages are considered that present little or no difficulty such as i. 237, 362, iii. 1354, and iv. 1596, on the other we should have been glad to see included i. 516, 1276, iv. 289, 1203. But we must be grateful for what we have received and certainly many *loci vexati* are here discussed. In many of them we cannot get beyond an expression of opinion after all is said—the material for a decisive judgment not being at hand. I now propose to deal with most of the passages brought forward by Mr. Samuelsson (henceforward Mr. S.), and use the numeration adopted by him which is that of Merkel's ed. min.—the Teubner text.

i. 8 *δηρὸν δ' οὐ μετέπειτα τέην κατὰ βάξιν Ἰήσων* κ.τ.λ. Mr. S. here keeps *τέην* of the codd. (*τοῖην* is in the margin of two inferior codd.), referring to Apollo who has been invoked in ll. 1-4. The objection to *τέην* appears to be that the ancient poets after the invocation is over do not recur to it. It can in fact be separated from the poem itself, and this consideration probably accounts for the unanimity with which *τέην* has been rejected by the commentators. Merkel's *ἐτέην* seems to me the best conjecture.

i. 18 *νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν αἰοιοδοὶ* κ.τ.λ. Mr. S. keeps *ἔτι κλείουσιν* of

the codd., by taking *οἱ* as the dat. of the pronoun and *πρόσθεν ἔτι* together *iam antea*. This is ingenious, but that *οἱ πρόσθεν* go with *αἰοιοδοὶ* is shown by l. 20 *νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ* κ.τ.λ. Accordingly it is better to accept Brunck's slight correction *ἐπικλείουσιν*.

i. 383 *τοὶ δὲ παρ᾽ ἄσσον | ᾧ κράτει βρίσαντε μιῇ στυφέλιξαν ἔρωῇ* κ.τ.λ. Should we read *βρίσαντε μιῇ* with the codd. (Guelph., however, one of the best, has *βρίσαντες μιῇ*) or *βρίσαντες ἱῇ* with Brunck? This raises the question of the alleged use of the dual for the plural. Most critics now agree that there is no certain case of it in Homer. In later epic, however, it is distinctly found. There is also a clear case in *Hymn. Ap.* 487 *ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθετον λύσαντε βοείας*. In this passage of Apollonius all editors but Merkel adopt Brunck's conjecture and Mr. S. considers it certain. It is, however, not so certain, for the dual is supported by iii. 206 *ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδελφίτοισι κατελύσασι βοείας* where no change can easily be made (S. suggests *κατελύσασι* depending on *θέμις* in the preceding line). Merkel considers that the line last quoted is an imitation of *Hymn. Ap.* l.c., and this is probable. Upon this Mr. S. observes 'vix credi potest Apollonium ineptissimam imitationem propter verborum consonantium conformationem solum sensus ratione neglecta admisisse,' but Apollonius certainly admits this sometimes, e.g. iii. 750 *ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μῆδειαν* (cf. E 407), and K. Lehrs in his *Quaestiones epicae* has noted this kind of imitation in Apollonius.

i. 671 *τῇ καὶ παρθενικαὶ πίσυρες σχεδὸν ἐδριώντο ἀδμήτες λευκῇ σιν ἐπιχνοάουσαι ἑβίραις*.

In this interesting passage, which Mr. S.

discusses with much acumen, the correction of Passow ἐπιχνοαούση is generally received but it is far from being satisfactory, for (1) we do not expect to hear anything of the old woman's hair but of that of the maidens, (2) the words χνοάω and χνοάζω are used of the growing hair of youth except in the one line (*O.T.* 742) χνοάζων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κάρα, and (3) the shortening of -η is very rare in Apollonius. But the true remedy is not easy to find and I fear we must acquiesce in ἐπιχνοαούση provisionally. The question is, can λευκός be used except of grey hair? Mr. S. quotes from Strabo λευκοτριχεῖν = ξανθοτριχεῖν, but the point is not what Strabo wrote but what Apollonius could have written. Is he not bound by the conventional meaning of λευκός when applied to hair? I think he is, and Mr. S. thinks so too, for he hazards a conjecture which he admits to be 'incertissimum incertorum.'

i. 755 τὸν δὲ μεταδρομάδην ἐπὶ Μύρσιλος ἤλασεν ἔππους. I confess I do not see much difficulty here, nor any need to read τὸν δὲ μετὰ (not μέτα as given, for the δὲ prevents anastrophe) with Mr. S. The line refers evidently to E 80 and the metre shows that τὸν cannot be governed by ἐπὶ, but why should not ἐπήλασεν here take a double accusative?

i. 788 ἔνθα μιν Ἰφινόη κλισμῷ ἐνι παμφανώντι | ἐσσυμένως καλῆς διὰ παστάδος εἶσεν ἄγωνα | ἀντία δεσποίνης. All modern editors have accepted Rutgers' δια παστάδος from Et. Magn. s.v. παστάς for the meaningless δι' ἀναστάδος. On the word παστάς = corridor or portico supported by columns, see Jebb's appendix on *Antig.* 1207. To this Mr. S. objects 'illius pulchrae παστάδος subita inductio molesta et quae cum ceterae orationis serie parum constet videtur' and suggests a vox nihili διανασταδόν, but I do not see the force of his objection.

i. 888 νίσσεο, καὶ σε θεοὶ σὺν ἀπηρέσιν αὐτὶς ἐπαίρους κ.τ.λ. Here Mr. S. with Wellauer keeps the reading of the codd. ἀπήμοσιν, a word quite unobjectionable. The reason why ἀπηρέσιν of Brunck, Beck, and Merkel is preferable is because Et. Magn. s.v. ἀπηρέης quotes this line to illustrate the use of the word.

i. 1187 αὐτὰρ ὁ δαίνυσθαι ἐτάροις εὖ ἐπιτείλας (Laur.), . . . ἐτάροισιν εὖ . . . (Guelph.), others ἐτάροις οἷς εὖ or ἐτάροις εὖ οἷς. No good emendation of this corrupt line has yet been made. Mr. S. proposes αὐτὰρ ὁ εὖ δαίνυσθαι εἰς ἐτάροις ἐπιτείλας which is better than most.

ii. 111 οὐτα Βιανπάδαο κατὰ λαπάρην

Ταλαοῖο. The slight confusion of construction seems to be due not so much, as Mr. S. takes it, to the double construction of οὐτάω (οὐτημι) as to the Homeric line καὶ βάλεν Ἀτρεΐδαο κατ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἴσῃν.

ii. 207. αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι μάλα μόλις ἐξ ὑπάτοιο στήθεος ἀμπνέσας. Three pages are given to the word ὑπατος and Mr. S. cannot resist the conclusion that here and in iii. 1212 κευθμῶν ἐξ ὑπátων the word = lowest, whereas according to Greek of the time it should mean highest. We must leave it so. In two other passages (iv. 282 and 506) he is successful in showing that ὑπατος does not mean last but furthest to the north. See Prof. Jebb on *Antig.* 1331.

ii. 328 οἶωνῷ δὴ πρόσθε πελειάδι πειρήσασθαι
νῆος ἀποπρομεθέντες ἐφίεμεν.

The construction here is very harsh, ἐφίεμεν (inf. for imper.) governing πειρήσασθαι *tradite conatum columbae*, and the weight of MS. authority is for πειρήσασθε. Moreover the dat. οἶωνῷ goes better with πειρήσασθαι than with ἐφίεμεν. Mr. S. therefore suggests προμεθέντας ἐφίεμεν (1st pers. plur.) = ἐφίεμεθα which is meritorious. The conjecture of Madvig προμεθέντας ἐφίεμαι is also good. In ii. 501 Mr. S. gives good reason for keeping ἀρωγῇ the reading of the best codd. Since Brunck ἀρωγῇ has been read by all editors.

In ii. 567 after ἐπέκτυπον Mr. S. shows it to be very probable that two lines (573½–575½) ἄκρα δ'...ἴαχον should come in. This certainly gives a reference for ταίγε in 574 and greatly improves the concinnity of the whole passage, but the difficulty is how to account for the present dislocated order.

ii. 767 ὅσσα τε Κύζικον ἀμφὶ Δολιχόνην ἐτέλεσαν. Mr. S. takes Κύζικον to refer to the king (as Schol. does) and not to the city. This is plausible but by no means certain as the following line refers to places and Κύζικον as the name of the city has already appeared (i. 1076), which is quite enough warrant for its appearance here.

ii. 830 ὀρέξατο δ' αἰψ' ὀλοοῖο | Πηλεὺς αἰγανέη φύγαδ' εἰς ἔλος ὀρμηθέντος | καπρίον. Mr. S. here agrees with me in reading φύγαδ' with Guelph. instead of φυνγάδ' with all other codd. and all modern editors. There can be little doubt about it. Merkel's emendation αἰγανέη for αἰγανέην is also necessary.

ii. 923 καί ρ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὶς ἔδυνε μέλαν ζόφον. 'Sic codices et veteres editores,' says Mr. S., but one Vatican cod. has μέγαν which has been adopted by Merkel who

compares μέγας αἰθήρ, μέγας βυθός. This seems the best thing to be done. Prof. Bywater has suggested ἔδν μέλανα ζόφον. Mr. S.'s own proposal is μελάνζοφον from Et. Magn. But the word is an adjective.

ii. 1241 ἦ δ' αἰδοῖ χῶρόν τε καὶ ἦθεα κείνα λιποῦσα | Ὀκεανὶς Φιλύρῃ εἰς οὐρεα μακρὰ Πελασγῶν | ἔνθ', ἵνα δὴ Χείρωνα...τέκεν. In 1243 most editors read ἦλθ' which has only very weak MS. authority, Laur. and Guelph. both having ἔνθ', and Mr. S. rightly questions it, for how can we account for ἔνθ' if ἦλθ' is right? I have myself in the Oxford text taken ἦλθ', but am now disposed to keep ἔνθ' with Merkel's larger edition, and suppose an ellipse of a verb of going which is not difficult. Mr. S. suggests ἦθε' ἵκανε for ἦθεα κείνα which labours under the fatal objection that Apollonius does not, any more than Homer, allow trochaic caesura of the fourth foot except under certain very strict conditions.

On iii. 160 foll. Mr. S. refers to my note on this passage in *Class. Rev.* xiv. 164, but the difficulty I find is not in the text of 163 which Mr. S. discusses, but in the sense generally of 161 and 162. On this Mr. S. does not give any opinion, nor has any solution appeared in the *Cl. Rev.*

iii. 466 ἦ μὲν ὁ φελλεν ἀκήριος ἐξαλάσθαι. The difficulty of course is that the form of wish refers to past time, whereas in fact the contest has not yet taken place. Most translators, as far I know, give *utinam saluus evadat* which is impossible. Mr. S. is right in translating *utinam saluus evasisset*. Medea means 'would that it were over and that he had already escaped safe and sound.' She refers rhetorically to the event as if it were already past.

iii. 497 τετράγωνον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἐφίετο νεὺν ἀρόσσαι. It is rather tempting to read ὑπὸ as Mr. S. proposes, but I think ἐπὶ can mean almost the same thing lit. *on the terms of them*, i.e. having them or with them.

iii. 641 ἔπα γε μὴν θεμένη κύνεον κέαρ, οὐκέτ' ἄνευθεν | αὐτοκασιγνήτης περήσομαι, εἴ κέ μ' ἀέλω | χραισμῆν ἀντιάσῃσιν. Here Mr. S. is clearly right in taking θεμένη κ. κ. as *assumpta imprudentia*, but he can hardly be right in taking οὐκέτ' ἀνευθεν as equivalent to οὐκέτ' ἀνευθεν οὔσα *non iam sola, remota*. It seems to me better to consider that αὐτοκασιγνήτης goes both with ἀνευθεν and with περήσομαι, 'I will no longer keep away from my sister but will make trial of her to see whether,' etc. Prof. Robinson Ellis, I know, also translates in this way.

iii. 740 τὴν δέ μιν αἰδῖς | αἰδώς τε στυγερόν τε δέος λάβε μωνωθεῖσαν. The text is highly

suspicious, but, as no satisfactory emendation has been made, most editors keep it. Mr. S. defends the text by quoting iv. 1314 αὐτὸν δέ μιν ἀμφαδὸν οἶον | . . . ἀτυζόμενον προσέειπον, but μιν αὐτόν is Homeric, and in iv. 1407 he would read τὰς δέ σφε παρηγορέσκε λιτῇσιν for τὰς δέ σφι π. λ., but this is only to support a doubtful reading by a still more doubtful conjecture.

iii. 774 πρὶν τόνγ' εἰσιδέειν, πρὶν Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι | Χαλκίωπης νῆας. The sense required seems to be *priusquam in Graeciam abirent* and van Herwerden has conjectured ἴσθαι, which is impossible, as the initial ι is always long in Epic. Mr. S. however, would keep ἰκέσθαι suggesting that Medea at the moment imagines in her distraught condition that the sons of her sister Chalciope have actually reached Greece and returned. He supports this by the words of Aetes to the Argonauts (l. 375) αὐτίχ' ὁμαρτήσαντες ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος where ὁμαρτ. = *accompanying* not *starting*, and especially by 775 Χαλκίωπης νῆας τοὺς μὲν θεὸς ἦ τις Ἑρινὺς | ἄμμι πολυκλαύτους δεῦρ' ἤγαγε κεῖθεν ἀνίας. All this is most ingenious and gets over a great difficulty. Perhaps it is also right.

In iii. 891 for μὴ ἴμεν of the codd. which is hardly translatable and for which Merkel reads μῆνιμ'. Mr. S. proposes ἔμμεναι—a good conjecture, but not convincing.

iii. 1137 ἐδεύετο δ' ἡματος ὄρη, | ἄψ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι ἔην μετὰ μητέρα κούρην. For the difficult ἐδεύετο Mr. S. proposes ἐδύετο. I still think, however, (see *Cl. Rev.* iv. 117 and vi. 394) that ἐδεύετο can stand, 'the time of day (or the day) was failing for her to return,' i.e. the day was falling short to allow her sufficient time to return, ἐνελείπετο ἢ τῆς ἡμέρας καιρὸς is the second explanation of Schol. Merkel (proleg. cxxxiv.) discusses the passage at length but without any satisfactory conclusion.

iii. 1333 εἶπετο δ' αὐτὸς | λαῖον ἐπὶ στιβαρῷ πῖσας ποδί. Here Laur. has λαιον *supraser.* γρ. βαθμόν and Guelph. has λαῖον. The vulgate has βαθμόν. Editors since Wellauer read λαῖον, *culler aratri*. Mr. S. rightly objects (1) there is no evidence that λαῖον, = *culler* but only δρέπανον, (2) that the *culler* would not be the part of the plough to be pressed by the foot. The first objection is much more weighty than the second. Mr. S. very well suggests λαῖω, in which case we must also read στιβαρῶς. He thinks βαθμόν may have displaced the true reading in order to provide an object for ἐπιπίσας. In any case we may compare Ov. *Tr.* iii. 10. 68, *nec quisquam presso vomere sulcat humum*.

In iii. 1352 it seems, as Mr. S. says, that we ought to read $\rho\epsilon\iota$ for $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon$. If $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon$ is kept the reference must be to Jason, not to the boar.

In iii. 1383 $\omega\mu\omega\nu$ is probably wrong as it spoils the graduation of the passage. We should expect $\gamma\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, or $\kappa\acute{\omega}\lambda\omega\nu$, but it is not easy to account for $\omega\mu\omega\nu$.

iv. 415 foll. In this difficult passage I agree with Mr. S. that $\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$. (417) go with what precedes not with what follows, but I do not take it as a *sententia subsecutiva* as Mr. S. does, but as the protasis to 415, the words $\sigma\upsilon$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\iota\upsilon$ $\phi\alpha\iota\delta\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\omicron$ $\delta\omega\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ in 416 being parenthetical. The general sense is, 'I will persuade him to come into your hands (do you receive him kindly) if only I can persuade the heralds to go away and send him (Absyrtus) to meet me alone. Then, if you like (I have no objection), kill him and fight the Colchians.' Mr. S. apparently takes the sense to be, 'Do you receive him kindly in the hope that I may persuade the heralds,' etc. I do not see any meaning in this.

iv. 501 $\rho\eta\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\eta$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha$ $\lambda\alpha\omega\nu$, | $\eta\delta'$ $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\nu$ $\theta\omicron\varsigma$. Mr. S. approves of my interpretation which is indeed that of the old editors, *facilis autem nobis, dispersis populis, illis haec erit postea reversuris via*. Merkel, not seeing that there is no opposition between $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ and $\eta\delta\eta$ $\nu\acute{\iota}\nu$ in 495 makes for himself great difficulties by reading $\eta\tau'$ $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta$.

In iv. 785 Mr. S. defends the expression $\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ as referring to the Symplegades as 'aestum fervoremque rupium colliden-

tium.' 'I have adopted Merkel's $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$... $\theta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$. But, as Mr. S. points out, there are other difficulties in the passage such as $\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ for the Symplegades (readers of the Argonautica will remember that the Argonauts pass through the Symplegades on the outward voyage and past the Planctae on the return voyage). Schneider proposes, therefore, $\delta\iota'$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$ for $\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}$ $\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. Also we should expect a reference here to the Planctae as well as to Scylla and Charybdis. Is it possible that there is a lacuna somewhere about and that 784, 785 really refer to the Planctae?

iv. 1115 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\nu$ for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\iota\omega\nu$ is a good emendation.

iv. 1197 $\sigma\upsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ | $\acute{\Lambda}\rho\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\pi\upsilon\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\Lambda}\lambda\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron$. Mr. S. is thrashing a dead horse in objecting to Merkel's absurd conjecture (in his ed. min.) ' $\acute{\Lambda}\lambda\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\epsilon$ which only arose from misunderstanding the sense. In his larger edition it does not appear, but it still disfigures the Teubner text, and has apparently led Dr. Leaf, in his note on Ω 338, into the mistake of quoting ' $\acute{\Lambda}\lambda\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\epsilon$ from Apollonius.

In iv. 1596 Laur. has $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\tau\omega\nu$, Guelph. $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\upsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\tau\omega\nu$. One Paris cod. has $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\tau\omega\nu$ which Merkel has rightly taken in his larger edition and I have also adopted it. In his ed. min. Merkel reads $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau'$ $\sigma\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\tau\omega\nu$ which is the not very happy conjecture of Köchly. Mr. S. takes up two pages in defending $\gamma\epsilon$ against Köchly—surely an unnecessary labour.

R. C. SEATON.

HERWERDEN'S SUPPLEMENTARY GREEK LEXICON.

Lexicon Graecum Suppletorium et Dialecticum, composuit HENRICUS VAN HERWERDEN, Professor ord. in Academia Ultraiectina. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff, MDCCCII. 28 M.

THIS dictionary will meet a long-felt want, not only in summarizing the numerous works on Greek dialects, but still more so, as it appeals to a wider circle in recording and explaining the words found on inscriptions. The non-expert who wishes for one cause or another to refer to the inscriptions, even to such compilations as Cauer's *Delectus*, is for ever coming across difficulties which he cannot solve without a teacher, and to him this book will be a god-

send. It is in fact what it pretends to be, a supplement to the lexicons, which for all but literary Greek are nearly useless. The book is of course mainly a compilation; but there is at least one new inscription published—it (*s.v.* $\beta\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$), together with a number of the editor's own conjectures or suggestions: *e.g.* that $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$ means 'demoniacal possession,' that $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ be read for $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ Eur. *El.* 1345; $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\omega\nu\tau\iota$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ in Hesychius; and that $\gamma\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ (p. 937) in the Amherst Papyri is 'an ass,' which is borne out by modern Greek. The references collected under $\omicron\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\phi\rho\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, and other words of importance to students of antiquities will prove very useful. The alphabetical list in-

cludes not words only, but morphological elements, such as the case-endings, and grammatical categories (Infinitive and so forth).

It is a pity that no other device suggested itself for marking elements which are not words than a line over the top; this is so misleading in the case of single vowels as to suggest quantity, as on page 1, line 7. It would have been better, too, to place all words with initial digamma together under that letter in its place; at present they are to be sought under the vowel which follows the digamma. No further criticism need be added on the general plan, or indeed on the execution, which is excellent; but I add the misprints I have noted, together with a few suggestions. P. 1, line 4 read Λ for Δ. P. 4 read ἄβος for ἄβός. P. 6 under ἄγαρος, read 'postboat' for 'postboot.' P. 40 read ἀλήθιον for ἀλήθιον. P. 50 *s.v.* ἀμενπής, Γρόφων is probably the participle of γρόφω (see the word). P. 53 under ἀμὸς, ἀμῶς γε πῶς should be mentioned. P. 67

s.v. ἀνατιθέναι, its use in *devotiones* should be added (it is mentioned on p. 76). P. 116 *s.v.* ἀρχέφοδος read 'Chief' for 'Chef.' P. 116 for αθεῖν read γαθεῖν. P. 232 *s.v.* ἐγ the volume of *C.I.A.* has been omitted. P. 252 last line, read 'Rome' for 'Rom.' P. 492 the *locus classicus* for the λέβης currency, Prof. Ridgeway's book, is not mentioned. P. 805 *s.v.* τελαμών a reference to Argos may be added, *Inscr. Pelop. Ins.* i. 517. A few words we have not been able to find are: ἄφτημα Cretan for ἀνάθημα (*Mon. Ant.* iii. 402), ἀργματα = ἐπάργματα (*Od.* xiv. 446), αὐτοσαντῶν with first element indeclinable (*Cauer*, 40. i. 124), Βάτα Κάρας a Samian name (*Hesych.*) πιττάκιον = πινάκιον (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* xx. 58), and some verb-forms, such as δρώρηκα Herondas, ἀντεκατέστησε papyri and Demetrius. But some omissions are sure to occur in such a book; there seem to be very few in this.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

OERTEL ON LANGUAGE.

Lectures on the Study of Language. By HANNS OERTEL, Professor in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Edward Arnold. 1901. Pp. xviii, 346. Price, \$3 net.

PROFESSOR OERTEL'S work is a notable contribution to scientific philology. If all her bicentennial publications reach this level, Yale may well be proud of the series. The volume before us shows not only learning and acuteness above the common; but what is perhaps rarer, sobriety in speculation and a sound historical sense. Professor Oertel has besides a gift of exposition and writes in general a pure and lucid style. Though a German born, he has but few Germanicisms such as the order of words "wrong... is therefore everything which" (p. 90), an arrangement which English writers may admire but must not imitate. Exception may also be taken to 'resurrect' and to 'preempt,' while 'normative grammar,' in the sense of 'didactic grammar,' with an adjective apparently coined on the analogy of 'formative' does not strike us as a very happy invention. Professor Oertel (p. 59) after M. Bréal rightly insists upon the mischief which metaphors, such as that in the much abused 'root,' have done to the science

of language. (The dread of this mischief or the example of Steinthal have led him into a frequent use of mathematical symbols which I fear may deter some people from reading his book, and which would be just as useful to everybody concerned if they were in the notes instead of in the text.) Metaphors, however, are a necessary means for the communication of ideas that are novel or complex. To avoid figurative language is impossible, nor indeed does Professor Oertel avoid it. Witness the following sentence, p. 152: 'There is no psychical Hades in which sensations, as such, may lead a shadow-life, like Homer's νεκρῶν ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, waiting for a sip of dark blood.' Figures are not dangerous to free thought until they are enshrined; and the true safeguard against the abuse of metaphor is its frequent and varied use.

His first lecture is an illuminating survey of the development of the ideas and methods of scientific philology up to the present day, and is one of the best things of its kind that I know. Out of a number of excellent characterisations I may single out for special mention the estimates of Wolf and Grimm. His historical sketch of the progress of phonetics will however remain incomplete until it recognises the

contributions of Alex. Bell, A. J. Ellis, and their successors in the English school.

Lecture II. deals with the classification of similar speech into dialects and languages, and the nature of inferred parent languages. In this very important chapter, after some sound observations upon the respective provinces of didactic grammar which tells us what shall be said, and of historical grammar, which tells us what has been said, Professor Oertel proceeds to investigate the concept of a dialect. In this investigation he appears to have designed not only to arrive at a result in the given case, but to furnish an example of the method of ascertaining the content of language-concepts in general. If this was its object, the economy was one of rather dubious value. An illustrative example of the methods of any science should be chosen from outside the region of its terminology. Letting this pass, it may be said that Professor Oertel's treatment is very suggestive. Its psychological colour will be obvious from a couple of quotations (p. 95):

'The knowledge which we obtain concerning speech is either subjective or objective. The knowledge which is based upon the direct acoustic sense-impressions conveyed to our brain by the speech-sounds—I term subjective. Objective knowledge of speech, on the other hand, is based on a direct examination of the stimuli producing our sensations.

In the naïve observation which formed the concept of a dialect the objective method played no part. It was formed wholly subjectively, *i.e.*, it is based on sensations only, not on a knowledge of the stimuli which gave rise to these sensations.'

And again (p. 108):

'Subjective uniformity makes the dialect...The question whether the inhabitants of two villages, A and B, belong to the same dialectal group can only be answered on the testimony of the villagers as to whether they believe they speak alike' (p. 109).

There is a good deal here upon which it is tempting to comment, but I must forbear. Proceeding further, Professor Oertel, with the help of mathematical symbols, sets forth the relation as he conceives it of a dialect to a language, *e.g.*, Latin, and of a language to a language-family, *e.g.*, Indo-European. He arrives first at the conclusion that 'an insurmountable bar separates language-forms from dialect-forms, for the latter, being subjectively identical with the momentary utterances of a definite person are perceptual objects, while the former are abstractions, purely classificatory devices' (p. 112). Again, 'As little as we can see a bird' (meaning an embodiment of the class-name *bird*), 'just as little can we hear

a language-form.' On the second question, after a statement of the serious difficulties which beset those who would reconstruct a parent language, in which I find much to agree with, he concludes that 'the essential point for us is that we cannot speak of a primitive homogeneous parent speech' (p. 127).

Lecture III. deals with 'changes in language,' and first with 'Imitative and Analogical changes.' The author lays stress, and proper stress, on the difference between what he calls 'primary' and 'secondary' changes. 'The *causes for a change* can only be studied where the change is *primary*. In the case of secondary or imitative changes we must seek for *reasons for their adoption*' (the italics are mine). The importance of social influences in determining the direction and spread of imitation in language is well brought out. Analogy is next treated of, and both by symbols and examples. Here, as in several other parts of the book, the influence of Wundt is very noticeable.

Lecture IV. is upon Phonetic Change. Professor Oertel takes up a sceptical attitude as regards several of the causes (*i.e.* 'ultimate causes') alleged to produce phonetic change: (1) the influence of climate and environments; (2) the influence of race mixture; (3) the anatomical change of the organs of speech; (4) physiological changes in the cerebrum. In the present state of our knowledge caution is justifiable; but perhaps Professor Oertel is too cautious. Under (3) he does not apparently quote all the cases where a certain configuration of the organs is said to have modified the sounds of speech. The one best known to me is the alleged development of the Indian 'cerebrals' through the greater height of the native's palatal arch. I should be glad to see a definite statement on the point. Professor Oertel rightly, as it would appear, finds a 'principal' cause of phonetic change in the 'change of speed' of articulation. Accelerate the rate of speaking, and the balance of the elements of speech is disturbed. He protests against the view that 'ease of utterance' is the aim of such changes, or a desire to get rid of what is insignificant, that is valueless, in language. The insensible influence which children exert in changing the sounds of a language so that the 'new generation' articulates differently from the old is brought into great and justifiable prominence. In his treatment of the vexed question of the 'uniformity of phonetic law' Professor Oertel adopts a sceptical attitude.

Three of his criticisms may be quoted: 'The whole theory rests upon three fundamental errors: (1) It tries to explain linguistic facts as the product of the individual instead of regarding them as social products; (2) It sees in social intercommunication a conservative factor only, while in reality social contact and the imitations which it entails are at the bottom of all changes as well; (3) It fails to distinguish between the origin of a change and its spread.'

The length of this chapter (85 pages), whose contents I have made no attempt to exhaust, contrasts with that of the next lecture on Semantic Change, the province of the science of meaning, which consists of only 54 pages. The author, indeed, is not responsible for this disproportion; in fact we may commend him on the ground that it is no greater. All the same it is here that lies the chief weakness of the book. The author is undoubtedly well acquainted with the literature of the subject, and his accounts and estimates of the various contributions are both full and sound in the main; in particular we may note with pleasure his references to Abel's work and Heerdegen's 'epoch-making' treatise on *orare*. Professor Grote's papers in the *Journal of Philology* (vols. iv. and v.), which anticipated a good deal since published, have however (not unnaturally) escaped him, and I am certainly surprised to see no reference to K. Brugmann's monograph on the 'Concept of Totality.' I, however, doubt whether the author has fully realised the exact relations and the actual situation of this branch of our science. Professor Oertel's sole bias appears to be towards a psychological treatment of language. This is not strange in a thinker who has been so deeply influenced by Wundt. The same tendency may be noticed in the work of a colleague, to whom Professor Oertel pays a very high compliment in his preface, Professor Morris, whose psychological chapter appears to me the most valuable part of his recent book. Now I hope no one will accuse me of being one to undervalue the use of psychology to the students of language whether natural or formal. There are scholars, whom I am not going to name, for whom I should prescribe it in large doses. In particular I think it is the one thing that can bring textual criticism, radical as well as conservative, to its senses. But in this regard the proper function of psychology is to interpret the results of linguistic inquiry, not to colour or overshadow their investigation. It is a facile and tempting way of obtaining 'results' to

apply the conclusions of one science straight off to the material of another; but this cheap deduction proves very costly in the end. So, when Professor Morris (*Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax*, p. 109) speaks of the advance in the science of Semantics since 1883 as if it were something considerable, and Professor Oertel, his colleague, utters no word of dissent, I must protest that this is by no means the case. By far the largest part of the work of the science of meaning is yet to be done, for unless it differs radically from all other anthropological sciences, it must work in the same way, that is to say by the most rigorous application of the inductive method to the whole available material. Until this is done, the science of meaning will not shake off the triple reproach of being casual, superficial and arbitrary. Professor Oertel may, of course, be aware of this, but it is much to be regretted that his readers will glean no hint of it from his pages.

I will make a further criticism. It is concerned with terminology, but is for all that a matter of some importance. Professor Oertel, through ignorance or neglect (the former, as I think) of an innovation in nomenclature which I proposed several years ago, gets into difficulties when he surveys the material of Semantics, as he employs only the current appellations which were designed for popular, not scientific use. Thus he diverts the meaning of 'name' (as a substitute for 'root,' of which he does not approve) to express a definite group of sounds which is the symbol for a perceptual or imaginary thing, quality, action, or state (cf. p. 283). Now to call *run* in 'a run' 'to run' 'we run' 'a runner' (the examples are mine) a 'name' is not exactly felicitous, and 'word,' which Professor Oertel must often have recourse to, is still less appropriate. I have, therefore, recommended the term *rheme*, whose convenience a single instance will show. *Upset* is one word, one rheme; *set up* is two words, and still one rheme. Professor Oertel's three fundamental categories (1) names; (2) expressions for the attitude of the speaker; (3) expressions of 'relation' coincide with my division into *rhemes* and *epirhemes*, except that *epirhemes* are further divided into two.

I have noticed very few errors or slips. What may be called psychical ones, I here set down in order that Professor Oertel may use the material that he has himself supplied. P. 101, fifth paragraph, (c) 'variable qualities,' 'mutable qualities' was meant; p. 112, end, 'exactness'; p. 157,

middle 'Latin' read 'Greek'; 'Latin' occurs three lines above. In a new edition the blocks of German which occur with so

much frequency in the notes should be translated into English.

J. P. POSTGATE.

RECENT WORKS ON THE RIGVEDA.

Vedische Mythologie, von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. Dritter Band. Breslau, 1902. Pp. xxii + 464. 22 M.

Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda und die indische Itihāsatrādition, von EMIL SIEG. I. Stuttgart, 1902. Pp. vi + 152. 6 M.

THESE are works of first-rate importance for the study of the Rigveda. Professor Hillebrandt completes an undertaking in which he has been engaged for twenty-five years, and gives us a general view of Vedic Mythology with naturalistic interpretations, illustrated and enforced by his unrivalled knowledge of the ritual books. Dr. Sieg, who appears before the public for the first time, does not claim to have given as yet more than the comparatively short period of ten years to his work. His position is that the Indians possessed a body of mythological material in the form of tales of the gods, of which the kernel had been handed down from the times of the Rigveda, and which at one period was embodied in a formal collection, recognised as a 'fifth Veda.' This collection has been lost, but large parts of it remain in the form of extracts or paraphrases in the Brāhmanas, the Vedic commentaries, and the epic poems. This material he proposes to collect and arrange, and finally to apply to the interpretation of the Rigveda.

Both writers are of course aware that the principles on which their work is based are very far from being undisputed. Hillebrandt recognises that he stands alone in his position as a belated adherent of theories of the 'sun-myth' type. His disclaimer of any special reverence for naturalistic theories may readily be accepted, as well as his statement that newer theories as to ghosts and wizards, tree-spirits and totems are even less successful in giving a reasoned explanation of the Vedic cults. He has also made an advance on his predecessors in recognising that we have in the Rigveda successive strata of belief, and that the writers of the hymns were in greater or less degree ignorant of the history of the gods they worshipped. But these qualifications are very far indeed from

producing any confidence in the writer's explanations. He has chosen to regard the Vedic deities as a series of puzzles, for which he provides definite solutions. Mitra is the Sun, Indra is the Sun, Soma is the Moon, Varuṇa is the Moon, Agni is the Sun or the Moon or the household fire, Vṛtra is the Winter, and so on. For these theories as a whole it may be shortly said that there is no case. The interpretations suggested are read into the text of the hymns with much ingenuity, but few if any of them could occur to a student of the Rigveda who did not begin his work with the same prepossessions as the author. The whole argument falls to the ground as soon as it is recognised that naturalistic interpretation is later in date than the Vedic poems. The Brāhmanas and the ritual-books are thick with interpretations of the Vedic deities of the same type as Hillebrandt's: the very multiplicity of them makes them mutually self-destructive. In Greco-Roman philosophy we have just the same process: but it has not occurred to modern critics to interpret Homer by the aid of Stoic speculations as to the nature of the gods.

But if Hillebrandt's main positions are untenable, there is still much to be learnt by the way from his essays. If he complains that the Rigveda is uninteresting, that its hymns 'in endless monotony' invite the gods to drink the Soma, and torment themselves in order to adorn the uniform appearance of the (sacrificial) flame with fresh similes, we obtain here at least a starting point for understanding what the Vedic poets actually meant: namely, that Soma is a drink, and not the Moon: and that Agni is a flame, and neither the Sun nor the Moon, at any rate so far as these poems are concerned. Further we have the statement of a problem which really presses for solution, namely, who the gods are to whom the sacrificial fire appeals, and who are invited to share the Soma-drink. And on this last point in particular Hillebrandt's new volume throws considerable light.

Hillebrandt brings out very clearly the

fact that Indra, the most prominent god in the Rigveda, is a late arrival in the pantheon (see especially p. 169). He is selected by the gods to be their king, as being the strongest amongst them: he receives a share in offerings originally designed for others. These earlier deities Hillebrandt recognises in the Ādityas; and without accepting any definite number for this group of gods, he treats as belonging to them Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Bhaga, Dakṣa and Aṅga: to which list some would be inclined to add Savitar. All these are distinctively gods of the sky and of light: they are also distinguished by being protectors of the moral law. Oldenberg, as is well known, believes them to be a non-Aryan group of deities, and would like to connect them with the Sun, Moon, and five planets. It is interesting to note that Hillebrandt agrees with Oldenberg in identifying Mitra with the Sun, and Varuṇa with the Moon: and supports the latter position very ingeniously with arguments drawn from the ritual. The whole line of argument, however, with both writers starts from the assumption that the Vedic Mitra, like the Persian Mithra of a much later period, was a sun-god: and of this there is no trace in the Rigveda itself. Personally I find this identification quite unconvincing: but if we put it aside, almost all that Hillebrandt says of the character and importance of the Ādityas as the immediate predecessors of India is worthy of attention.

In his treatment of the Ribhus Hillebrandt departs from naturalistic interpretation. He regards them as the gods of a clan in which the art of chariot-building stood in special honour: and believes that the Vedic clans accepted the clan and its gods together as members of their community, owing to the great importance they attached to the art.

Dr. Sieg opens his book with a very fair account of the differences of opinion which exist as to the value of the Indian interpretation of the Rigveda, and also of the various schools of interpretation amongst the Hindus. He admits frankly that amongst all schools fantastic and contradictory interpretations are prevalent, and that the only question that is open is whether there may not be found here and there, amongst so much that is worthless, fragments of a genuine tradition. This question, he rightly says, can only be determined by an examination of all the

material: and we therefore turn with interest to the hymns of which Dr. Sieg specially treats, to learn whether he can throw new light upon them. The hymns chosen are chiefly the following: *i. 170 (Indra and the Maruts), *i. 179 (Agastya and Lopāmudrā): *iv. 18 (Indra's birth): iv. 24 (sale of Indra): iv. 26, 27 (Indra and the eagle): v. 2 (Vṛṣa Jāna): v. 61 (Rathavīti): *x. 98 (Devāpi) and *x. 142 (burning of the Khāṇḍava wood). It may be noticed at once that five of these ten hymns, namely those to which an asterisk is prefixed, belong to the late Rigveda. These may be first discussed, because the hope of a real contact between these hymns and the later tradition is greater. Only in the case of one of these hymns does Sieg contend that the later tradition anywhere contains a true representation of the facts, viz. x. 142. In this case he thinks the verses may well be put in the mouths of the personages who appear in the tale of Maudapāla in the Mahābhārata, to which Śaṅkara also refers. Unfortunately the first six verses of this hymn are quite of the ordinary type of an Agni hymn, and only the last two are specially appropriate to the occasion: of a forest conflagration there is no trace in the hymn. In x. 98 a certain Devāpi appears as Purohita of Ṣaṁtanu, and makes prayer for rain: but again of the myth in which Devāpi is dispossessed of his kingdom by Ṣaṁtanu there is no trace. In i. 170 and i. 179 we have unquestionably Vedic myths; in i. 170 Indra seizes an offering designed for the Maruts: in i. 179 Agastya, who has made a vow of chastity, is induced to break it by the solicitations of his wife Lopāmudrā. In both cases the tradition retains the central position as exhibited by the hymn, but mixed with elements entirely foreign to it: and it is impossible to say whether the tradition has any other basis than a partial comprehension of the meaning of the hymn. Finally iv. 18 contains, in the form of a dialogue between Indra and his mother, an account of the birth of the former through his mother's side. The tradition so completely misunderstands the position as to assert that the miraculous birth is that of the poet Vāmadeva, and Dr. Sieg admits that the myth contained in the hymn belongs to a class 'of which practically every trace is lost in the later literature.' This is a significant fact. If Vedic myths as to the personality of the chief god in the Pantheon became completely strange to the Hindus of later

periods, the hypothesis of a continuous tradition must clearly be restricted to a very narrow range.

If we now turn to the five hymns that belong to the Rigveda proper, we notice that two (iv. 26, 27) which really contain a myth are interpreted by Sieg without any reference to the tradition. 'It is a reasonable matter for surprise' he says 'that so simple a story has so completely disappeared from the later tradition.' In iv. 24 the traditional version serves a useful purpose in preserving the meaning of a Vedic phrase, though the story as a whole is worthless. Finally in v. 2 and v. 61 we have hymns which are quite of the ordinary Vedic type except that they consist of somewhat disconnected fragments, and for which the traditional interpretation is only mentioned by Sieg in order to be abandoned in its most essential features.

On the whole it appears that nothing has

yet emerged from the mass of traditional comment to give it a direct value in Vedic exegesis: indeed a bias in favour of the tradition is one of the standing dangers to which Vedic scholarship is exposed. A correct tradition as to any sacred text is indeed almost inconceivable in itself, since the commentators naturally desire to make it support the views which they themselves favour. But indirectly a study of the later Vedic literature promises much, for in no other way can a thorough familiarity with an idiom approximating to that of the Rigveda be obtained. Dr. Sieg has possibly been hunting for a non-existent treasure, but a rich crop may certainly be looked for from the soil he has turned up so diligently. He possesses a singular fairness of statement and breadth of view, and has established a claim to a position in the front rank of Vedic scholars.

E. V. ARNOLD.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

The Antigone of Sophocles, with a Commentary, abridged from the large edition of Sir Richard C. Jebb. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH. Cambridge, University Press. 1902. Pp. xl. + 252. 4s.

interwoven with the grammatical index, as Prof. Jebb has done.

R. C. SEATON.

THIS edition by Dr. Shuckburgh comes very quickly on the heels of Mr. Bayfield's edition. But both are welcome. Mr. Shuckburgh has made a most judicious abridgment of Prof. Jebb's edition by omitting, as he says, 'the notes containing discussions of the views which the commentator rejects,' which, however valuable they may be, are more suited for advanced students. The introduction also has been considerably shortened by the omission of certain paragraphs, but everywhere Prof. Jebb's language has been adhered to, while all that is essential in it to the comprehension of the play has been retained. Prof. Jebb's reasons for considering ll. 905-920 to be spurious are very shortly given. Some German scholars, e.g. Bellermann and Steinberg still consider them genuine. Dr. Shuckburgh's work has been almost wholly confined to selection. Only very rarely has he added a few words or a quotation. It is in fact difficult to see how the abridgment could have been better made. Perhaps a subject-index might with advantage have been

De Aristophanis in Nubium fabula consilio atque arte. By J. HELDER. Haarlem, Kleyenberg, 1901.

It is difficult to find anything new and original in these 196 pages. The language runs in and out of Dutch and Latin, and the content consists largely of quotations. The subject is perhaps to blame. To interpret the mind of an ancient author is the privilege of the mature and of the exercised. The young should be turned to the collection of details, from papyri or inscriptions, which may establish some matter of fact, and dissuaded from topics which invite to unsubstantial rhetoric. *Fecimus et nos haec iuvenes*, but in this country we do not continue it beyond our College literary society.

The two instructive things which have been of late said about Aristophanes' 'Ars et Consilium,' are to my knowledge, Kaibel's remark that the Old Comedy was a critic ex professo, and the Athenian government from Pericles onwards progressive; and

that we thus account for the conservative tone of Comedy—and the demonstration of Alessandro Chiapelli (knowledge of which I owe to Professor Burnet), that the Socrates of the Clouds is historical. I can find no trace of either of these views in Mr. Helder's thesis.

T. W. ALLEN.

An Elementary Greek Grammar. By the late J. B. ALLEN. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1902. Pp. iv. + 194. 3s.

THIS appears to be an excellent little book. Mr. J. B. Allen died in the autumn of 1901

leaving some of the Syntax unrevised. Mr. Mairs has however carried out all the revision that was necessary, thereby greatly adding, no doubt, to the value of the book. It would have been more convenient, I think, if the irregular verbs had been put all together and in a tabular form, as they appear in Dr. Rutherford's *First Greek Grammar*. Also the statement that 'accents [instead of marks of accent] did not exist in the times of classical Greek, but were invented about 200 B.C.' might lead some to think that classical Greek was pronounced without accents.

R. C. SEATON.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON PLATO'S *REPUBLIC*, P. 488.

I CANNOT reply to Professor T. D. Seymour's observations without a few words of preliminary explanation.

1. The volume of Text in the Jowett-Campbell edition was printed before the lamented death of the late Master of Balliol (see the Preface, p. ix), and the marginal analysis was transferred to it from the second edition of his Translation. Hence the words in parenthesis '(the people in their better mind)' are not mine, and I should not have chosen them to render *γενναῖον*, which expresses Plato's half-humorous pity for the grand, ingenuous, simple being, that is thus coerced or cajoled. See, in what follows, *μὴ πάντῃ οὕτω τῶν πολλῶν κατηγορεῖ* (499 D)...*ἄφθονόν τε καὶ πρᾶον ὄντα* (ib. E).

2. Having referred to the Translation, let me further explain that any obscurity or uncertainty hereabouts may be due to a difference of opinion which often arose between myself and the Translator in considering the latter portion of the sentence.

3. I have always understood *ναύκληρον* to be the owner of the ship; and it had not occurred to me that any reader of our commentary would imagine otherwise. Professor Seymour's note, however, shows that 'Captain' is not free from ambiguity. But 'Master' is no better; and 'Shipowner' (a clumsy word) is not altogether adequate, because the owner is in this case on board the vessel, and is of course in command:

i.e. he has the right at any moment to determine who shall navigate the ship.

4. The only difference, then, between my view and Professor Seymour's, that is not merely verbal, lies in the acceptance of the words *ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει ἐάν τέ τινες βούλωνται ἐάν τε μή, μήτε τέχνην τούτου μήτε μελέτην οἰόμενοι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικήν*. I take the indefinite subject of *κυβερνήσει* to be the individual sailor, who aims at becoming steersman (i.e. *προστάτης τῆς πόλεως*). I would explain the plural *τινές* to include all whose opposition is to be overborne. And I understand *τὴν κυβερνητικήν* to mean the true science of navigation (i.e. of government). This the actual pilot has never taken the trouble to acquire, because such an effort would have interfered with the one study which appeared to him worth while, viz. the art of being the helmsman (i.e. of being in power).

This seems to me to agree better than the other interpretation with *ἐκαστον οἰόμενον δεῖν κυβερνᾶν* and *τοῦ δὲ ἀληθινοῦ κυβερνήτου περί μὴδ' ἐπαίοντες* in the preceding context.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

S. ANDREA, ALASSIO, ITALY.
Nov. 14th, 1902.

P.S.—The passage of Aristotle's *Politics* quoted in Professor Seymour's P.S. seems

rather to be a reminiscence of Plato's *Politicus*, p. 296, where the philosopher's attitude towards the people, and towards mankind in general, is considerably changed.

L. C.

Since the above was in type, I have seen Mr. Adam's Commentary. He has weighed the conflicting arguments with great care, and his conclusion differs from mine. I will state here very briefly the grounds on which I still adhere to my own view.

1. Schneider's suggestion, 'ὅπως ἀδούτου spectans modum et rationem potius quam

finem significat,' is incompatible with the correspondence of ὅπως κυβερνήσει to ὅπως ἄρξει *supra*, where ὅπως is clearly final. And κυβερνήσει also corresponds to δέιν κυβερνᾶν *supra*, where κυβερνᾶν is not 'to steer rightly,' but 'to be steersman.'

2. For μέγνη ironical, see the Gorgias: and for μελέτη apart from philosophy, cf. Phaed. 82 B.

3. The notion of compulsory government is irrelevant to the main drift of the passage and alien to the spirit of B. vi.: cf. 502 B. πόλιν ἔχων πειθόμενῃν.

L. C.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—MICHAELMAS TERM, 1902.

ON October 31st, in Trinity College, Professor ELLIS read a paper on Ibis 607, 8 *Qua sua Penteliden proles est ulla Lycurgum, Haec mancat teli te quoque plaga novū*. He thought that the distich might be explained by the story recounted in Parthenius, περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων c. xxxv. Parthenius' story is as follows:—

Cydon, a dynast in Crete, had betrothed his daughter Eulimene to a leading Cretan named Apteris (King Apteris, as he is called by Eusebius, Chron. II 30). Eulimene, however, was beloved by another Cretan named *Lycastus*. Some of the Cretan towns having revolted from Cydon and conquered him, he sent to Delphi to inquire by what means he was to be successful against them. The oracle commanded him to sacrifice a virgin: lots were cast, and Eulimene was selected. *Lycastus* in alarm confessed that he had long loved and consorted with Eulimene. The people assembled, we may suppose, to judge the case, were more than ever determined that she should die. After the execution, Cydon ordered the priest to cut open the womb, upon which she was found pregnant. Then Apteris, incensed at the indignity put upon him by *Lycastus*, laid an ambush and killed him.

Reading *Prataliden Lycastum* for *Penteliden Lycurgum*, he would translate the distich thus: 'May the stroke that is in store for you be dealt by the same unlooked for weapon by means of which *Lycastus*' unborn child punished its father.' The barbarous outrage (on Eulimene's body,) of which *Lycastus* was the ultimate cause, brought him in his turn the surprise of an equally unlooked for death; in this way the unborn child punished its father.

If *Lycastum* in the Ibis-distich was corrupted to *Lycurgum*, it is nothing strange to find *Prataliden* has become *Penteliden*, or *Pentiladen*, (so the excellent Gale MS), or *Penthcliden* or *Penthidem*. Such transformations of proper names are common generally; very common in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and in the *Ibis*. What is more to the purpose, we have a corruption of an almost identical kind in v. 447 of this very poem; for *Panthoides* has there become *Penthides*, *Pentelides*, *Pithoides* in different MSS.

That *Lycastus* is called *Pratalides* I infer from Anth. P. VII, 449, 450, two epigrams which have become amalgamated, but which are certainly distinct as Stadtmüller has shown.

For further proof see American Journal of Philology vol. xxiii. pp. 204-5, where the paper is printed entire, with some new emendations of the text of Parthenius.

After this, Mr. E. O. Winstedt read to the Society another paper by Professor ELLIS giving a short account of the Professor's latest exploration of Catullian MSS in Italy (1901-2). This was supplemented by a short notice of the unique MS. of the *Hisperica Famina* in the Vatican; the complete paper is printed in *Hermathena* for 1902.

On November 7th at Exeter College, Dr. FARNELL read a paper on the Greek festival of the Thesmophoria and the meaning of the name *θεσμοφόρος*. After an examination of the records concerning the various Thesmophoria-festivals in the Greek world, he argued that the name *θεσμοφόρία* must have arisen from *θεσμοφόρος*, not vice-versâ: that the ritual which was very archaic, entirely failed to bear out the interpretation of the latter word as 'Legifera,' 'the giver of Law,' which for other reasons was improbable; and that the other interpretation 'the bringer of marriage' also clashed with the facts of the festival, and was linguistically unsound. He suggested that *θεσμοφόρος* as a ritualistic word must originally have had some physical and material sense, and probably preserves some old Ionic use of *θεσμός* that had almost died out: such a use as that attested for Anacreon, *θεσμός=θησαυρός*: so that *θεσμοφόρος* might have designated Demeter as 'the bringer of the heaped-up pile,' the 'wealth-bringer': and that this interpretation was entirely in harmony with the ritual, which looked primarily to the fertility of the fields and secondarily to the increase of the family. He further discussed the exclusion of men and the supremacy of women in the management of the festival, and argued that this phenomenon, neither here nor in the other instances of its occurrence in Greek ritual, could be reasonably regarded

as a reflex of an earlier stage of society based on Mutter-recht or gynaeocracy: that it was probably due to the very wide-spread belief that women have the stronger vegetation-magic, and can work certain kind of ritual to secure fertility better than men.

On November 21st at Queen's College, Mr. A. C. CLARK read a paper on the contents and value of the ancient MS. of Cicero's orations discovered by Poggio at Cluni and since lost: the results of Mr. Clark's researches will be shortly published in the *Anecdota Series* of the Clarendon Press.

On November 28th at a-meeting in the Ashmolean Museum, the theories of Wickhoff as to Roman and early Christian art were discussed by Professor GARDNER.

On December 5th at Trinity College, Professor

PELHAM read a paper on the recent evidence as to the Roman Imperial Domains:

The paper summarised the additions made to our knowledge of the imperial domains during the last ten years—Especial attention was devoted to the evidence from Egypt and to two important African inscriptions—the 'lex Hadriana de rudibus agris' and the 'lex Manciana.'

It was argued, in general agreement with Mitter's 'Geschichte der Erbpacht': that the new evidence pointed to the coexistence under the Caesars of different 'customs of the land' on Imperial estates in different provinces; and to the gradual assimilation of these under the unifying influence of the central imperial authority.

L. R. FARNELL.
Hon Sec.

Jan. 1903.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND.

(Communicated by Mr. W. COUTTS, Secretary of the Association.)

THE changes brought about by the working of the Leaving Certificate examinations of the Scotch Education Department, and by the Preliminary and Bursary Examinations of our four Universities led several Teachers of Classics to the conviction that the time was opportune for the inauguration of a Society which should aim at bringing together for practical discussion all who desired to see the best traditions of Classical Scholarship in Scotland maintained and extended. Such a Society, it was felt, would be likely to be helpful and stimulating to the teachers of Classics by the communication and exchange of ideas regarding the best and latest methods of instruction. For it has not always been realised, even by the teachers of Classics themselves, that these methods must change, and adapt themselves to the ever-changing condition of knowledge and thought.¹ Moreover the Association will, it is hoped, do good service by affording a rallying point for all friends of the *litterae humaniores*, in days when in Scotland as elsewhere attacks are continually being made on the Classics in the name of efficiency and utility. But as the President, Professor Ramsay of Glasgow, pointed out at the first meeting, the Society will not exist as a defence Association, nor for the purpose either of 'axe-grinding' or of barren controversy with the 'Moderns.'

The first meeting took place in Edinburgh on March 1st, 1902. [See *Clas. Rev.*, 1902, p. 181.] At it officials were appointed, and rules drawn up of which the following indicates the scope and aim of the Association.

Rule 2. 'The objects of the Association shall be to bring together for practical conference all persons interested in Classical Study and Education; to promote

communication and comparison of views between Universities and Schools, to discuss subjects and methods of Teaching and Examination, and any other questions of interest to Classical Scholars that may from time to time arise.'

The First General Meeting was held in the Royal High School of Edinburgh on November 29th, 1902, when the President delivered to a large and representative audience his Inaugural Address entitled 'Efficiency in Education.'² At the same meeting papers were read by Dr. Heard on 'Classical Study in the face of Modern Demands,' and by Professor Baldwin Brown on 'Some Archaeological Aids to Classical Study.'

The Association has naturally secured the adherence of practically all the Classical Professors and Teachers of Scotland. It has also been fortunate in enlisting the sympathy and support of many other distinguished scholars and public men, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Andrew Lang, Professor Saintsbury, the Very Rev. the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Professor Dr. Laidlaw, Rt. Hon. Sir J. A. Campbell, M.P., Rt. Hon. R. B. Haldane, K.C., M.P., J. Parker Smith, M. P., Sir John N. Cuthbertson, LL.D., Dr. James Adam of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Gifford Lecturer in the University of Aberdeen, &c.

The Association meets twice a year in each of the four University towns in rotation. The Annual subscription is five shillings, or two guineas for Life Membership. It is intended to print in book form an annual volume of the Transactions of the Association for circulation among the Members.

The Treasurer is Mr. W. Lobban, Girls' High School, Glasgow, and the Secretary, Mr. W. Coutts, George Watson's College, Edinburgh, from either of whom any further information may be obtained.

¹ See the extremely important points discussed by Professor Postgate in his article 'Are the Classics to go?' *Fortnightly Review*, 1902.

² [*Supra*, p. 2.]

VERSION.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB.

The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold;
And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea,
When the blue wave rolls nightly on deep Galilee.

Like the leaves of the forest when summer is green,
That host, with their banners, at sunset were seen;
Like the leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
That host, on the morrow, lay withered and strown.

For the angel of death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he pass'd;
And the eyes of the sleepers wax'd deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved, and for ever grew still!

And there lay the steed with his nostril all wide,
But through it there roll'd not the breath of his pride:
And the foam of his gasping lay white on the turf,
And cold as the spray of the rock-beating surf.

And there lay the rider distorted and pale,
With the dew on his brow and the rust on his mail;
And the tents were all silent, the banners alone,
The lances unlifted, the trumpet unblown.

And the widows of Asshur are loud in their wail,
And the idols are broke in the temple of Baal;
And the might of the Gentile, unsmote by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord.

BYRON.

οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐπεσσεύοντο λύκος ὡς εἰς' ἐπὶ μῆλα
χρυσῶ στίλβοντες καὶ εἵμασι πορφυρέοισι,
αἰχμῶν δ' ἀπέλαμπ' ὡς ἀστέρος ἡνίκα λάμπει
καλὸν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ γλαυκῇ Γαλιληίδι λίμνῃ.

ὡς φύλλων γενεῇ θέρεος νέον ἀρχομένοιο
ἐσπέριοι μακροῖς φάνεν ἔγχεσι τηλεθόωντες,
ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπωρινὰ φύλλ' ὑπὸ λαίλαπι πίπτει ἔραζε
ἔκταθεν ἡοῖοι καὶ σύγχυθεν ἄλλυδις ἄλλῃ.

ἦλθε γὰρ αἰνὸς Δοιγὸς ἄμα πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο,
καὶ παριὼν λαοῖς χέ' αὐτμένα κῆρα φέροντα,
ὅσσε δ' ἐκάστω πῆγνυθ' ὅτε γλυκὺς εἶλε μιν ὕπνος,
καὶ θνήσκων ἥσπαιρε μίνυνθά περ οὔτι μάλα δῆν.

κεῖτο μὲν ἔνθ' ἵππος πάρος ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθώς,
ῥίνας δ' οὐ διὰ πνοιῇ μάλα πεπταμένας περ,
ἀφρὸς δ' ἀσθμαίνοντος ἐλεύκαινε χθόνα διαν,
ὡς ὅτ' ἐπὶ σκοπέλῳ ψυχρῇ ἐπιτέτροφεν ἄλμῃ.

κεῖτο δ' ὁ πρόσθ' ἐπιβὰς ἐλατῆρ ἡσχυμμένος αἰνῶς,
ἔντεα μὲν εὐρὺς κροτάφους δ' ἔχε θῆλυς ἑέρση,
κειναὶ ἔσαν κλισίαι, κειναὶ πολέμοιο γέφυραι,
ἴαχεν οὐ σάλπιγξ, οὐ χεῖρ ἐπεμαίετο λόγχην.

κλαίονσιν λιγέως χῆραι κατὰ Σοῦσα γυναῖκες,
Βηλοῦ δ' ἐν νηοῖσιν ἀγάλματα φαίδιμ' ἔαγεν,
ἐπειδὴ νιφάδεσσιν ἀλγικίος οἴχεται αὐτως

Βάρβαρος ἄψαντος ξιφέων ὑπὸ δέργματι θείῳ.
ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

INFANT BURIAL.

In Vol. ix. p. 247 of the *Classical Review*, Dr. Jevons discussed certain provisions in the funeral law of Iulis in Ceos (Roehl, *Inscr. Antiquiss.* No. 395) and the funeral legislation of Solon at Athens (Dem. c. *Macart.* § 62). One was that which both at Athens and Ceos forbade any woman (at Athens any woman under sixty years of age) to enter the room from which the deceased had just been removed, unless she was the daughter of a cousin of the dead or was still more nearly related. Dr. Jevons illustrated these funeral regulations from German folklore, with the purpose of showing that their object was 'to secure the re-birth of the soul of the deceased in his own family.' I have lately had occasion to collect certain observances in the funeral rites of different tribes, which may serve to illustrate the doctrine of re-birth. From the Jesuit Relations¹ of their missions to the North American Indians we learn that a Huron chief once explained that there were two sorts of souls. One separates itself from the body at death and after a time goes away to the village of the Dead in the West. The other sort is bound to the body and informs the corpse. It remains in the ditch of the dead and never leaves it, unless someone bears it again as a child. How else is it that the living resemble the dead? (x. 287). With this we may compare what Plato says in the *Phaedo* about the souls of the wicked. In the Niger Delta we are told that no one's soul remains long below. The soul's return to its own family is ensured by special *ju-jus*. As the new babies arrive, they are shown a selection of small articles belonging to deceased members of the family. The child is identified by the article which first attracts its attention. 'Why, he's Uncle John, see! he knows his own pipe,' etc.²

The Greek belief in the possibility of re-birth may be illustrated by the words *δευτερότομος* and *ιστερότομος*, and by Plutarch's statement (*Roman Questions* 5) that, if a man had been given up for dead or his funeral solemnised or prepared and then he recovered, he was solemnly committed as an infant new-born unto women to be washed,

to be wrapped in swaddling clothes and to be suckled. His soul had got back into its former habitation, and logic required that in spite of any appearances to the contrary he must begin life again.

In the case of children, it seems that precautions were taken to render re-birth easier. The Jesuits relate that among the Hurons there were special ceremonies for little children who died at less than two months old. Their bodies were not put in coffins in the cemeteries, but buried upon the pathway in order that they might enter the body of some passing woman and so be born again (x. 272). It should be remarked that no part of the souls of little children went away after death to the Village of the Dead, toward the setting sun, because their limbs were not strong enough to make this voyage (x. 143). In West Africa we are told that the bodies of little children are also thrown near the path in order that their souls may choose a new mother from the women who pass by.³

In Central Australia also the spirit children are born in a similar way. With these savages there are certain totem centres connected with different localities, and the child belongs to the totem associated with the locality in which the mother was at the time of conception, not at the time of birth. For instance an Emu mother conceived when she was in the locality of the Witchetty Grub totem. The child was born 100 miles off in the Emu territory, but all the same it counted as a Witchetty grub.⁴

I do not know of any special form of burial in Greece for infant children analogous to these practices of savages. At Rome Pliny says, *Hominem prius quam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est* (*Nat. Hist.* vii. 72), and Juvenal says, *Terra clauditur infans et minor igne rogi* (*Sat.* xv. 140). In illustration of this, it may be noticed that the Hindus, who practise cremation, are directed by the code of Manou not to burn but to bury the bodies of infants, if under two years of age, or unless they have cut all their teeth. If burned, such infants would become malevolent demons.⁵

Similarly the Maoris of New Zealand believe that disease is specially caused by

³ Miss Kingsley, *op. cit.* p. 478.

¹ *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland edition, 1896.

² Miss Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 493.

⁴ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 124, 265.

⁵ Cf. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i. 532.

the spirit of an infant or an undeveloped human being.¹

To return to the Romans; upon the authority of Fulgentius, a writer of the sixth century A.D., it is stated that children under 40 days old were buried under the eaves overlooking the court of the dwelling-house in a *subgrundarium*. For what conclusion, if any, can be gathered from this I must refer to the discussion in Vol. xi. p. 33 ff. of the *Classical Review*. I cannot quote anything to show that the Romans entertained any belief like that of the Hindus in reference to the spirits of infants, or that, like the Hurons, they had any notion of facilitating the re-birth of infants by giving them a special form of burial. Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 427) speaks of the souls of infants, dead before their time, bewailing their fate on the threshold of the world below. As a rule, it may be said, in spite of the instances of the Hindus and Maoris, that the spirit of a dead child is regarded as an object of pity because it must be so helpless. The Hurons thought that the souls of little children were not strong enough to take the journey to the Village in the West. The Eskimos put a dog's head upon the tomb of a child, because a dog can find its way anywhere and can therefore help the child. A tribe of Melanesians, when a favourite child dies, sacrifice the mother's aunt or the grandmother to go and look after it.

No reason is given for the special nature of the burial of infants at Rome. But we know that the idea of re-birth was familiar to the Greeks, and we have seen that it is familiar to different races in different parts of the world. If it were the case that infants were originally buried in the houses at Rome, this practice, like burial by the pathway, might imply a desire to render their re-birth easier. In Cumberland Valley, Tennessee, there were found 70 houses in an ancient village. Under the floors of hard clay were found graves of children—one to four in nearly every house—along with pearls, shell beads and pieces of pottery for them to play with. In the burial mounds of the village only the remains of adults were found.²

A good deal of evidence from different parts of the world, and from races of various degrees of civilisation, can be collected to show that there was a different mode of burial for infants as distinguished from

adults. I would suggest that the explanation is to be found in the doctrine of re-birth.

J. E. KING.

FOUCART'S MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS.

Les Grands Mystères d'Eleusis. Personnel—Cérémonies. Par M. P. FOUCART. Extrait des Mémoires des l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Tome XXXVII. 1900.

FIVE years have been allowed by M. Foucart to elapse between the publication of the first and second parts of his discussion of the Eleusinian Mysteries. His 'Recherches sur l'Origine et la Nature des Mystères d'Eleusis' appeared in 1895, and the origin of the Mysteries was boldly declared to be Egyptian. In 1899 Mr. Andrew Lang, in his *Homeric Hymns* (p. 81), examined the 'alleged Egyptian origins.' In 1900 M. Foucart published his second part, 'Personnel et Cérémonies,' and, apparently in blissful ignorance of the whole onward march of comparative anthropology, of the investigations of Dr. Frazer, and the particular criticisms of Mr. Lang, he reasserts, re-emphasizes his statement, Egypt was the source, the one and only source, of all that was mysterious at Eleusis.

It is scarcely necessary now-a-days, in England, though apparently not superfluous in France, to say that, broadly speaking, Mr. Lang has established his point that 'for all Greek Mysteries a satisfactory analogy can be found'; that rites of sympathetic magic, pantomimic performances, mystery dances, holy apparitions, Baubo's gestures, and 'Books of the Dead,' are not peculiar to Egypt, or Greece, or Phrygia, or the Khonds, or the Pawnees, but are human, fundamental, it would almost seem perennial. This is all true and needed assertion and emphasis, and yet we believe that M. Foucart's position is also *mutatis mutandis* true; and perhaps in view of the present dominance of the 'comparative' method it needs even more imperative reassertion.

A simple instance will make this necessity clear. M. Foucart believes that not only did corn and agriculture come to Greece from Egypt, but also that second great ingredient of the mystery melting-pot, the belief in immortality. The Orphics had, we know from the gold tablets of Lower Italy and Crete, some sort of 'Book of the

¹ Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, ii. 127.

² First Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1879-1880, p. 116.

Dead'; some instructions and itinerary for the guidance of the soul in the next world; the Fijians have, as Mr. Lang rightly points out, a 'Path of the Shades.' On the Orphic Petelia tablet the soul comes to a tree and a well, or rather a tree and two wells; he drinks of one of the wells and passes on to the abode of the heroes. Mr. Lang is ready with a primitive analogy. The shade in Fiji, after various adventures, comes to a spring and drinks and forgets sorrow. At the spring is Wai-na-dula, the 'Water of Solace.' Then he passes on to the dancing-grounds of the gods. Mr. Lang concludes: 'Tree and spring and peaceful place, with dance, song, and divine apparitions, all are Fijian, all are Greek, yet nothing is borrowed by Fiji from Greece'; 'the precepts are not so much Egyptian as human.' This is broadly true, and yet, more closely examined, almost wholly misleading. The Fijian shade drinks of Wai-na-dula, Water of Solace, and why? Mr. Basil Thomson, from whom Mr. Lang quotes the account, is quite clear: the relations of the shade in the upper world are tired of mourning; savage etiquette prescribes that, as long as the dead soul remembers, his relations must remember too; they find it tedious, so the shade drinks of the Fijian Lethe and they are released. Now for the Orphic. He may not drink of Lethe on the left, he *must* drink of Mnemosyne on the right; he claims to do so because he is divine. It is in embryo the doctrine of the Platonic ἀνάμνησις, it is the Eunoia of Dante, the remembering again of divinity which *is* humanity, and has as a necessary corollary immortality. The average Greek, by the mouth of Pindar, says: 'θανὰ θνατοῖσι πρέπει,' 'μή ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι'; the Orphic says to the believer: 'θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου,' 'καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμ(ῶ)ν γένος εὐχόμεαι ὀλβιον εἶναι.' The dead Egyptian claimed that he became Osiris, he prayed that Osiris would give him the cool water. Surely the Egyptian 'analogy' is a little nearer than the Fijian. The mysteries brought to Greece an outlook on this life and the next wholly foreign to their normal, national character. They asserted the divine in man, and the method of development of this divinity was by assiduous personal purification.

In a word a caution is necessary. The seeds of things may be the same all the world over, but the articulate growths, the flowers of human thought are otherwise, and here the local soil, race, and atmosphere, yes and the crossing and fertilizing of one plant by another cannot be disregarded.

To drop metaphor we gratefully acknowledge the lesson of comparative anthropology that man is much the same everywhere, but we still believe that the mysteries of Greece borrowed substantially certain alien characteristic doctrines from Egypt.

A bridge has been built between Greece and Egypt in the space of the last five years and that bridge is the broad island of Crete. M. Foucart in a postscript to his second issue hails the discoveries of Mr. Arthur Evans, the full import of which when he wrote was scarcely yet realized. This is not the place to discuss these discoveries. For all who have spent even an hour in the museum at Kandia know two things, that the great sea kingdom of Minos is a living reality to be reckoned with, and that the art, architecture, whole civilization of that kingdom was not Egyptian, but soaked through and through with Egyptian influence.

With so much premised from archaeology we turn with fresh eyes to the long neglected evidence of literary tradition. Orpheus gave to Athens her mysteries, mysteries in general of which those at Eleusis obtained accidental political prominence, and Orpheus came from Egyptianized Crete.

Diodorus¹ states the truth broadly in a passage of singular significance. According to Cretan tradition, he says, mysteries in Crete at Cnossos were not mysterious and Crete gave to the rest of the world, to Eleusis, to Samothrace, to Thrace their mysteries. τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τελετὰς ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους παραδεδόσθαι λέγοντες, τοῦτο φέρουσιν ὡς οἶονται μέγιστον τεκμήριον τὴν τε γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γενομένην τελετὴν, ἐπιφανέστατην σχεδὸν οὖσαν ἀπασῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ καὶ τὴν ἐν Θράκῃ ἐν τοῖς Κίκοσιν ὅθεν ὁ καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς ἦν, μυστικῶς παραδίδοσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσῶ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερῶς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδοσθαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παραδιδόμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς μὲν δὲνα κρίπτειν τῶν βουλομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν. Allowing for some patriotic exaggeration the Cretan tradition reflects historical fact. Crete and her local winds as Mr. Evans has shown look north and south. Orpheus was blown northwards to Thrace and dropped his rites as he went on many island stepping-stones, at Lemnos, at Imbros, at Samothrace. Athens liked to forget her debt to Crete though she was forced to remember her ghostly tribute to

¹ Diod. v. 77.

the Minotaur, but in the hour of her need she sent to the ancient home of the mysteries and Epimenides the Orpheus of history, the 'new Koures' came with orgies and purifications. Demeter herself in the Homeric Hymn¹ when asked whence she came says:

νῦν αὖτε Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
ῆλυθον.

Even Homer, who knows so little of religion knows of the marriage between Iasion and Demeter, a marriage mysticized by the Orphics, but to Hesiod a bit of primitive sympathetic magic in Crete.

Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγένετο διὰ θεῶν
'Ιασίφ' ἥρωϊ μιγείσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότῃ
νεῶ' ἐνι τριπόλῃ Κρήτης ἐν πόνι δῆμφ.²

The chorus of mystics whose confession as given by Euripides³ is our chief document for Orphic ritual comes to Minos, Minos

ἀνάσσειν

Κρήτης ἑκατομπολιέθρου

and comes professing himself Διὸς 'Ιδαίου μύστης.

Last but not least though the greater number of the Orphic tablets, our earliest and safest sources of Orphic doctrine come from Lower Italy, from the tombs of the disciples of Pythagoras, one, that in which the sacred well herself speaks, comes from a tomb at Eleuthernae in Crete⁴ and from Crete we may still hope for others. Nor can it be forgotten that to Crete according to tradition recorded by Porphyry⁵ Pythagoras himself went and was initiated by one of the Idaean Dactyls; they purified him with a thunderbolt-symbol, vehicle of the Great Mother, made him lie on the shore face foremost from dawn, and at night by a river crowned him with the wool of a black sheep, and finally initiated him in the mysteries of the Idaean cave. Thus again and again did Greece by Epimenides and Pythagoras return to the primitive source of her mysteries.

Diodorus⁶ says that Orpheus went to Egypt to learn his ritual and theology, but in the light of the new Cretan evidence and of all this ancient tradition, we see, M. Foucart will see and even Mr. Andrew Lang perhaps may own that, though Orpheus

learnt of Egypt, he needed not to leave his island home.

JANE E. HARRISON.

THE GODS OF THE SEVEN DAYS.

Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen.
VON ERNST MAASS. Berlin: Weidmannsche
Buchhandlung, 1902. Pp. viii. 311. Mk. 10.

PROFESSOR MAASS has grouped together under this title a series of interesting discussions. He begins with the Septizonium of Septimius Severus upon the Palatine, and inquires what was its purpose. He rejects the view which refers the name to the seven planetary spheres (20 ff.) as distinguished from the seven planets. Nor, we are assured, is the building a temple of the nymphs (40 ff.). This topic furnishes the author with the occasion of considering a series of buildings devoted to the supply of water, and among them a fountain of victory which Domitian erected upon the Esquiline (63 ff.): to this building two trophies are to be referred, the *trofei di Mario* of the Capitol, and Prof. Maass explains them by Domitian's triumph over the Chatti and Daci of the year 89 A.D. (79). Returning to the Septizonium, after these excursions, the author will not see in it a water tower, but simply 'a substructure intended to bear something and to make it visible from afar along the Appian Way.' For want of more definite information, we are now referred to the name itself in the hope that etymology will help us out; and here the wavering of the manuscripts between the spellings, *septizonium* and *septizodium*, leads to the rejection of the traditional spelling in favour of the latter form. Such a conclusion being accepted, it follows next that we have to find the meaning of the term *Ζωίδιον*, and this is declared to be 'a planet.' The discussion is illustrated by a list of the days of the week from Dositheus, a list which is headed *septē(m)zodi dies*, in the Greek parallel passage *ἐπὶ Ζωιδίων ἡμέραι* (132), 'the days of the seven planets.' But this proves too much. The term *septizodium* seems to have been understood to mean the week from the time of Dositheus, and it does not seem an appropriate term for a building, while at the same time it may very well explain the wavering of the MSS. in the spelling of *septizonium*. Nor is it necessary to adopt the form with *d* in order to accept Prof. Maass's hypothesis

¹ Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 123.

² Hes. *Theog.* 969.

³ Eur. *frag.* 476.

⁴ Jouhin, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xvii. 1893, p. 122.

⁵ Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 17.

⁶ Diod. iv. 25.

that the building of Septimius Severus was in honour of the gods of the seven planets.'

The author does not entirely succeed in his attempt to prove that the building was not seven stories high. Lanciani has pointed out that it would need a very high building indeed to act as a screen for the confused masses of the palace of Severus which towered behind it. (*Ruins of Ancient Rome* 183). And the excessive height of Roman buildings is itself a presumption in favour of interpreting Septizonium as a reference to seven stories. I cannot but think that Prof. Maass is led by his thesis to do less than justice to the gloss upon HENTIZONION (sic) which he quotes (p. 12, n.). *Dictum latine septizonium domus cenaculorum septem*. The passage in which Vitruvius is speaking of the height of Roman buildings, ii. 8, 17, illustrates exactly the use of the term *cenaculum* in the sense of story, *altitudines extructae et contignationibus crebris coarctatae cenaculorum ad summus utilitates perficiunt dispartitiones*. 'The heights of the buildings constructed etc., and joined together by frequent floors produce a division of the stories to the utmost advantage.' The English translation of Vitruvius by Gwilt makes nonsense of all this by translating 'excellent dining-rooms.' In the light, then, of the gloss, and of the passage from Vitruvius, more evidence is needed than we are furnished with, in order to reject the traditional name of the building.

Passing now to the purpose of the building; Prof. Maass has made out a very strong general presumption in favour of the seven gods of the planets. But the weight which in particular he lays upon the term *septizodium* as directly proving this dedication must be laid rather upon the general analogy of the seven-storied building to the buildings in seven stages which were so characteristic of Babylonian and Assyrian architecture and devoted to similar purposes, (Perrot and Chipiez *Art in Chaldaea and Assyria*, Vol. I. c. iv.). For although many of the ancient seven-staged towers were in ruins, the number seven played a sufficiently large part in eastern architecture to prepare the minds of the troops who had fought in the east or had been recruited thence for the symbolism of the Septizonium.

There is a passage in Dio Cassius xxxvii. 19, which scarcely receives the prominence to which it is entitled, and may be used to explain the relation of the planetary gods

to the days of the week. If each hour is assigned to one of the seven gods in turn, then the god of the first hour of the first day being Saturn, the god of the first hour of the second day will be the Sun, the god of the first hour of the third day will be the Moon and so on. In this way it becomes clear why the order of the gods of the days seems at first sight to be at variance with the order of the periodic times of the planets. According to the latter they should of course run, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon. Prof. Maass traces in a most interesting way the spread of the week, and of the connected worship of the seven gods, a worship which in the form of astrology was and is still so powerful. It is to be noted, however, that astrology is not the only explanation of this spread of the week of the seven days. The dispersion of the Jews and then the rise and prevalence of Christianity were perhaps more important factors even than astrology. It is interesting to note that the German and English and other western races took the week from astrological rather than Christian sources, if we may judge by the pagan names of the days of the week, and if we compare them with the Greek names. The church attempted, with only partial success, to replace the astrological, by the Christian week. Books continued to be current in which illustrations were used to explain the figure and attributes of the seven gods, and it is pointed out (260) that they had a considerable influence upon mediaeval ideas concerning the classical mythology. In a paschal letter of Athanasius, which is quoted in the Coptic life of Theodore, we find a reference to books of astrology in which the saints take the place of the heathen gods. 'They have made books which they call books of designs (*ἀπογραμμῶν*) showing the stars to which they give the names of the saints.' Athanasius in speaking further of 'a deceitful and contemptible science,' almost certainly refers to the current astrology. (*Annales du Musée Guimet* xvii. 239). Prof. Maass quoting Irenaeus I. 30, 9 is not correct in saying that the Ophites revered the week as *sancta hebdomas*. The term *hebdomas* means the seven spirits into which the Divine Majesty unfolded itself (for details Möller, *History of the Christian Church*, 137). Curiously enough Irenaeus in the next section to that which is quoted (140), seems to say, that the Jews spoke of a *sancta hebdomas*: '*septem dies quos et sanctam hebdomadem vocant*,' but the word *dies* is almost certainly a mis-

translation from the Greek original and should be replaced by *lumina*.

I have noted one or two other points which seem to require correction. 'Roman priest of Zeus' is to say the least an awkward translation of *flamen dialis* (133). Horapollon is entirely unreliable as a witness to the meaning of Egyptian hieroglyphics (193). The ram of Panopolis was the embodiment of the god Min or Amsu and has nothing to do with the zodiac (268). The zodiac was a late importation into Egypt (Letronne *Recueil* I. pref. xx. ff.). It is news to me that Clement of Alexandria was a bishop (268).

But these are not very serious blemishes, and the book may be recommended as a suggestive and valuable example of archaeological method. And in order that I may end upon a note of praise, Prof. Maass has given a most convincing emendation of the lines quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* v. 14, 1).

FRANK GRANGER.

WILLER'S HEMMOOR BRONZE BUCKETS.

Die römischen Bronzeimer von Hemmoor, nebst einem Anhang über die römischen Silberbarren aus Dierdorf, von HEINRICH WILLERS. Hannover, 1901. 8vo. Pp. viii + 252. 15 M.

THIS handsome volume might be more accurately described as 'Records of some local discoveries and researches suggested by them.' It has really two objects, which are not clearly distinguished in its arrangement. One object is to describe minutely, with full details of place and time and circumstance, certain discoveries of Roman antiquities in the province of Hannover—the ornamented bronze buckets from Hemmoor and the inscribed bars of silver bullion from Dierdorf. The other object is to consider the whole class of Roman bronze buckets found in north-western Europe, and to estimate therefrom the trade of the Roman Empire with the lands beyond the Rhine and the Danube. But the discussion is not strictly confined to these topics, though the attempted estimate of Roman trade refers especially to the bronze buckets and less than might be expected to coins and other Roman objects occurring in the north. The result is a very interesting and suggestive volume which presents this problem to the reviewer that the points which might

be selected for notice or for criticism (and some of the details are perhaps open to discussion) are various and scattered. It must suffice to say that Mr. Willers makes a distinct attempt to work out some aspects of the trade (such as it was) between Germany and Italy, that he has collected some valuable material relating to certain kinds of Roman metal manufactures, and that the Dierstorfer bullion throws considerable light on the character of the Roman Imperial currency in the fourth century. Also he has provided his volume with a great plenty of admirable illustrations, which would be well worth having, even without the text; and he has indexed both text and plates in a most convenient fashion.

F. H.

MONTHLY RECORD.

CRETE.

Palaiokastros.—Preliminary excavations were made here by the British School during April and May last. There are no traces of any important settlement of classical times, but a considerable town and cemetery belonging to the Mycenaean period have been discovered. A large mansion, the plan of which does not diverge greatly from that of the classical Greek house, has been excavated, no fewer than thirty-six rooms having been brought to light. An upper storey had evidently been added later in brick, for considerable remains, including part of a fresco, were found in the lower rooms. In the ceteries one Mycenaean tomb was opened and yielded vases and implements of bronze. In an enclosure were found vases of Kamárais ware, a three-sided seal with pictographic characters, and a series of carved miniature vessels, all heaped together amid a confused mass of skulls and bones. It is hoped to excavate a similar bone enclosure next spring.¹

Phaestos.—The excavation of the palace has been finished, the work in the women's quarters having led to the discovery of a vestibule and portico with elaborate paintings of foliage and flowers. Trial pits dug at Hagian Triada, near Phaestos, have revealed the presence of a 'Minoan' mansion. The finds already made include wall-paintings with representations of animals and a vase of steatite with a procession of peasants dancing and singing carved in low relief.¹

¹ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1902, part 2.

GREECE.

Leukas.—Dr. Dörpfeld, in his search for the palace of Odysseus, has discovered an extensive prehistoric settlement, and has come upon an ancient conduit, formed of conical earthenware pipes leading to the plain from the hills on the west.¹

Corinth.—Professor Richardson of the American School was at work here from the beginning of March to the middle of June, and discovered a fresh region of the Romanised city, including a public square, shops, and porticoes. A Hellenic stoa with Doric front and an interior line of Ionic columns came to light; also several water conduits, in one of which was found a large number of ancient lamps of various dates. Small antiquities were very numerous, including old Corinthian and proto-Corinthian pottery, terracotta figurines, and several archaic Greek inscriptions, one in the local Corinthian alphabet of the sixth century. A trial trench cut across the orchestra and stage buildings of the theatre led to the discovery of a fine head of a young man in Parian marble.¹

Argos.—Mr. Vollgraff of the French School carried on excavations from May to September. On the top of a rounded hill, known anciently as *Ἀργίς*, to the north of the present town, the foundations of a prehistoric dwelling-house came to light; lower down was a terrace with cyclopean walls, on which were remains of several houses of a date anterior to the Mycenaean period. Outside this ran the foundations of a polygonal wall, perhaps of the seventh century. On the south shoulder of the hill were found well-preserved remains of a reservoir, probably of the Mycenaean age.¹

Samos.—Excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society since the beginning of October on the site of the Heraeum have resulted in the discovery of twenty bases of columns in two rows in the length of the temple and of three rows on the east side; also of an altar in the north-west corner. Architectural fragments of porous stone from an older temple, also in Ionic style, have appeared, built into the foundations of the marble temple. It seems therefore that the latter was constructed on the site of an earlier temple.²

Kos.—Prof. Herzog has discovered the temple of Asklepios; a Christian church had been built into it in later times. A fragment of a relief of Hygieia with a

snake and several inscriptions have been found.³

Tenos.—Members of the French School have discovered the temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite. It was approached on the east and west sides by a flight of steps. In the neighbourhood have been found works of art representing sea-monsters, dolphins, &c., appropriate symbols of the sea-god's power, and several statues, decrees, and votive inscriptions in his honour. North-east of the temple the foundations of a large building came to light, very probably used for the accommodation of visitors. Among the smaller objects found are a female head, two female statues with the upper part mutilated, forty-eight coins (Roman, Byzantine, and local) mostly in bad condition, fourteen inscriptions, and numerous fragments of statues.³

ASIA MINOR.

Tralles.—An important discovery of sculptures of the Hellenistic period has been made among the ruins of this place. They consist of a colossal female head and figures of a Nymph, a Caryatid, and an Ephebos. The colossal head is very well preserved, with wavy hair parted in the middle, falling on the neck and shoulders and half-covering the ears. The head is prepared for fitting on to a statue. The Nymph has the head and most of the arms wanting and is of no great interest; the Caryatid wears a thin chiton with straight folds and a himation which she grasps at the edge with her right hand; the left hand had been raised to support the burden on the head, but is missing. The most remarkable of the discoveries is the figure of the Ephebos, which is slightly under life size. His left shoulder leans against a pillar, and he appears to be taking rest after athletic exercise. The head, which looks downward with a calm expression, is very fine. The body is covered to the knees with a loose mantle, which conceals the arms; the feet are wanting.⁴

Pergamum.—The Germans are proceeding steadily with the excavation of the city, which was conducted from the beginning of September to the beginning of November by Dr. Dörpfeld. The lower market place and the remains of the S. portico have now been completely cleared. A terrace, probably belonging to the boys' gymnasium, has been discovered and an inscription of the time of Attalus II. with the names of

³ *Ibid.* 27 Dec. 1902.

⁴ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1902 (3).

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 29 Nov. 1902.

100 boys found there. A second and higher terrace, possibly connected with the gymnasium of the Ephebi, has not yet been completely excavated; a long inscription in honour of Attalus III. has been found on it. Further search in the neighbourhood of the great altar has led to the discovery of an inscription which establishes Attalus II. as its builder; other inscriptions give information as to the restoration of the altar by Augustus.³

ITALY.

Rome.—In the course of tunnelling operations under the Quirinal some interesting finds were made. The marble head of a Greek *στρατηγός* was discovered, probably a copy of a 4th century portrait. In the remains of an ancient house four marble slabs with reliefs came to light. These represent masks of the beardless Dionysos, Pan, Satyrs, and Silenos, and female masks. Two of the slabs are sculptured on both sides, the other two have one side left smooth. There was found also an archaistic statue of Priapos of fine workmanship; the type is unusual and approaches that of the oriental Dionysos. It is probably a Roman copy of a Greek original.⁵

Tusculum.—In the wood of Camaldoli remains of an ancient villa have come to light, very possibly belonging to the Furi, whose tombs were long ago discovered in this neighbourhood.

Remains of another villa with mosaic pavements, etc. have been found. A fragmentary inscription reads:

Λ ΜΗΙ
ΑΠΕΛΘΟΥΣΗC
ΟΙΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΙ
ΠΑΤΕΡΕC

The presence of a marble and two leaden crosses, coupled with the discovery of columns, makes it probable that the ruins are those of a mediaeval chapel built upon the site of an ancient Roman villa.

Among the remains of tombs about the 12th milestone of the Via Latina was found the following inscription:

//// M
FABIO AVGVSTALI
BENE MERENTI
FECIT CHARITO
FRATER

It is suggested that it may be in memory

of one of the Augustales Castoris et Pollucis of Tusculum.⁶

Pompeii.—No very important discoveries were made during April and May last, though numerous small objects were obtained. Four skeletons were found in a house and with them large gold bracelets in the form of serpents confronting one another; two gold rings with stones inset, a pair of earrings, one gold coin of Nero and two of Domitian, 29 silver coins, and a mirror of bronze silver-plated were also discovered. This house had in the tablinum paintings representing the four seasons, and in the atrium one of Mercury with purse and caduceus.⁷

F. H. MARSHALL.

Numismatic Chronicle, Part 4, 1902.

W. Wroth, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1901.' The number of the Greek acquisitions is 1,069, an unusually large total mainly due to the purchase of the Gaulish collection of Léon Morel of Rheims. The most remarkable coin of the year in point of rarity and artistic excellence is a didrachm inscribed ΑΧΑΙΩΝ. *Obv.* Female head, of fine work. *Rev.* Zeus seated. From its style, this coin must belong to *circ.* B.C. 370-360 and it was apparently issued by the earlier Achaean Federation of which the famous league (B.C. 280) was a revival. The mint-place was doubtless Aegium. *Athens.* A specimen of the tetradrachm (*circ.* B.C. 83) showing the figure of Harmodius brandishing his sword. *Aegium in Achaia.* A coin of Aegium of Antoninus Pius reproducing the statue of the boy Zeus by the sculptor Agelaidas. The subject is identified by the inscription ΖΕΥC

ΠΑΙC. *Mytilene.* A bronze coin of Imperial times, with portrait-heads of 'Sextus the new Makar,' (or Makareus), and 'Andromeda the new Lesbos.' These must have been Lesbian worthies like those described in *Class. Rev.* 1894, p. 226. *Side in Pamphylia.* A coin of Gallienus with a figure of Asklepios holding a staff entwined by a serpent with a human head. A remarkable variation on the common type of Asklepios. *Cremna in Pisidia.* Bronze of Aurelian. *Rev.* DONATIO COL. CREMN. Annona (?) with modius.—Sir John Evans. 'On some rare or unpublished Roman coins.' 1. A remarkable *denarius*, doubtless struck under Galba:—*Obv.* 'Hispaniarum et Galliarum concordia.' Busts of Spain and Gaul. *Rev.* 'Victoria P.R.' Victory in biga. 2. An *aureus* of Balbinus found in 1902 near Alexandria in Egypt. Gold coins of this emperor are described by some of the 18th century numismatists but till now were not known to be extant. 3. Two gold coins of Carausius, one inscribed 'Pax Carausi Aug.' Also a unique *denarius Rev.* 'Clarit. Carausi Aug.' Bust of the Sun-god. 4. A gold coin of Licinius junior with *Rev.* 'Iovio (sic) Conservatori Caess.' Jupiter standing.

Revue Numismatique, Part 3, 1902.

J. Rouvier. 'Les rois phéniciens de Sidon d'après leurs monnaies, sous la dynastie des Achéménides,'

⁵ *Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1902, pp. 3 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 102 ff.

⁷ *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1902, p. 276.

(continued).—A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles.' Coins of Pamphylia and Pisidia, including a coin of Side with the head of Aemilian, an emperor rarely represented on Greek Imperial money.—Svoronos. 'La prétendue monnaie Thibronienne.' Θιβρόνειον (cod. Θιβρώνιον) νόμισμα ἔδωκε ἀπὸ Θιβρώνος τοῦ χαράξαντος εἰρησθαί. Photius, *l.c.* s.v. This passage has been often discussed by numismatists and there are divergent opinions as to the nature of the coin and the identity of the Thibron who issued it. There is reason to think that it was a false or debased coin, for in Pollux *Onomast.* iii. 86 we find χαλκόκρατον followed (in two MSS.) by the word θιβρόνιον. Svoronos suggests that there may have been a coin called ΦΕΙΔΩΝΕΙΟΝ (cp. Φειδώνεια

μέτρα) and that this word through an error of transcription had become ΘΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΟΝ and was corrected by Photius to ΘΙΒΡΩΝΕΙΟΝ. It is further suggested that certain ancient forgeries of the coins of Aegina are the false coins to which the term 'Pheidonian' was applied.—Tacchella. 'Monnaies de la Mésie Inférieure.' A description of thirty-one coins in the National Museum at Sofia, not included in the *Corpus Numorum*.—J. Roman. 'Médaille de consécration de Tétricus père.' A bronze coin of Tetricus, inscribed 'Divo Tetrico Aug.'; of semi-barbarous work, struck after the time of Tetricus.

The *Revue Belge de Num.*, 1903, pt. 1, contains a paper by E. D. Dutilh on the Nome coinage of Egypt.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiii. No. 3. 1902.

Problems in Greek Syntax (III. with Addendum), B. L. Gildersleeve. *The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia* (I.), K. F. Smith. *Θερικώτερον* (Cicero *Q. F.* iii. 3. 4), E. G. Sihler. *The Abtative Absolute in Livy* (I.), R. B. Steele. *Early Parallelisms in Roman Historiography*, J. P. Wolcott. Notes. *Tennysonianism*, W. P. Mustard. *καίτοι with Participle*, G. M. Bolling. Reviews. *Pessels' Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon*, Callaway's *Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon*; *Cesareo's D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae* (H. L. Wilson, unfavourable). Reports. Brief Mention. (Here in the course of comments upon textual criticism, the editor draws attention to the fact that he had pointed out in *A.J.P.* ix. 126 that the conjecture *vetulum* for *vetum* in Persius 3. 29 [see *C.R.* 1902, pp. 283, 319] was published by Heinrich in 1844.) *Necrology*, A. W. Stratton (Maurice Bloomfield).

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 57, 2. 1902.

H. Usener, *Milch und Honig*. On the use of milk and honey in the ancient mysteries, and in the early Church. W. M. Lindsay, *De fragmentis scriptorum apud Nonium servatis*. G. Knaack, *Hellenistische Studien*. I. On the legend of Nisos and Skylla in Hellenistic poetry. H. Peter, *Die Epochen in Varros Werk De gente populi Romani*. Discusses the passage in Censorinus (*De die nat.* 21, 1) in which the three epochs of Varro are mentioned. A. Furtwängler, *Zu der Inschrift der Aphaia auf Aegina*. Directed against the conclusions of M. Fränkel in the last No. Maintains that Aphaia possessed the whole temenos. K. Mangold, *Legionen des Orient auf Grund der Notitia dignitatum*. About 400 A.D. we find about 92 legions in five groups, called respectively, *palatinae*, *comitatenses*, *pseudocomitatenses*, *riparienses*, and the rest without any special name. C. Fries, *Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ*. On the legend of Homer's blindness. L. Radermacher, *Ueber eine Scene des euripideischen Orestes*. On a hydria of Caere of the sixth cent. B.C. which depicts the scene described in *Or.* 1487 sqq. W. Crönert, *Herkulanensische Bruchstücke einer Geschichte des Sokrates und seiner Schule*. M. Siebourg, *Ländliches Leben bei Homer und im deutschen Mittelalter*. Comparison of the descriptions

in the Shield of Achilles with those of mediaeval writers. G. Wörpel, *Ad libellum περὶ ὕψους*. A note on the text. F. Schöll and L. Radermacher, *Vir bonus dicendi peritus*. On this phrase of the elder Cato. Atticaster, *Boötisches*. On an inscription of Akraiphiai. M. Ihm, *Zu lateinischen Inschriften*. E. Wölfflin, *Die Reitercenturien des Tarquinius Priscus*. E. Lattes, *Zu den etruskischen Monatsnamen und Zahlwörtern*.

Part 3. F. Buecheler, *Coniectanea*. F. Solmsen, *Die Berliner Bruchstücke der Sappho*. The text with notes. L. Gurlitt, *Facetiae Tullianae*. On various passages in the letters. R. A. Fritzsche, *Der Magnet und die Athmung in antiken Theorien*. On the sources of *Lucr.* vi. 906–1089. M. Manitius, *Aus Dresdener Handschriften*. Here are printed some Scholia to Vegetius and to the Thebaid of Statius. K. Fuhr, *Zu griechischen Prosaikern*. On mistaken corrections in Plat. *Gorg.* 522a and Isocr. *Phil.* § 46. On ἔθηκεν and ἔδωκεν in the orators. On the rhetorical writings of Philodemus. R. Kunze, *Unbenachtete Strabofragmente*. Additions to the fragments from the commentary of Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes. J. Raeder, *Analecta Theodoretiana*. On a Vatican MS. of Theodoret's *Curatio*. G. Wörpel, *Eine Auspielung in dem Zeushymnos des Kallimachos*. On ll. 79 sqq. Th. Kakridis, *Plautus Amphitruo*. Is the *Amphitruo* a comœdia contaminata? F. Schultess, *Randbemerkungen zu Horaz*. R. Wünsch, *Zu Ciris* 369–377. O. Rossbach, *Agroecius et Plinius de Delphica*. O. Neuhaus, *Zu Trogius Pompeius Prol.* x. J. E. Kirchner, *Zu CIA.* II. 996. L. Radermacher, *Drei Deutungen*. (1) On δῆ–δέγ. (2) εἰς νέων=εἰς νέον. (3) δέ in Epicharmos fr. 149 *Lexel*.

Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. xiii, 1. 1902.

R. Thurneysen, *Zu den Etymologien im Thesaurus linguae latinae*. AB—ARCESSO. E. Wölfflin, *Alliteration und Reim bei Salvian*. E. Wölfflin, *Mandare* = manum dare. G. Lohner, *Zu Ps.-Quintilian, decl. mai.* 4, 1. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Albarus*. W. Heraeus, *Con* and *com* vor Vokalen in der *Komposition*. The evidence for *com* before vowels goes back to high antiquity. The irrational *con* before vowels is later. W. Heraeus, *Curva* = meretrix. H. Jordan, *Melito und Novatian*. On the resemblances between the Pseudo-Cyprian *adversus Iudaeos*, the Melito frag-

ments, and the newly discovered Pseudo-Origenistic Tractates whose author was Novatian. E. Wölfflin, *Das Breviarium des Festus*. I. On resemblances between Festus on the one hand and Eutropius, Florus, and the Epitoma of Livy on the other. C. Mayhoff, *Epitoma*. On the spelling. A. Klotz, *Disciplina disciplinarum*. May be an imitation of Themistius' ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν and τέχνη τεχνῶν. A. Klotz, *Artificus*. On Poet. Min. V. 65, v. 30. Baehrens. F. Stolz, *Das Praefix dis.*—A. Klotz, *Sorsus*. This word in the Latin transl. of a fable of Babrius in the Amherst-Papyri may be a partep. from *sorbere*. J. Cornu, *Cornua bei Sil. Ital.* 15. 761. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische Wörter der lateinischen Inschriften*. J. Cornu, *Zu Lucan* 2, 133. Reads *quoad* for *quid*. J. Cornu, *Qui fugit patellam, cadit in prunas*. Gives romance parallels to this proverb which is quoted by Schol. ad Lucan. iii. 687. E. Nestle, *Andron*. An ex. of this word from an old Latin MS. of the Bible. W. Heraeus, *Auseiner lateinischen Babriosübersetzung*. A. Zimmermann, *Personennamen auf -utus, -utius*. W. M. Lindsay, *Parum, parvum*. *Parvum* as a fuller form of *parum* occurs in the phrase in the comic writers *parvum est fides alicui*. O. Brugmann, *Andes*. This word like *Lucani* etc. is the name of a people not of a place.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Parts 6 and 7. 1902.

G. Thiele, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Komödie*. Thiele refers to the information of Aristotle, Sosibios of Lacedaemon, and Semos of Delos. The four kinds of ἐχελονταί, φαλλοφόροι, αὐτοκάβδαλοι, and ἱαμβοί are sprung from the same root of popular processions. The name *τραγωδός* shows that at Athens for a long time the only dramatic play was the Satyr-play. From this was developed the serious heroic tragedy, but how this came about is uncertain. H. Lucas, *Die Knabenstatue von Subiaco*. Maintains that this famous statue in the Thermae-museum at Rome represents Ganymede fleeing before the eagle of Zeus. S. Reiter, *August Böckh* (1785–1867). With reference to M. Hoffmann's biography.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1902.

22 Oct. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander*, herausg. von O. Kern (O. Schulthess), favourable. *Ciceros Rede über den Oberbefehl des Pompejus*, erkl. von O. Drenckhahn (W. Hirschfelder), favourable. L. Messerschmidt, *Die Hettiter* (J. V. Prásek), favourable. J. Ziehen, *Über die Verbindung der sprachlichen mit der sachlichen Belehrung* (P. Cauer), very favourable.

29 Oct. H. Luckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte. I. Abbildungen zur alten Geschichte*. 4 Aufl. (P. Weissäcker), very favourable. B. Δεονάρδος, 'H' Ὀλυμπία, favourable. J. Adam, *Texts to illustrate a course of elementary lectures on Greek philosophy after Aristotle* (A. Döring). 'Is to be welcomed with sympathy.'

5 Nov. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (J. Sitzler). D. Fava, *Gli epigrammi di Platone* (G. Wörpel), unfavourable. Fr. Matthias, *Über Pytheas von Massilia und die ältesten Nachrichten von den Germanen*. II. (P. Schulze), favourable. Cicero, *Oratio Philippica prima*, par H. de la Ville de Mirmont (W. Hirschfelder), favourable. H. Osthoff, *Etymologische Parerga*. I. (F. Solmsen). 'A very stimulating book.'

12 Nov. D. Laurent et G. Hartmann, *Vocabulaire*

étymologique de la langue grecque et de la langue latine (F. Solmsen), unfavourable. A. Trendelenburg, *Der grosse Altar des Zeus in Olympia* (Fr. Spiro), very favourable. *Der römische Limes in Österreich*. III. (M. Ihm). O. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta* (A. Hilgenfeld). 'A careful investigation.' L. Weigl, *Studien zu dem unedirten astrologischen Lehrgeheim des Johannes Kamateros* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

19 Nov. *Homeri Ilias*, rec. A. Ludwig. I. A. Ludwig, *Beiträge zur Homerischen Handschriftenkunde*—Über die *Papyrus-Kommentare zu den Homerischen Gedichten* (C. Rothe), very favourable. *Aischylos' Perser*, herausg. von H. Jurenka (K. Busche), favourable. C. Kattein, *Theocriti idyllis VIII. et IX. cur abroganda sit fides Theocritea* (M. Rannow), favourable. Fr. Kampe, *Über die Adelphen des Terenz* (G. Wörpel). 'Learned and solid.' E. Thomas, *Pétrone l'envers de la société romaine*. 2 ed. (v. Morawski), favourable. K. Horna, *Einige unedirte Stücke des Manasses und Italikos* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

26 Nov. A. Pischinger, *Der Vogelgesang bei den griechischen Dichtern des Klassischen Altertums* (A. Biese), favourable. Aeschylus, *The Prometheus Bound rendered into English verse*, by E. R. Bevan (K. Busche), favourable. J. van der Valk, *De Lucretiano carmine a poeta perfecto atque absoluto* (G. Wörpel), favourable. R. Petersdorff, *Germanen und Griechen* (U. Zernial), unfavourable on the whole.

3 Dec. Demosthenes, *Ausgewählte Reden*, erkl. von A. Westermann, 1 Bändch. 10. Aufl. von E. Rosenberg (P. Uhle). W. Soltan, *Die Geburts-geschichte Jesu Christi* (M. Zimmer). 'Helps thoughtful readers by its clearness and certainty.' F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 2. Aufl. (J. Dräseke), very favourable. O. Basiner, *Ludi Saeculares* (A. Enmann), favourable. Seefelder, *Abhandlung über das Carmen adversus Flavianum* (R. Helm), favourable. J. Ashbach, *Zur Geschichte und Kultur der römischen Rheinlande* (C. Koenen). 'warmly to be recommended.' A. Mau, *Katalog der Bibliothek des kaiserlich. deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom*. II. (W. Amelung).

10 Dec. M. Collignon et L. Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* (P. Weissäcker). F. Adami, *De poetis scaenicis graecis hymnorum sacrorum imitatoribus* (C. Häberlin). 'Good but not easy to read.' J. Vendryes, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les effets de l'intensité initiale en Latin* (Draheim), very favourable. L. Valmaggi, *Nuovi appunti sulla critica recentissima del Dialogo degli oratori* (C. John), favourable. E. Schwyzer, *Die Weltsprachen des Altertums in ihrer geschichtlichen Stellung* (O. Weisse), favourable.

17 Dec. P. Pasella, *La poesia convivale dei Greci* (G. Wörpel), favourable. *Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrnaei epistolae et martyria*, ed. A. Hilgenfeld (J. Dräseke), favourable. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Unterganges der antiken Welt*. Anh. zum. 2. Bande (A. Höck), very favourable. *Griechische Erinnerungen eines Reisender*, herausg. von Th. Birt (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

24 Dec. C. Wunderer, *Polybios Forschungen II. Citate und geflügelte Worte bei Polybios* (C. Häberlin). 'Shows extensive reading.' E. Rosenberg, *Studien zur Rede Ciceros für Murena* (W. Hirschfeld). 'An excellent contribution to our knowledge.' F. Kaiser, *Quo tempore Dialogus de oratoribus scriptus sit* (G. Andresen), very favourable.

The Classical Review

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THE TRUE MEANING OF THE *Koinḗ*.

It has recently become the fashion among classical students to designate the colloquial Greek of post-classical and Graeco-Roman antiquity by the term *koinḗ* and brand or conceive it as *vulgar Greek*: 'lingua corruptissima,' 'corrupta graecitas,' 'lingua franca,' 'Jargon,' and the like. True, within the last few years, a reaction has set in as regards the *character* of this much despised form of Greek, but the doubtful designation by the strange term *koinḗ* is still in vogue, having even attained almost universal acceptance especially through the publications of Hatzidakis, Thumb, Dieterich, Schweitzer, and Kretschmer, who speak rather loosely of a *Koine* and even a *Koinesierung* assuming these notions to be well defined and familiar to all. As nearly all other classical students follow the fashion, and as I have myself fallen into the mistake by copying the term *koinḗ* in my *Historical Greek Grammar* (p. 6), I feel bound to confess and rectify my error and at the same time explain for the benefit of other fellow-sinners that a critical examination of the question has convinced me that a *koinḗ* language, as now styled and described, never had a concrete real existence or place in Greek written composition.

Classical scholars are well aware that, when speaking of their language, the Greeks never considered the vernacular or colloquial speech of their time. Unlike modern philologists and grammarians who lay down the rules and principles of language in 'speaking and writing,' the ancients ignored the spoken language with its winged

or passing words, and had regard exclusively to the *written* language, especially to that received or artistic form of language which had attained permanent and honourable place in literature. When national Greek history and literature had entered the period of decline, the then Greeks looked back to the glorious ancestral times, and with a sad pride referred to the language of their great ancestors with the reverential terms *παλαιά*, *ἀρχαία*, *δόκιμος*, *ἔνδοξος*, and the like, thus contradistinguishing it from their own (written) language, now styled *μεταγενεστέρα*, which suffered from such new accretions and elements as appeared *ἀδόκιμα*, *νόθα*, *ἔκφυλα*, *ἀμαθῆ*, *ιδιωτικά*, *βάρβαρα*, *σόλοικα*, and the like. On the whole, however, the Greeks at all times regarded their (written) language as an unbroken and homogeneous inheritance, and when they distinguished in it a *παλαιά* or *ἀρχαία* (classical) and a *μεταγενεστέρα* (post-classical), that distinction referred mainly to time and only indirectly to the character of the language.¹

Ignoring, then, systematically the spoken

¹ It is only casually and indirectly that we meet in ancient writings with an allusion to the vernacular speech of the time by such a designation as *ἰδιωτικὴ λέξις*, (*κοινῆ*) *συνήθεια*, or *χυδαία λαλιά*, etc.—In modern Greek this colloquial or illiterate form of speech is generally called *γλῶσσα ἀπλῆ* or *λαλουμένη* or *ὁμιλουμένη*. The alternative designation as *καθωμιλουμένη* (adopted by Prof. Kretschmer and applied to the speech of the Hellenistic period) is a recent coinage of fastidious Greek scribes who overlook that *καθωμιλῶ* in the sense of 'I speak' is neither modern nor ancient Greek. Those who are not pleased with the term *ὁμιλουμένη* should at least adopt the form *καθωμιλημένη*.

or vernacular language of all times, the ancient Greeks knew and considered but one language, that which appeared in national literature. In this generally received language, however, and for literary purposes, they drew and emphasized a great distinction: the distinction between *dialectal* and *non-dialectal* Greek. With them DIALECTAL Greek was that particular vocabulary and diction which appeared as peculiar to one or more of the dialects (Aeolic, Doric, Ionic, Attic, also poetic), whereas by NON-DIALECTAL Greek they understood that wider part of the language which was 'common to all Greek dialects.' This common good, this universal or panhellenic Greek, they designated by the appropriate term *κοινή διάλεκτος*, the language common to all Greeks, and regarded it as the basis and norm (*μήτηρ ἡ κοινή* sc. *διάλεκτος*, Schol. in Dion. Thr. 469, 6, ed. A. Hilgard, 1901), by which all writers had to abide. The best type of this *κοινή διάλεκτος* they found in the Attic orators, and Dionysios of Halicarnasos singles out Isocrates as the best representative of this standard or *κοινή διάλεκτος*.

1. KOINH DIALEKTOS (not *κοινή* without *διάλεκτος*): the *καθαρεύουσα*: the literary standard language as illustrated in the Attic orators, i.e. pure and free from all dialectal (and poetical) elements: Dion. Hal. de Isocr. § 2: 'Ἡ δὲ λέξις (i.e. style) ἣ κέχρηται (Ἰσοκράτης) τοιοῦτόν τινα χαρακτηριστὴρα ἔχει καθαρὰ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐχ ἦττον τῆς Λυσίου καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκὴ τιθείσα, τὴν τε διάλεκτον ἀκριβοῦσα ἐν τοῖς πάντι τὴν κοινὴν καὶ συνηθεστάτην. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πέφυγεν ἀπηρχαιωμένων καὶ σημειωδῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν ἀπειροκαλίαν καὶ κέκραται συμμέτρως, τό τε σαφὲς ἐκείνη παραπλήσιον ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἐναργές, ἡθικὴ τέ ἐστὶν καὶ πιθανή. Cp. also Id. de Lys. § 2 κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ μέρος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν πρῶτον καὶ κυριώτερον ἐν λόγοις, λέγω δὲ τὸ καθαρεύειν τὴν διάλεκτον, οὐθεὶς τῶν μεταγενεστέρων αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν Λυσίαν) ὑπερεβάλετο· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μιμήσασθαι πολλοὶ δύναμιν ἔσχον, ὅτι μὴ μόνος Ἰσοκράτης. καθαρώτατος δὴ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ γε Λυσίαν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οὗτος ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ γενέσθαι ὁ ἀνὴρ. id. § 3 τίς δὲ ἐστὶν (ἡ ἀρετὴ) αὕτη; ἡ διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων ὀνομάτων ἐκφέρουσα τὰ νοούμενα. id. de Isocr. § 13 τοῖς κυρίοις καὶ συνήθεσι καὶ κοινοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀμφοτέροι (Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Λυσίας) κέχρηται.

Clem. Al. Strom. i, 146 (38) φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλέκτους εἶναι τὰς παρὰ σφίσι πέντε, Ἀτθίδα Ἰάδα Δωριδα Αἰολίδα, καὶ

πέμπτην τὴν κοινήν.—Schol. in Dion. Thr. 14, 14 διάλεκτοι δὲ εἰσι πέντε, Ἀτθίς Δωρίς Αἰολίς Ἰὰς καὶ κοινή. καὶ Ἀτθίς ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Δωρίς ἡ τῶν Δωριέων, Αἰολίς ἡ τῶν Αἰολέων, Ἰὰς ἡ τῶν Ἰώνων, κοινή ἡ πάντες (the writers) χρῶνται. So too 100, 38. 155, 33. 302, 2. 309, 28: πόσαι διαλέκτοι; πέντε, Ἰὰς ἡγουν ἡ τῶν Ἰώνων . . . καὶ κοινή ἡ τινὶ πάντες χρῶμεθα (which all of us writers use). So further 567, 38. 411, 3. 431, 3. 463, 24: τὴν δὲ κοινήν (διάλεκτον) ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων λέγουσι πεποιθῆσθαι, κακῶς. καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος τέτταρσι χρήται, καὶ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο κοινή ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἡ διάλεκτος. 469, 1 ff. περὶ κοινῆς (διαλέκτου). τινὲς φασιν ὅτι οὐκ ὀφείλει κοινή καλεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ μικτή, εἴπερ ἡ κοινή ἀπὸ τεσσάρων συνέστηκεν. οὐ γὰρ τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων φαρμάκων ἔμπλαστρον κοινὴν καλοῦμεν ἀλλὰ μικτήν.¹ καὶ καλῶς ἔλεγον ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας τὴν κοινήν συνίστασθαι ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅτι μήτηρ ἡ κοινή. εἰ γὰρ τίς εἴποι ὅτι Δωριστί, φάμεν ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ ἡ Αἰολιστί ὁμοίως, ἢ Ἰαστί ἢ Ἀττικιστί. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν <ἡμέραν> οἱ κοῖνοὶ λέγουσιν, οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἔως, οἱ Ἴωνες ἡώς, οἱ Δωριεῖς ᾠός, οἱ Αἰολεῖς αὔως· καὶ μελισσῶν μελισσᾶν μελισσέων μελισσάνων. 563, 20 τούτων δὲ (τῶν ἐπιρρημάτων) τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ποιητικά, τὰ δὲ τῆς κοινῆς διαλέκτου. Gregorios of Corinth 11 (ed. Schaefer) κοινή δὲ ἡ πάντες χρῶμεθα... ἡγουν ἡ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων συνεστῶσα.—Et. M. (ed. Gaisford) 21, 7 ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κοινήν διάλεκτον τὰ ἀπαθὴ οὐ λέγεται, οἷον τὸ πατέρος καὶ μητέρος καὶ ἀνέρος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πεπονθότα, οἷον τὸ πατρός. 760, 20 καὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ (προσωπῷ) τύψαι, χρώνται οἱ Αἰολεῖς, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς προσώποις (τύψαις) ἡ κοινή συνήθεια καὶ διάλεκτος. ὡσαύτως καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πληθυντικῶν.—327, 30:

¹ Johannes Philoponos (in ed. Aldus Manutius' Thesaurus of 1496, fol. 286 f.,) οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι τὴν κοινήν καταριθμεῖν διάλεκτον ταῖς προειρημέναις τέσσαρσιν, αἰτιῶνται τοῦτ' ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ οὐδὲν γὰρ, φασίν, ἔχει ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τετραφάρμακος δύναμις ἐκ τεσσάρων συνεστῶσα τετραφάρμακον λέγεται, οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχουσα, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κοινή διάλεκτος, ἐκ τεσσάρων συναρμοσθεῖσα, οὐκ ὀφείλει συναριθμεῖσθαι ταύταις. τῶν δὲ τὴν κοινήν διάλεκτον εἰσψησαμένων οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι πάσαις συμβέβληται ταῖς διαλέκτοις τοῖς ὁμοφώνοις, οἷον φίλος νῦν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· οἱ δὲ ὅτι νῦν [οὐκ ?] ἐστὶν ἔχουσα τύπον, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαφόρων λέξεων συνηθροισμένη, μεταπτώσεις δὲ αὐτῆς οὐχ εὐρίσκονται... διάλεκτοι δὲ εἰσι, εἰ καὶ τὴν κοινήν τις καταριθμεῖ, πέντε· Ἰὰς Ἀτθίς Δωρίς Αἰολίς κοινή· ἡ γὰρ πέμπτη ἴδιον οὐκ ἔχουσα χαρακτηριστὴρα κοινὴ ὠνομάσθη ἥτοι ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν πασῶν χαρακτήρσι χρήται καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων καθέστηκεν ἡ ὅτι κοινὴς αὕτη πάντες χρώνται, ἢ διότι ἐκ ταύτης ἄρχονται, ὥς ταύτης οὐσῆς πασαι.

ἐλεῶ· κατὰ μὲν τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς πρώτης συζυγίας τῶν περισπωμένων [i.e. -έω], ἐλεῖς· ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐλεεῖ καὶ δανείζει ὁ δίκαιος· κατὰ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν [?] δευτέρας [i.e. -άω]· καὶ γίγνεται παρὰ τὸ ἔλεος, τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τὸ λῶ, τὸ θέλω.

2. ΟΙ ΚΟΙΝΟΙ: the καθαρεύοντες prose writers, those who write in the κοινὴ διάλεκτος: see above under 1. Schol. in Dion. Thr. 469, 1 ff. (also quoted above under 1).—Et. M. 405, 23 οἱ Ἀττικοὶ χθές, οἱ δὲ κοῖνοι ἐχθές. 692, 13 ὅπερ (πρῶτ) οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ βαρύνουσιν, οἶον· πρῶτ' ὅ' ὑπὸ τοῖσι σὺν τεύχεσιν, οἱ δὲ κοῖνοι καὶ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀξύνουσιν.

3. ΚΟΙΝΟΣ: common to all dialects represented in literature, commonly shared by all classical prose writers; hence non-dialectal, panhellenic, national, classical. Apoll. D. de Pron. 4, 19 (263A) τὸ μὲν ὄνυμα οὐ κοινόν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα. Schol. in Dion. Thr. 93, 11 εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ προθέσεις ἅσαι ὁκτωκαίδεκα, προστιθέναι δεῖ καὶ ἐνταῦθα· κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος, ἢ ἢ οὕτως. τοῦτο δὲ εἶπον ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ εὐρίσκομεν τὴν παραλ καταὶ ὑπεὶρ ἐνί· δεῖ οὖν ἀναγκαίως προστιθέναι· κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος'. 155, 33 ἢ οὐκὶ λέξις Ἰωνικὴ ἔστιν, οὐ κοινή... πᾶσαι αἱ προθέσεις μονοσυλλάβως λεγόμεναι... Ἰωνικαὶ εἰσὶ, κοιναὶ δὲ γεγόνاسι ταῖς προσθήκαις τῶν φωνηέντων. οἱ γὰρ Ἴωνες πάθουσιν καὶ κάθουσιν καὶ ἀνθουσιν λέγουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρέθουσιν καὶ κατέθουσιν καὶ ἀνέθουσιν. 188, 31 τὸ φεράσω καὶ τὸ περάσω καὶ τὸ δράσω οὐ Δωρικά ὄντα ἀλλὰ κοινὰ μακρῷ τῷ ᾱ κέχρηται. 279, 10 τὸ εἶθε κοινόν, τὸ δὲ αἶθε Δωρίον. 366, 32 λέγει τοῖνον ὁ τεχνικὸς χαρακτήρας καὶ τύπους τῶν πατρωνυμικῶν τρεῖς· κοινὸν μὲν πάσης διαλέκτου τὸν εἰς -δης, οἶον Πηλείδης, Ἰωνικὸν δὲ τὸν εἰς -ων, οἶον Ἀτρείων, καὶ τρίτον τῶν Αἰολέων τὸν εἰς -άδιος, κτλ. So also 368, 13. 432, 22 εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ διαζευκτικοὶ (σύνδεσμοι) τρεῖς, ἢ, ἥτοι, ἡέ. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων τῶν διαζευκτικῶν οἱ μὲν ποιητικοί, οἱ δὲ πεζοί, οἱ δὲ κοῖνοι (common to both as ἢ, ἥτοι). So also 288, 1—Et. M. 272, 12 οὐδέποτε τὰ εἰς -κω ῥήματα κοινὰ ὄντα διφθόγγῳ τῇ διὰ τοῦ ι παραλήγεται· ὅθεν ἐπιμεμπτος Ἀρίσταρχος τὸ· αἶκε σε τῷ εἰσκοντες, διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφων, δέον διὰ τοῦ ι πρόσκειται κοινὰ διὰ τὰ Αἰολικά. οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς θναῖσκω καὶ μιμναῖσκω διὰ τῆς αι διφθόγγου λέγουσιν.¹

¹ Compare also Moiris the Atticist who, writing in the interest of the purely Attic dialect, contradistinguishes from it as κοινὸν or panhellenic the stock common to all the dialects, including Attic, and as Ἑλληνικὸν or Hellenic the stock common to all the dialects except Attic. ἀνακῶς Ἀττικοί, ὡς Πλάτων ὁ καμικός· καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀνακῶς

4. ΚΟΙΝΩΣ:² like κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος, as generally received, as used in the κοινὴ διάλεκτος, Moiris: ἐμφώνως Ἀττικοί, συμφώνως Ἑλληνες καὶ κοινῶς. Schol. in Dion. Thr. 112, 12 ἐκ τούτου αὐτὸς καὶ βαρύνος, ὅπερ κοινῶς μὲν ὀξύνεται, Ἀττικῶς δὲ βαρύνεται. 541, 13 τὸν διὰ τοῦ -εας τινα συναρτεῖται Δωρικῶς, Ἑρμῆας Ἑρμᾶς, Βορέας Βορᾶς, κοινῶς δὲ Ἀπελλῆς.—So also ΚΟΙΝΟΤΕΡΩΣ (in a more general way) Schol. in Dion. Thr. 151, 23, ἢ γὰρ δεκάς δεχᾶς ἂν κοινότερως ῥηθείη ὅτι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῆς ῥηθέντας ἀριθμοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτὴν λεγομένους δέχεται καὶ συναλείεται αὐτοῖς. ib. 34 οὕτω τὸν δέκα δέχα εἴποις κοινότερως ὡς δεκτικὸν τῶν ἄλλων.

5. ΚΟΙΝΟΛΕΚΤΕΙΣΘΑΙ: to be common to some or all dialects, to be used in pure classical non-dialectal prose: Apoll. D. de Pron. 92, 20 (378 B) αἱ πληθυντικαὶ (ἀντωνυμῖαι) κοινολεκτοῦνται κατ' εὐθείαν πρὸς τε Ἰῶνων καὶ Ἀττικῶν· ἡμεῖς ὑμεῖς σφεῖς. Id. de Adv. 169, 20 (580, 30) τὰ εἰς -ως λήγοντα ἐπιρρήματα κοινολεκτούμενα δυσὶ τόνοις ὑποπίπτει· ἢ γὰρ βαρύνεται, ὡς κούφως φαύλως μετρίως· ἢ περισπᾶται, ὡς τ σεμνῶς καὶ εἰσεσβῶς. Et. M. 189, 39 τὰ εἰς -εως λήγοντα ἀρσενικά, εἴτε μονοσύλλαβα εἴτε ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, ἅπαντα ὀξύνεται, δηλονότι κοινολεκτούμενα, βασιλεύς Ἀχιλλεύς Πηλεύς κτλ. πρόσκειται κοινολεκτούμενα, οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς βαρυτόνως λέγουσιν· Ἀχιλλεύς Πήλεως. 304, 51 τὰ εἰς -εις ὀνόματα μὴ κοινολεκτούμενα ἔχοντα οὐδετέρου παρασχηματισμὸν ἀποστρέφεται τὴν ὀξείαν

ἔχειν· ἀσφαλῶς ἢ φυλακτικῶς κοινόν. ἀτεχνῶς Ἀττικοί, ἀπλῶς κοινόν. βιβλία διὰ τοῦ ι, ὡς Πλάτων, Ἀττικοί· βυβλία, ὡς Δημοσθένης, κοινόν. γλαῦσθα Ἀττικοί, λημῶσθα κοινὸν ἀμφότερα. γόγης Ἀττικοί, κόλαξ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ κοινόν. δευσοποιοὶ Ἀττικοί, βαφεῖς κοινόν. διήρης Ἀττικοί, ὑπερφον κοινόν. ἐξίλλειν Ἀττικοί, ἐξεύργειν Ἑλληνες, ἐκβάλλειν κοινόν (common to all). εἰ γὰρ Ἀττικοί, εἶθε γὰρ κοινόν. ἥρεσέ με Ἀττικοί, ἥρεσέ μοι κοινόν. ἦττω Ἀττικοί, ἦσσονα κοινόν. ἱτρία (πλάσματα λεπτὰ σπῆσση πεπλασμένα) λάγανα κοινόν. ἴσασιν Ἀττικοί, οἰδασιν κοινόν <Ἀττικοί>, κάθησο Ἀττικοί, κάθου κοινόν. λέμμα ἀντὶ τοῦ λέπισμα Ἑλληνες, λέπος κοινόν. μαχαιρίδες (αἱ μάχαιραι τῶν κουρέων) Ἀττικοί, μάχαιραι κοινόν. νέστον Ἀττικοί, ἔσχατον κοινόν. οἶσε Ἀττικοί, φέρε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ κοινόν. ποῖ Ἀττικοί, ποῦ κοινόν. ῥιγῶν Ἀττικοί, ῥιγοῦν κοινόν, ῥιγοῖν Ἑλληνες. σκιάς Ἀττικοί, ἀναδενδράς κοινόν. σπάδων κοινόν, εὐνοῦχος Ἑλληνες. σμικρὸν Ἀττικοί, μικρὸν κοινόν. φειδωλὸς Ἀττικοί, σκνιφόλ [σκνιποῖ?] κοινόν. ᾧδε κοινὸν Ἰῶνων Ἀττικῶν, οὕτως Ἑλληνες.

² Compare Sext. 608, 17 γραμματικὴ τοῖνον λέγεται κατὰ ὁμωνυμίαν κοινῶς τε καὶ ἰδίως. καὶ κοινῶς μὲν ἢ τῶν ὁποιωνδήποτε γραμμῶν εἰδησις, ἐὰν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐὰν τε βαρβαρικῶν, ἢν συνήθως γραμματιστικῇ καλοῦμεν, ἰδιαίτερον δὲ ἢ ἐντελής καὶ τοῖς περὶ Κράτητα τὸν Μαλλώτην Ἀριστοφάνην τε καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον ἐκπονηθεῖσα.

τάσιν, ὀνόματα δὲ εἶπεν (sc. ὁ τεχνικός) τὰς μετοχάς, οἷον τυφθεῖς· κοινολεκτούμενα δὲ εἶπε διὰ τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ εὐσεβές· οἱ γὰρ Βοιωτοὶ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφουσιν. 737, 25 τὰ εἰς -ζωλῆγοντα ῥήματα κοινολεκτούμενα οὐδέποτε ἔχει τὸ α ἐν τῇ παραλλογούσῃ μακρὸν φύσει...πρόσκειται κοινολεκτούμενα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλήσσω πλάζω λέγουσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς, καὶ ἔστι τὸ α φύσει μακρόν.

But there is no need of accumulating further proofs of what is already too manifest. Wherever the ancients refer to the κοινὴ διάλεκτος they always mean that national literary Greek which is free from all dialectal and even poetical admixture, a form of style best represented in the orators. It is in this sense also that the older of modern philologists and grammarians understood the term κοινὴ διάλεκτος. Thus in his famous Phalaris (ed. W. Wagner 402 f.) Bentley says: 'The general manner of speech call'd κοινὴ διάλεκτος, *The Common Dialect*, which the writers [before and] after Alexander's time commonly used, was never at any time or in any place the popular idiom; but perfectly a language of the

learned.' Still more explicit and marvelously correct is the definition given to the κοινὴ διάλεκτος by the great philologist and sound grammarian Fr. Thiersch, when he says in his *Greek Grammar* (ed. of 1830, Engl. by D. K. Sandford) p. xvii: 'In the universal language to which the Attic dialect was raised, a distinction was however drawn between some forms peculiar to Attica and others in general usage. Hence the opposition of one part as Attic (Ἀττικόν) to the other as Common (κοινόν). *The universal language—or common dialect—is assumed as the basis of Greek grammars*'. Then p. xix 'The selection of that which is common to the Attic and the other dialects constitutes the *Common dialect*.'

How we modern students have come to lose sight of all tradition and thus misapply the term κοινὴ (διάλεκτος) to post-classical demotic or vernacular speech, a form of language systematically ignored by the ancients, is a phenomenon hardly creditable to the exact and critical scholarship of our times.

A. N. JANNARIS.

ON THE ORIGINAL CONCLUSION OF THE Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μενελάου Μονομαχία.

PERHAPS no episode in the *Iliad* suffers from a more 'lame and impotent conclusion' than the duel between Menelaos and Paris. Paris challenges Menelaos to single combat: an agreement is made that the victor shall have Helen and all the goods that came with her to Troy, and the agreement is ratified by a sacrifice: they fight; and when Paris is on the point of being worsted he is rescued by Aphrodité and taken off by supernatural means to Helen's chamber, while Menelaos is left wandering on the field in search of his antagonist. Agamemnon comes forward to claim the reward of the victory on his brother's behalf, the Achaeans assent to the claim, and—no more is heard of the matter so far as the persons chiefly interested are concerned. The way in which the whole episode is apparently forgotten, but for a few stray references to the subsequent treachery of Pandaros, is one of the most striking facts in the *Iliad*.

Robert (Studien zur *Ilias*) treats the difficulty in drastic fashion. He regards the duel-episode as an *Einzellied*, ending

with the scene in Helen's chamber (Il. iii, 447): the remaining lines of the book are an attempt, (a clumsy attempt, one must admit) to fit the episode into the framework of the *Iliad*: Menelaos (according to Robert) was only a secondary figure; the whole interest centres in Paris: 'Was aus Menelaos wird, fragt der Hörer nicht und soll er nicht fragen' (*op. cit.* p. 208). Surely there is some other way out of the difficulty than this.

Let us see what the points are that call for explanation. (1) What reply have the Trojans to give to Agamemnon's demand for the restitution of Helen in accordance with the oaths? There seems to be no consciousness in their minds when, after the scene in Olympus with which Book 4 opens, we are transported by the poet to the Trojan host, that any reply is called for. (2) What attitude towards Pandaros do the Trojans assume considering that (according to iii, 453) they would gladly have seen Paris killed and, presumably, the war ended? We must find some answer to these questions if we are not to assume some

botching on the part of the poet or the 'redactor' or some lacuna in the poem.

On turning to the second duel in the Iliad, that between Hektor and Aias in Book 7, we find the question of the restoration of Helen crop up again, in a manner for which nothing in the Iliad between the end of Book 3 and the end of Nestor's speech in Book 7 (l. 343) has in the least prepared us. The idea that vii. 344 *sqq.* are the immediate sequel to Book 3 is too obvious to have escaped notice, but I cannot find that it has been worked out before.

Hektor and Aias after a stubborn fight have parted in amity and retired to their comrades' welcoming arms. Nestor in the midst of the rejoicing proposes to build a wall round the camp: the Trojans in a threatening and scolding crowd surround Priam's palace and Antenor, in a speech to the closing lines of which we shall have to pay close attention in a moment, proposes to surrender Helen. Paris refuses to give up 'the woman,' but will give 'the goods': Priam intervenes and suggests an embassy to the Greek camp in the morning: the heralds go on their errand and return with an uncompromising reply but with the permission they had craved for to burn the bodies of the dead.

Here several questions suggest themselves: why are the Trojans threatening and noisy (*ἀγορή*. . . *δεινὴ τετραρχυία*, vii. 346)? why is the proposal to surrender Helen made at this point in the action? why does Antenor take such a prominent part? These questions are not easy to answer on the supposition that the scene belongs to the place in which we find it, but are lucidity itself if we suppose that the episode came originally immediately after the conclusion of Agamemnon's speech at the end of Book 3. The Trojans are angry that Paris, to whom they bear no good will, should have by his escape so complicated matters that no one can say whether he or Menelaos was really the victor: and Antenor takes part because he had been the only Trojan who had actually assisted Priam at the conclusion of the truce: his proposal to restore Helen is made, because he looks on Paris as the vanquished, and as bound to restore her by the terms of truce. Note also how Paris seems to have an uneasy consciousness that he should restore something: he is bound either to give up Helen and her property if beaten, or, if not beaten, nothing: he tries to strike a bargain between his conscience and his greed: he will give 'the

goods' and some of his own property as well. The last lines of Antenor's speech are worth studying.

δεῦτ' ἄγετ', Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ'
αὐτῇ
δώμεν Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἄγειν· νῦν δ' ὄρκια πιστὰ
ψενσάμενοι μαχόμεσθα· τῷ οὐ νύ τι κέρδιον
ἡμῖν
ἔλπομαι ἐκτελέεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ῥέξομεν ὧδε.

Aristarchus rejected the last line and rightly so when we regard the preceding one. But how did it get in? It is generally regarded as an adscript to complete the construction of the preceding—in need of no such help. Now the preceding line refers to the events lying between the end of Book 3 and this speech. What if *it* be the intruder, added when this speech was transferred from its original context to the present place? Suppose Antenor ended

νῦν [δ'] ὄρκια πιστὰ
ἔλπομαι ἐκτελέεσθαι ἵνα μὴ ῥέξομεν αὐτῶς

'Now I look for our trusty oaths to be performed that we may not have done sacrifice for naught,' all will run smoothly and as we should expect under the circumstances (*αὐτῶς* might readily become *οὕτως* and so *ὧδε*—perhaps might even have been changed on purpose. For the variants see Leaf's critical note: and for the use of the aor. subjunctive by a 'laxity of usage' for the perfect cf. Goodwin *M.T.* § 93).

Now here we find some curious points of resemblance between the two passages: in the first place Priam and Antenor, who negotiated the oaths in Book 3 appear again, and evidently as persons who have some special right to be heard: the feeling against Paris which is so prominent in the conclusion of Book 3 re-appears as it does nowhere else except in Book 6 in the much-discussed *μῆνις* Ἀλεξάνδρῳ (see vii. 390, 393, the Trojans regard Paris as beaten and bound by the terms of the truce to restore Helen). Let any one read iii. 448—461 followed immediately by vii. 345 *sqq.* and the conclusion that they form part of the same scene will be forced on him irresistibly.

How then did they become separated? I offer a suggestion for what it is worth. The scene in which Aphrodité brings Helen to her chamber and that in which Paris meets her there, did not belong to the original cast of this episode. The latter certainly cannot: for the assembly at Priam's gate must have taken place immedi-

ately after the conclusion of the duel: Paris takes part in it: and yet he must on the other hypothesis have been just then dallying in his lady's chamber. The chamber-scene was perhaps composed to explain why Paris is found there by Hektor in Book 6. But when it *was* composed, its incompatibility with the original ending of the episode became apparent and the 'editor,' or whoever is responsible for the present form of the Iliad, transferred the latter to the conclusion of the second duel, forgetting that this was undertaken purely ἐξ ἐριδος, and without any condition being attached to the victory. Our point (2) above, about Pandaros, answers itself: he and his treachery retire from the original poem, as indeed they had been forced to do for other reasons long ago.

There is one slight difficulty remaining. It is Diomedes, not, as might be expected, Menelaos who gives the answer to the Trojan heralds (vii. 399). Menelaos, as we see from iii. 397, was not likely to allow this. Considering the way in which Diomedes, according to Robert, has been foisted wherever possible into the Iliad we

need not wonder if Διομήδης has taken the place of Μενέλαος in vii. 399 and Διομήδεος ἱποδάμοιο that of Μενελάου Ἀτρείδαο in vii. 404.

If these conclusions be accepted, a great deal of light is thrown upon Paris' anger in Book 6 when Hektor finds him sulking in Helen's chamber. He determines to fight no more for such ingrates. 'Call you this backing of your friends? A plague on such backing, I say.'

R. M. HENRY.

BELFAST, Jan., 2, 1903.

P.S.—It was not till this paper was already in type that I saw Erhardt's remarks on vii. 344 *sqq.* (*Die Entstehung der Homerischen Gedichte*, pp. 98 *sqq.*) He regards them as of importance for explaining Paris' attitude in Book 6, and as coming originally before that book as the sequel to the duel in Book 3: but he does not work out the connection fully, and indeed his retention of vii. 351 forbids a very close sequence.

TWO UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM HERODOTUS.

THE purpose of this paper is to prove, in two cases of special interest, the truth of a proposition which, taken generally, is not likely to be disputed; that Herodotus depended, for some part of his many statements and anecdotes of which the source is not obvious, upon the evidence of public monuments. That he was a diligent visitor of the places where such monuments were collected is as plain, in all parts of his work, as that he was not an explorer of archives, not even of such modest repositories as certainly existed and were accessible in his time. Explicit reference to the monuments, and professed quotation, we should not expect from him; it would be inconsistent with the tone and manner of his narrative. But for all that, it may be possible in some instances to trace his proceedings and recover his documents, as we may see from the parallel case of the treatment which he applies to literature.

To quote poetry for decorative purposes formally and openly, after the fashion of Cicero and Plutarch and generally of all writers accustomed to libraries, is not the

practice of Herodotus nor suitable to his colouring. Yet not only is it visible that, in the treatment of topics which are akin to popular poetry, he is profoundly influenced by it both in thought and style; but not unfrequently it will be seen, upon closer inspection, that his imitations are, in all but form, quotations, the poetical material being reproduced so exactly that we can with ease reverse the composer's process and restore the verses which he has turned into prose. For example, when he writes (8.3),

ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν, εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς ἀπολέσται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῖντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτ' ἀκρίβης, ὅσ' ὁ πόλεμος εἰρήνης,

the change of style and vocabulary in the final sentence does not escape the ear, and the conjecture is obvious that this change is due to the imitation of a proverb in verse. But the truth is, that the very words of the gnomic poet are before us;

. . . ὀρθὰ νοεῖντες
 εἰρήνης γὰρ ὅσφ' πόλεμος, τοσσῶδε κακίον
 ἐμφυλος πολέμου στάσις ἐστὶν ὁμοφρονέοντος.

Two entire hexameters has the historian consciously or unconsciously reproduced without the change of a syllable, except the necessary translation of *τοσσῶδε* into the corresponding prose-form *τοσοῦτῳ*. Nor is it only gnomic poetry proper which furnishes material for such treatment. The maxims of Attic tragedy are also susceptible of it. Thus in that banquet at Thebes, (9. 16), which is perhaps the most tragic in feeling of all incidents in the history, the Persian guest is made to express his useless foreknowledge of disaster in these terms :

ξῆνε, ὃ τι δὲ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ,
 ἀμύχανον ἀποτρέφαι ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ
 λέγουσι θέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδείς. ταῦτα δὲ
 Περσέων σὺχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ
 ἐνδεδεμένοι. ἐχθίστη δὲ ὁδὴν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν
 ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς
 κρατεῖν.

Here those words which belong only to the special occasion, the sentence *ταῦτα δὲ . . . ἐνδεδεμένοι*, are genuine prose, original prose, which, like other such composition, cannot be converted into metre of any sort without changing the substance. But the general maxims, with which the speech begins and ends, are not such prose, as the very sound and feeling of them betrays. The second is a transcript of two verses from tragedy ;

ὁδὴν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐχθίστη πέλει
 αὕτη, φρονέοντα πολλὰ μηδενὸς κρατεῖν.

The *πέλει*, characteristic of the proverbial style in tragedy, Herodotus could not borrow, but must translate ; nor could he dispense, like the poet, with the article *τῶν*. But so far as he possibly could, he borrows the very words, not shunning even the palpably poetical turn of the phrase *φρονέοντα πολλὰ*. Having seen this, we may fairly suspect that the preceding maxim also imitates poetry not only in tone (this is obvious) but in words ; and the suspicion is confirmed, as the reader may ascertain, by the facility with which the sentence will run into hexameters.

Now such remarks, in themselves merely curious, point the way to possible observations of higher interest. Literature in whatever shape, dramas, tales, moralities, was not the only kind of metrical composition with which our historiographer was

familiar, nor the most nearly related to his purpose. The sacred places of Hellas were already full of monuments, interesting to the 'enquirer' and explained not unfrequently by inscriptions in metre. What we now see is this, that where Herodotus made use of such, as we may presume that he occasionally did, there is a likelihood, from his habits of composition, that we may learn from his work more than he designed to tell us. We may anticipate that a narrator, whose taste and memory prompted him to verbal fidelity in the adapting of mere decorations, will deal sometimes not less faithfully with verses which furnished the very foundation of his story. If so, he will supply us with an instrument of no small importance, especially in our dearth of such instruments, for criticising and estimating his method.

In his account of the battle of Plataea there is one incident, which both in the character of the facts and in the manner of telling presents a remarkable contrast to the rest of the narrative. For the most part, indeed everywhere else, that account is precisely such as from the means open to Herodotus we might expect it to be ; it includes nothing, and pretends to no exactness, which may not fairly be accounted for by popular tradition. For example, while Herodotus claims to have, as he well might have, a clear and tolerably complete knowledge of the military movements on the Greek side, those on the Persian side are left vague and obscure. The story is made less intelligible, but more authentic, by a defect corresponding to the natural limits of his information. In few places is there any minuteness of detail, and in general only with regard to incidents which, like the parading of the corpse of Masistius or the mutiny of Amompharetus, must or might be widely known, and might therefore naturally be learnt by that sort of 'enquiry' which, in reference to transactions within memory, Herodotus seems to profess. One incident, and one only, is otherwise related, related with a fulness of detail such as could be really warranted only in an eye-witness ; and this is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the particular fact is of such a nature, that at first sight we cannot easily imagine any probable way in which the details could be preserved.

When the Barbarians had been laid low by the Hellenes at Plataea, there approached to them a woman, the concubine of Pharandates the son of Teaspis a Persian, coming of her own will from the enemy, who when she perceived that the Persians

had been destroyed and that the Hellenes were the victors, descended from her carriage and came up to the Lacedaemonians while they were yet among the slaughter. She had adorned herself with many ornaments of gold, and her attendants likewise, and had put on the fairest robe she had. And when she perceived that the director of all things there was 'Pausanias', being before well acquainted with his name and birth, which she had heard often, she knew him for who he was, and taking hold of his knees she said thus: 'O king of Sparta, deliver me thy suppliant from the slavery of the captive: for thou hast also done me service hitherto in destroying these, who have regard neither for demigod nor yet for god. I am a native of Cos, the daughter of Hegetorides son of Antagoras; and the Persian took me by force in Cos and kept me a prisoner.' He made answer thus: 'Woman, be of good courage, both for that thou art a suppliant and for that perchance thou speakest true, and art the daughter of Hegetorides the Coan, who is happily my best friend of all that dwell in those parts.' Having thus spoken, for the time he gave her in charge to those Ephors who were present, and afterwards sent her away to Aegina, whither she herself desired to go.¹

If we compare this story with the context, we must be sensible of the contrast above indicated, and shall see reason for asking why of this particular scene, concerning people of no importance and not otherwise mentioned, Herodotus assumes to be far more exactly informed than of anything else which passed upon the Plataean field. No other scene is presented with anything like this completeness of persons and properties; chariot, jewels, dress, attendants, ephors. That Herodotus thought himself at liberty to invent all this, no one, who will study at length his account of the battle and sequel, will easily suppose. From what witness then did he derive it? Not from any witness, but from a document, a document of which part, but a part only, was in writing and is reproduced by the historian with the utmost exactness compatible with his manner of using it. The speech of the rescued lady to Pausanias has been copied closely and carefully, word after word, from a version in five hexameters. Here is the original:²

ᾠ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, λῦσαί μ' ἰκέτιν [δορι-
λήπτου]
δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ ἐς τόδ' ὄνησας τούσδ'
ἀπολέσας,
τοὺς οὐθ' [ῥήων], οὐ θεῶν ὅπιν [οὔτιν'] ἔχοντας.

¹ 9. 76; translation of G. C. Macaulay, slightly modified.

² The words in brackets are inferred from the text of Herodotus, but not found in it. In v. 3 τοὺς οὐτε δαιμόνων (Herodotus) points *prima facie* to τοὺς οὐ δαιμόνων. But it is doubtful whether, even for metrical convenience, δαιμόνιον could be used at this date (*circa* 475 B.C.): ῥήων was suggested to me by Sir R. C. Jebb. Possible also are ἀντιθέων and ἡμιθέων: see L. and Sc. s. vv.

Κῶη δ' εἰμὶ γένος, θυγάτηρ Ἥγητορίδαο
'Ανταγόραο: βίη δὲ λαβὼν Κῶ μ' εἶχεν ὁ Πέρσης.

And here is the transcript of Herodotus:

ᾠ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, λῦσαί με τὴν ἰκέτιν
αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης' σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε
ὤνησας τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων
οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶη,
θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἥγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω. βίη
δὲ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῶ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης.

It appears that *δοριλήπτου*, the only word not admissible in prose, has been translated (as *πέλει* to *ἐστί* in the before-cited fragment of tragedy) into the precise equivalent *αἰχμαλώτου*, a translation which also effects a desirable object by obliterating the close of a hexameter. With the same purpose *οὔτινα* is dropped: in the other three verses the effect is accomplished, or rather accomplishes itself, by the mere substitution of the Herodotean forms for the epic. The epic locative Κῶ in the last verse becomes of course ἐν Κῶ; the less common term *ῥῶς* is replaced by the normal *δαίμων*; the article (τὴν v. 1, τοῦ v. 5) is inserted where prose requires it and verse rejects; and a few additional conjunctions (*καί, τε, τε, μὲν, δέ*), natural to common speech, complete the disguise sufficiently. We notice however that the disguise is not quite perfect; for, as in the tragic proverb the poetical phrase *φρονῶν πολλάς*, so here the poetical combination *αἰχμάλωτος δουλοσύνη* remains to a careful ear perceptible, though the narrator doubtless felt, and with reason, that in a scene of so much passion and pathos it would not offend. We may notice also, as a justification, if any were needed, for the historian's fidelity, that even this change of a word, necessary though it is, slightly obscures the connexion of the whole as framed by the original composer; for *δοριλήπτου* points forward to *λαβὼν* in the final verse, which the substituted *αἰχμάλωτος* does not.

Now upon observing this, we might at first suspect that the whole story is taken from an original in verse, a thing in itself by no means inconceivable or even improbable. But such is not the fact; for this speech is the only portion susceptible of such re-translation, a thing not otherwise to be naturally explained but by supposing that this, and this only, is a translation. We may try the experiment upon the preceding sentence:

ὄρωσα δὲ πάντα ἐκείνα διέποντα Πανσανίην,
πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξέπισταμένη καὶ τὴν
πάτριν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν

Πανσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γονάτων ἔλεγε
τάδε—

where a very brief inspection will prove it impracticable. Even the reply of Pausanias, which might well be expected to follow the model, if model there were, exhibits such hopeless material as this—ὅς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων. The speech of the lady therefore, and nothing more, Herodotus had before him in hexameter verse; but this he derived from a source so authentic that he thought fit to preserve it textually. How to solve the problem so presented we shall not hesitate, when we note that the narrative, full as it is, contains nothing which would not be given by a picture of the principal situation, a picture in the Greek style, the lady upon her knees before the king, Persian corpses upon the ground (one of them named, Φαρανδάτης Τεάσπιος), two maids on the one side balancing two ephors on the other (these also identified by their costume or by lettering), and the chariot for a background. Such a representation, drawn or in base-relief, with an inscription explaining its purport, the heroine of the story must have dedicated, in gratitude for her escape, at some temple in Aegina. Hence the historian is able to say that to Aegina she was sent; and we see that this is just all that he can tell of her subsequent adventures,—except indeed that Aegina was ‘whither she wanted to go,’ not an extravagant inference from the fact that thither she went. That the declarations of her speech, as inscribed, were the cause of Pausanias’ clemency is also a fair inference from the mention of them; and Herodotus accordingly expresses this in his usual manner, by a speech assigned to the king, which acknowledges the name of Hegetorides as one which especially appeals to him. As to this name however, the historian has followed a construction of the document which, were it not for his authority, would be disputable. He assumes that in the verses Ἡγητορίδαο Ἀνταγόραο is the genitive of Ἡγητορίδης Ἀνταγόραο ‘Hegetorides, son of Antagoras’, as of course it might be; and perhaps he knew of such a ‘Hegetorides’ otherwise. But he gives no sign of such knowledge; and as an interpretation of the document I should, I confess, have otherwise preferred ‘Antagoras, son of Hegetor’, taking ‘Hegetorides’ as a patronymic. Nor, as it is, should I absolutely discard this interpretation, although, or perhaps

because, it would curiously illuminate the king’s acquaintance with the name of ‘his best of friends.’ That he commended the lady to the ‘ephors’ is more certain; it would appear in the picture from his attitude. That Pharandates was the Persian captor Herodotus deduced, and properly, from the otherwise irrelevant assignment of that name to one of the corpses; and the place, Plataea, was indicated sufficiently by the name of the king. The rich attire of the suppliants was visible upon them, the ‘gold’ no doubt actually gilded, and we may go with Herodotus in supposing, all things considered, that it was ‘their best’. Nor need we object to his prudent and highly characteristic intimation, through the mouth of Pausanias, that the lady’s account of herself *may* have been more pathetic than true; Pausanias preferred the charitable assumption—εἰ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτω τυγχάνει ἀληθία λέγουσα.

At this same Aeginetan sanctuary, we may observe, Herodotus probably also learnt, from some pious *cicerone* commenting on a monument, the edifying story of the noble Aeginetan Lampon, which almost immediately follows (9. 78). It savours strongly of the preacher, and recalls the manner of Delphi.

The second instance is precisely similar. The description of the events which immediately followed the battle of Salamis, otherwise natural and probable, is interrupted (8. 114) by the astounding statement that the Spartans, receiving at this moment a command from Delphi ‘to demand of Xerxes satisfaction for the slaying of Leonidas, and to accept whatever the king should offer,’ actually despatched a herald with the commission, who, ‘taking the quickest way,’ overtook the retreating monarch ‘in Thessaly’ before he had parted from Mardonius, and delivered his message in the presence of both; whereupon Xerxes, ‘pointing to Mardonius, said that “here was the man who should give such satisfaction on the part of the Persians as the Lacedaemonians ought to receive”’—which in due course and to the glory of Apollo he did at Plataea.

The historical value of this anecdote is scarcely worth discussion. It has every mark of the apocryphal, improbabilities moral and physical, amounting almost to the impossible, vagueness and uncertainty in all the circumstances. Assuredly if any Greek had at this time bearded the Great King, and returned to report the interview, it would not have been forgotten who was

the hero and where was the scene of this transcendent experience. What may be worth enquiry is the nature of the evidence upon which Herodotus, who about oracles in particular expressly claims to be reasonably, though not obstinately, critical, accepted a statement, the objections to which he did not overlook.¹

We have some light upon this question when we observe, that, while the rest of the anecdote was composed freely, so far as appears, by Herodotus, the speech of the herald, like that of the lady from Cos, was not so composed, but translated from verse,

ὦ βασιλεῦ Μῆδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε φόνοι
αἰτεῦσίν σε δίκας Σπάρτης ἀπό θ' Ἑρακλείδαι,
Ἑλλάδα ῥυόμενόν σφιν ὅτι κτεῖνας βασιλῆα,

into prose,

ὦ βασιλεῦ Μῆδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καί
Ἑρακλείδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτεῖνσι φόνον
δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυό-
μενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

As there, so also here, the document is followed word for word. The possessive-dative (σφιν, in *v.* 3) might perhaps have been retained without offence; but with the prosaic arrangement and emphasis, the geni-

¹ Note the simple but significant suggestion that the herald took 'the quickest way'. It is uncertain whether Xerxes was then in Thessaly at all.

tive σφέων, answering to Μῆδων, is more natural; the other changes are just the inevitable.

Here again therefore we have to do, not with a narrative in hexameters, but a fragment of a narrative, such a fragment as could hardly exist except as an inscription, as an explanatory appendage to a reciprocally illustrative work of art. From this work itself, the painted or sculptured group, comes the principal scene, Xerxes answering the herald by 'pointing to Mardonius', and the story from the religious custodians of it, the Delphians or whoever they were. But we may now divine how and by what stages this story grew and came to be accepted. It is open and natural to be supposed, that the authors of the work neither asserted nor intended it to represent an actual event. It was a symbol, legitimate and appropriate, of the truth that Plataea was the Spartan's revenge for Thermopylae. But when the exhibitors for obvious reasons preferred to regard and explain it as historical, it seemed, to a mind perfectly honest but not sufficiently versed in the sifting of such testimony, to be an independent witness. It produced upon Herodotus the sort of effect which upon persons not accustomed to analysis is now produced when something, which they are not unwilling to believe, is actually shown to them 'in print'.

A. W. VERRALL.

OF THE PROLOGUE OF *THE AGAMEMNON*.¹

THOUGH many scholars have handled the prologue of the *Agamemnon*, yet it may, I venture to think, be said without presumptuousness that they have left something still to be done in the elucidation and restoration of that small group of verses. It is to this task that I now address myself.

The proper interpretation of the prologue of the *Agamemnon* is far from simple. The right understanding of the character of the watcher, as Aeschylus has depicted it in words put in the watcher's mouth, is so bound up with questions about the text that the problem, What in general was the watchman meant by the poet to say? and the problem, How precisely did the poet make him express the thoughts attributed

to him? can never be fully separated in any proper discussion of this passage. To the way in which Aeschylus, in a few masterly strokes, has made the watcher depict his own character, Patin has drawn attention in the excellent remark² about 'l'esclave d'Eschyle, qui ne prononce que quelques vers et offre cependant tout l'intérêt d'un caractère dramatique'. I will now run the risk of begging certain textual questions and proceed to set forth in a few words the character of the watcher and his mental attitude in the prologue.

The man is at once anxious for his master's return and fearful of what may follow upon that return. He is thoroughly loyal to Agamemnon, whom he loves

¹ Read before the American Philological Association at Union College, Schenectady, 9 July, 1902.

² Patin's 'Eschyle' (in *Études sur les tragiques grecs*) p. 314, quoted approximately in Wecklein's German edition.

(v. 34 sq.); he fears Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus and mourns the evils of the house (vv. 14, 36 sq., 18 sq.). But his virtue is after all but the virtue of the faithful slave: his loyalty is alloyed with a regard for his own interests and his own comfort. Indeed, so prominent does he make his sense of the discomforts and the tediousness of his yearlong task that it would seem that readers of his words have generally been quite misled about the tenor of his speech. And this brings us at once to a question of the minute interpretation of the text.

If what has just been said of the state of mind of the watcher is true—and there is a begging of the question in my assuming above what a careful study of the text has seemed to me surely to yield—, if, I say, my analysis of the watcher's state of mind is just, then the μέν in v. 1 is concessive and its correlative is the δέ in v. 12. The man is indeed (μέν) praying for release from his irksome task by the beacon that shall announce his master's speedy return, but (δέ) mourns the evil plight of the house and dreads the future. This is the sum and substance of that part of the prologue which precedes the flare of the beacon on the neighbouring mountain; and this prelude thus falls into two halves of which the former consists of vv. 1–11, omitting the spurious v. 7. We will now examine certain portions of vv. 1–11.

A very important matter is the proper understanding of καὶ νῦν in v. 8. If we had to guess the general drift of what preceded the words καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω without having vv. 1–6 before us, we should certainly say that it must be either 'I have been doing something else than keeping watch for the beacon', or 'I have been keeping watch for a certain time'. Now we have vv. 1–6 before us, and we know that the former alternative is wrong. Where and how is the latter alternative expressed? The answer is that it is expressed in vv. 4–6. If we follow this line of interpretation, we should, I believe, come to see that ἦν in v. 2 has hitherto been wrongly construed and that vv. 2–8 are an elaboration of φρουρὰς ἐτέας μήκος ἦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον, the verb φυλάσσω having a double object, an effected and an affected. The ultimate construction of ἦν is, then, with φυλάσσω, the words κοιμώμενος...δίκην are parenthetical, and vv. 4–6 are = πεφύλαχα χεῖμα καὶ θέρος.¹ This is revolutionary, but

¹ τοὺς φέροντας...αἰθέρι I take with others to refer to the stars that mark by their rising and setting

it is, after all, only a matter of putting the commas in the right places.

I may note before taking up v. 12 sqq. that the spurious v. 7 would never have been inserted, had it been seen, as I venture to think it should have been, that the genitive ἀστρον νυκτέρων belongs quite as much to τοὺς...δυναστας as to δμήγυριν. Furthermore, it may be, as Meineke and van Herwerden have suggested, that ἀνδρόβουλον should give place to ἀνδρόλημον.

In the sentence—or clause—that begins in v. 12 M. Henri Weil's first thoughts seem to me to have been entirely right, so far as vv. 12 and 16 are concerned. We should regard ὅταν δ' as resumptive and should restore ἔχων for ἔχω. We find again that a simple thought is elaborated in a rambling fashion (and we must not forget that it is a slave that is speaking) to the confusion of the line by line reader. All would have been clear to the audience as Aeschylus's actor rendered the verses. The simple thought is this: εἴτ' ἂν δέ, νυκτίπλαγκτον ἐνδροσόν τ' ἔχων | εὐνήν, αἰεῖδεν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ, and the fact that these words form two perfect trimeters makes me think that they represent very nearly Aeschylus's first draft on which he afterwards improved. The variation εἴτ' ἂν—ὅταν is characteristic of Greek style—and characteristic, too, in that the second synonyme is the commoner word. ὅταν δ', it may be added, resumes the whole of εἴτ' ἂν νυκτίπλαγκτον...εὐνήν and should be followed by a comma.

In the parenthetical words δνείροις...ὑπνω I can not convince myself that ἐμήν is not what Aeschylus wrote. V. 1226 (ἐμῶι φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν) is quite strikingly like v. 14, and Eur. Med. 793 (τᾶμ' οὐτις ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται) also favours ἐμήν. In this parenthesis it is also to be noted that ἀνθ' ὑπνον in v. 14 can not be what Aeschylus wrote; but I can not think that the ἀντίπινος which Messrs. van Herwerden (*Exerc. Cr.*, p. 96) and Wecklein have proposed is certainly right. The word was rather, I fancy, ἀντίος, out of which and a clumsy explanatory ὑπνον the traditional reading could have arisen.

In v. 16 I fail to see why δοκῶ should not bear its ordinary sense of 'seeming.' 'Whenever', says the watcher, 'anyone that overhears me thinks I am trying to keep awake by turning a tune, I am really the changes of the seasons. See Wecklein's note *ad loc.* in his *Aeschylus Orestia*.

sobbing'. The expression, whether in the Greek or in this free rendering, is a perfectly natural one.

After v. 19, in which I would accept the substitution of *δεσποτιζόμενον* for the traditional *διαπονουμένον*, v. 20 *sq.* follow rather abruptly. But that is not all. At the end of the prologue we find four verses (36–39) that have nothing to do with what immediately precedes them, that deal with the dark secrets of the house and that fit perfectly after v. 19. My opinion that vv. 36–39 were placed by Aeschylus after v. 19 coincides with that of Professor van Herwerden, who in his *Emendationes Aeschyleae* (*Jahrbb.* 10^{er} Suppl., 121 *sqq.*) writes thus (p. 132): 'Vss. 36–39 longe aptiorem locum nanciscuntur, si mecum transposueris statim post vs. 19, ubi custos tetigit tristem rerum conditionem. Quo facto et vocabula τὰ δ' ἄλλα habebunt quo referantur, et laetiora moesta exceperint ad finem orationis usque continuata.' I may add here that the *Nîn* δ' in v. 20 forms a sort of *reditus* ad propositum and brings us around to the point of view of v. 1. Dramatically v. 20 *sq.* prepare the way for the appearance of the beacon.

But there are certain textual questions in vv. 38 and 39 that require attention. The looming of fire by night, as Aeschylus dwells upon it in this prologue, inevitably calls up the opening of Pindar's first *Olympian*; and must not Aeschylus himself have had those splendid verses in mind when he wrote those that we are now examining? Does not also a certain likeness in v. 39 to something else in Pindar, that striking phrase *φωνάντα συνετοῖσιν* which seems to have taken hold upon the subsequent poets (cf. Euripides's *εὐξύνετον ξυνετοῖσι βοῶν* *I.T.* 1092), does not this likeness also suggest that Pindar was running in Aeschylus's mind? Indeed, I believe that v. 39 in its original form had far greater likeness to the Pindaric phrase than it has in the traditional form. There is difficulty in construing vv. 38 and 39, as they stand. *λήθομαι*, of course with *ἐκὼν*, means 'forget on purpose' and need give us no trouble; but where is its object, and what are we to do with *αὐδῶ* and the following *καὶ* where we do not want a finite form at all, but a participle or equivalent? The Pindaric phrase helps us out in part, and I would write *ὦν ἐκὼν ἐγώ, μαθοῦσιν αὐδῆς, οὐ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι*. There is a somewhat similar corruption to that assumed in *αὐδῶ κοῦ* in v. 1244, where for *κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα* we

should read *κλύοντ' ἀληθῇ κοῦδὲν ἐξηκασμένα*.¹

Of the remainder of the prologue I have less to say. I would accept Hermann's transposition of *Ἰοῦ ἰοῦ*, would take *συμφορᾶς* in v. 20 as 'coincidence' (*τῇσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν* must then go with *χαίρε*), would read *σημανῶ* in v. 26, would take *δόμοις* in v. 27 as locative and construe *τῇδε λαμπάδι* in v. 28 with *ἐπορθιάζειν*, and I would understand *θήσομαι* in v. 32 as a poetic equivalent of *ποιήσομαι* in the sense of *ἡγήσομαι*. Furthermore, I would understand *δεσποτῶν* (v. 32) as referring to Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra² and the words *τὰ δεσποτῶν εὐ πεσόντα* as = *τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν εὐτυχῇ*. Lastly, the contrast with *δεσποτῶν* demands that we write in v. 33 not *τῇσδέ μοι* but *τῇσδ' ἐμοί*.

I have appended the continuous text of the prologue, as I would write it, and have added a close translation, which will be found to fill some small gaps in the commentary above.

[NOTE.—The prologue possibly occupied one page of a MS. that had 38 or 39 lines to the page, and vv. 36–39 were added by the scribe that first omitted them, when he discovered his blunder, at the foot of the page. For evidence of the existence of MSS. of the Tragedians with 39 lines to the page see Hayley on Eur. *Alc.* 312.]

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων
φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος ἦν, κοιμώμενος
στέγαις Ἀτρεΐδων ἄγκαθεν κυνὸς δίκην,
ἄσπρων κάτοῖδα νυκτέρων ὀμήγηριν
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς 5
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι 6
καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον, 8
αἰγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν
ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν· ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ 10
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ·
εὖτ' ἂν δέ, νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδρ' ὀσον τ' ἔχω<ν>
εὐνήν—δνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπομένην
ἐμήν· φόβος γὰρ ἀντίος παραστατεῖ
τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ— 15
ὅταν δ', αἰεδεῖν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ
ὕπνου τὸδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,
κλαίω τότ' οἶκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων
οὐχ, ὥς τὰ πρόσθ', ἄριστα δεσποτουμένου— 19
τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοὺς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας 36

¹ This correction has been anticipated by Professor van Herwerden (*Excercitationes Criticae*, p. 99).

² Of course, the reference is specially to Agamemnon, and Clytaemnestra can only be included by a specious optimism on the speaker's part, as though the evils he bewails in the present and dreads in the future were not there. His real thought appears in the δ' οὖν of v. 34.

βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι, 37
 σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν ὦν ἔκων ἐγώ, 38
 μαθοῦσιν αἰδῆς, οὐ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι. 39
 Νῦν δ' εὐτυχὴς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων 20
 εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός. 21
 'Ιού, ἰού· 25
 ὦ χαῖρε, λαμπτήρ νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον 22
 φάος πιφαύσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν 24
 πολλῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τῆσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν. 26
 Ἀγαμέμνωνος γυναικὶ σημαῖν τὸρὸς 26
 εὐνῆς ἐπαντείλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις
 ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῆδε λαμπάδι
 ἐπορθιάζειν, εἴπερ Ἰλίου πόλις
 ἑάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλον πρέπει 30
 αὐτὸς τ' ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι
 τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι
 τρὶς ἑξ βαλοῦσης τῆσδ' ἐμοὶ φρυκτωρίας.
 Γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλῆ χέρα
 ἄνακτος οἰκῶν τῆδε βαστάσαι χερί. 35

2-3 Sensus interpunctionem accommodavi.

4 Virgulam post *δηγήυρι* vulgo positam omisi, qui *δυναστάς* quoque cum *ἄστρον* iungendum esse censeam.

6 Virgulam sive gravius punctum post *αἰθέρι* omisi, quia simplex sententia est *ἣν φυλάσσω*.

12 Post δέ virgulam inserui; *ἔχων* scripsi sicut olim Weil.

13 et 15 Verba quaedam a poeta δὲ μέσον iniecta lineis indicavi.

14 *ἀντίος* scripsi viam monstrante Weckleino, qui *ἀντίπνους* imprimendum curavit. Idem iam proposuerat van Herwerden.

19 *δεσποτουμένου* pro *διαπονουμένου* praeceuntibus aliis cum Duebnero restitui.

Versus 36-39 hue reduxi. Idem iam fecerat van Herwerden.

39 Ratione habita et loci sententiae et uncialis litterarum ductus et Pindarici illius *φωῶντα* (quod sic scribendum esse censeo) *συνητοῖσιν* restituere conatus sum Aeschyleam manum. Cf. *Ag.* 1244, ubi pro, *ἀληθ(Ω)C* οὐδὲν scribendum erat *ἀληθHK* οὐδὲν.

25 In sedem suam reposui cum Hermannō.

26 Deteriorum librorum *σημανῶ* Medicei illi *σημάνω* cum Weckleino praetuli.

33 *τῆσδ' ἐμοὶ* pro librorum *τῆσδέ μοι* reposui.

The gods, it is true, I am asking for release from those toils of a watch a year in length which, couching on the roofs of the Atridae upon elbow dogwise, I have learned full well the night stars' rank and file<in>

and those bright lords <of theirs>, looming in the aether, that bring winter and summer to mortals and now am keeping for that token of a torch, a gleam of fire that shall bring out of Troy speech and talk of capture; for thereto constrains <me> a woman's man-minded expectant heart: whensoever, though, occupying a night-buffeted and dewy couch— <a couch> by dreams unvisited in my case; for fear is at <my> side preventing my closing my eyelids tight in sleep—, whenever, I say, <occupying such a couch>, I am thought to be singing or humming, using that as a charm against sleep, I am <really> at such times weeping, mourning this house's misfortune, which is not, as once, most fitly governed—but I say no more; an ox upon my tongue stands heavy; but the house for itself, could it receive <the gift of> speech, would tell most clearly what I, of my own will, though voiceful to them that know, to them that know not forget. Now, however, may a fortunate release from toils come by the appearing of the fire of good news through the murk of night. Hurrah! hurrah! ah! welcome, thou beamer that by night daylight dost shew and <dost betoken> the holding of dances many in Argos, <welcome> for that thou comest upon the heels of my word! To Agamemnon's wife I'll signal clear that rising starlike¹ from her couch with all speed she shrill a cry of worshipful welcome over this torch, if indeed Troy-town is taken, as the beacon looms its message; and for myself I'll dance a prelude <to the public dances>; for my master's game I'll count a winning one now that this beacon-watch has thrown me treble six. But, <whether a winning game or not>, may it be <mine>, when he comes home again, to lift the well-beloved hand of the lord of the house with this hand of mine.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

¹ 'Der Wächter ist noch ganz eingenommen von der Beobachtung der Sterne.' (Wecklein.)

NOTE ON AGAMEMNON 326.

νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

Without pretending to find a final solution of this old *crux* I think there is an element of evidence which has been

neglected. All the commentators analyse word for word in the attempt to discover a meaning; but in analysing word for word we may break up some organic unit of phrase and so be further than ever from

the truth. Such an organic unit of phrase there is in the words *πρώτος—καί—τελευταίος*.

(1) Herod. ix. 28: *τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο* in the order of battle at Plataea.

(2) Xenophon *Memor.* Γ i. 8: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους δεῖ πρῶτους τάττειν καὶ τελευταίους*.....(cf. also 9.)

(3) Charito *Chaereas and Callirrhoe* I. 5 (p. 419 in Didot's *Erotici*): *Χαιρέας δ' ἐπὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἀποκλείσας ἑαυτὸν ἐβασάνιζε τὰς θεραπανίδας, πρῶτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν ἄβραν*.

In (1) it means *on the extreme wing*; in

(2) *on the extreme of both wings* (cf Suidas *τελευταῖος—ἔσχατος*); in (3) apparently, by a metaphor, *as a prime and final test*.

From which I conclude that any satisfactory explanation must treat *πρώτος—καί—τελευταῖος* as a collocation not to be disturbed; that the phrase characterises the nearest-to-Argos of the chain of *λαμπαδηφόροι*; and (doubtfully) that Clytemnestra's meaning is 'such is my prompt ordinance of torchbearers; and the winner in the race is my first hand watchman, the fugleman of the array on whom all depends.'

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PLATO, *REPUBLIC*, B. vi. p. 503 C.

Εὐμαθεὺς καὶ μνήμονες καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τοῖς ἐπεταῖ οἷσθ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἅμα φύεσθαι καὶ νεανικοὶ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τὰς διανοίας οἷοι κοσμίως μετὰ ἡσυχίας καὶ βεβαιότητος ἐθέλειν ζῆν, ἀλλ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὑπὸ ὀξύτητος φέρονται ὅπῃ ἂν τύχωσι, καὶ τὸ βέβαιον ἅπαν αὐτῶν ἐξοίχεται.

I have given the following rendering ('Plato's Republic' in Murray's Home and School Series, p. 118):—

'Quick intelligence, memory, sagacity, cleverness and similar qualities are seldom found in the same nature with that force of character, and grandeur of conception, which are conducive to orderliness and quietness and a well-sustained career. Men of genius are carried hither and thither by their impulsiveness, and all steadiness is eliminated from their lives.'—See also J. and C.'s edition, Vol. iii. p. 298.

To this it is objected, (1) that the opposition between courage and gentleness 'is everywhere regarded by Plato as the fundamental antithesis of human character'; and (2) that *νεανικός* means 'full of youthful vigour,' 'spirited,' and nothing more.

'We may therefore be certain that *νεανικοὶ—μεγαλοπρεπεῖς* is opposed to *οἷοι—ζῆν*.' (See J. Adam's edition of the *Republic* of Plato, Vol. ii, p. 80).

I answer—

1. The passages in which courage and gentleness are opposed, although closely akin to that in question, are not precisely parallel to it. For Plato is not here repeating what he has said above about the union of fierceness with friendliness

(ii. 375 c), or of the spirited element with the philosophic nature (iii. 410 DE). He is speaking of the combination of different qualities in the philosophic nature itself:—of keenness with solidity,—of brilliance with depth. 'My son has plenty of *ability*,' said Mr. Gladstone the elder, 'but I fear that he is wanting in *stability*.' Both powers are needed if a man is to acquire the philosophic temper, or become an ideal ruler.

2. It will hardly be questioned that in characterizing the latter attribute of weight, solidity, stability, or depth, the word *μεγαλοπρεπής* is sufficiently in place. Plato's *μεγαλοπρεπής* has been compared to the *μεγαλόψυχος* of Aristotle, and it may be worth while to adduce some of the familiar words (*Eth. N.* iv. 7, 1123b) *οὐδαμῶς δ' ἂν ἀρμόζοι μεγαλοψύχῳ φεύγειν παρασεύσαντι, οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν· τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκα πράξει αἰσχροῦ, ᾧ οὐθὲν μέγα; . . . καὶ κίνησις δὲ βραδεῖα τοῦ μεγαλοψύχου δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ φωνὴ βαρεῖα, καὶ λέξις στάσιμος· οὐ γὰρ σπενυστικός ὁ περὶ ὀλίγα σπονδάων, οὐδὲ σύντονος ὁ μὴθὲν μέγα οἰόμενος· ἢ δ' ὀξύφωνος καὶ ἡ ταχύτης διὰ τούτων*.

And I maintain that *νεανικός* in Plato's use of it is no less appropriate. In this I am glad to be supported by the authority of Vermehren, whose interpretation agrees with mine. (In Mr. Adam's references 'Theæt. 165' should be 'Theæt. 168').

If *νεανικός* in Plato had meant 'spirited' and nothing more, would not the word have appeared in one of the ten passages (including *Charmides* 159, 160), where courage and gentleness are opposed? *It appears in none of them*. The notion of

Youth in Greek literature has the two principal associations of *activity* and *strength*; and these are not to be confounded. When the *οικέτης* in Aesch. *Cho.* 879 cries καὶ μάλ' ἡβώντος δὲ δεῖ, he is calling not for an agile stripling, but for a strong man in his prime. And effective strength rather than impetuous vehemence is the idea conveyed by *νεανικός* in Plato, who employs the word sometimes seriously sometimes ironically (as in *Rep.* viii. 563E), but always with a note of admiration.

‘Πρὸς τούτοις τὸν κολοφῶνα’—In Aristotle’s grand description of the lion as the most manful of quadrupeds the word *νεανικός* twice occurs with a meaning comparable to that which I have here attributed to it, and in a context which I may quote without irrelevancy (*Physiognomica*, 5, p. 809):—

Φαίνεται τῶν ζῴων ἀπάντων λέων τελεώτατα μετελλεγμένος τῆς τοῦ ἄρρενος ιδέας . . . ἔχει . . . ὤμους ῥωμαλέους καὶ στήθος νεανικόν . . . σκέλη ἔρρωμένα καὶ νευρώδη, βάσιν δὲ νεανικήν . . . βαδίζον δὲ βραδέως, καὶ μεγάλα διαβαίνον, καὶ διασαλευδὸν ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις ὅταν πορεύηται . . . τὰ δὲ περὶ ψυχὴν δοτικὸν καὶ ἐλεύθερον, μεγαλόψυχον καὶ φιλόνοκον, καὶ πρᾶν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ φιλόστοργον πρὸς ἅ ἄν ὁμιλήσῃ.

The strong and gentle lion and the versatile leopard in this passage of Aristotle may not inaptly represent Plato’s contrast between the ἀγχίνοι καὶ ὀξεῖς and the νεανικοὶ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τὰς διανοίας.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

ALASSIO, ITALY,
December 9, 1902.

NOTES ON THE SCHOLIA AND THE TEXT OF THEOCRITUS.

I.

The scholiast on Theocritus 1. 72 (*k*), who tried to secure accuracy of statement by proposing the reading ἂν ἔκλαυσεν, is an amusing, if not a fair representative of his class. But in spite of the obvious untrustworthiness of much of the material in the older scholia,¹ many students of the Daphnis-myth, in their efforts to interpret Theocritus’s version, or versions, of the story, seek in the ancient commentary on the poet support for theories advanced on other grounds, and allow themselves to accept suggestions here and there in the scholia without consideration of the whole body of the commentary so far as it relates to the motif in Theocritus. An examination of all the scholia bearing on this subject may show an interrelation among the different comments which has not been noticed, and may lead us to a proper estimate of their value.

The opening verses of the song in the first idyll, and especially the reference to the absence of the nymphs, are the occasion of three notes which clearly represent one and the same interpretation of Theocritus’s story of Daphnis. These notes read in the *scholia vetera* as follows:

1. 65. . . . Ἄλλως. ὡς Σικελιώτου αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτην νέμοντος. μέλλει δὲ ἄδειν ὃν τρόπον ὁ Δάφνις, μὴ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὸν τῆς Ξενίας τοῦνομα Νύμφης² ἔρωτα ἀπέλιπε τὸ ζῆν. (cf. *k*).

1. 66. . . . ὅτι γοῶν Νύμφης ἦρα ὁ Δάφνις, ἡ δὲ Νύμφη ἀπεστρέφετο αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἑτέρας γυναικας ὁμιλίαν, αἰνίσσεται ὅτι οὐδὲ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἦσαν ὅτε ὁ Δάφνις ἐθνησκεν.

1. 69. . . . ὁ δὲ νοῦς αἱ Νύμφαι τότε οὐκ ἦσαν περὶ Σικελίαν ὅτε ὁ Δάφνις ἐπασχέτι, ἴσως διὰ τὸ Νύμφης ἐρᾶν ὑπερφηφαινοῦσης αὐτὸν αἰνισσόμενος ὡς οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτόθι οὐσῶν. (cf. *k* and the *scholia recentiora*).

These three notes, although in their present form they may come from different sources, are clearly consistent in their explanation of the story. This explanation is, in brief, that Daphnis’s suffering is caused by unrequited love. Two other points are of importance: the scholium on 1. 65 identifies Xenea of the seventh idyll with the heroine of the first idyll; furthermore, the reference to ‘the nymph’ and to association with other women in the scholium on 1. 66, shows a familiarity with the orthodox version of the Daphnis-myth, which we may call for convenience ‘the Sicilian story.’³ In fact, to anybody who

¹ The older scholia have been roughly classified by Buck, *Dissert. Phil. Argentoratenses*, xi. 337.

² Cf. *scholia vetera* on 7. 73: . . . Ἄλλως. μία τῶν Νυμφῶν ἡ Ξενεία.

³ The reference to Aetna in the scholium on 1. 65

is familiar with the facts of this version of the story as it appears in Timaeus (*ap. Parthenius περὶ ἔρωτ. παθ.* 29), Diodorus (4. 84), Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 10. 18), Ps.-Servius and Philargyrius (on Vergil *Ecl.* 5. 20), the interpretation presented in these three notes is a patent attempt to reconcile the story in Theocritus with the Sicilian story so far as the content of Theocritus admits such an adaptation: a complete identification of the two is impossible so long as Xenea in the seventh idyll is assumed to be the heroine of the first; for in this case the two women, essential to the Sicilian tale, do not appear in Theocritus.

The existence of this prejudice in favour of the Sicilian story appears even more clearly in the long note on 8. 93 in the older scholia. This note falls naturally into three parts: I quote from *k*, but the same note appears in a slightly different form in Ahrens's *scholia vetera*:

(1) . . . ἰστοροῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τινος ἀγαπηθῆναι Νύμφης, ἣν Σωσίθεος Θάλειαν καλεῖ. παρακελευσαμένης δὲ αὐτῆς ἄλλη γυναῖκί μὴ ὀμιλεῖν, μὴ τηρήσας τὴν παραίνεσιν αὐτῆς ἐμισήθη αὐτῇ. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Θεόκριτός φησι τὴν Νύμφην ἀποστῆναι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀντιμεταβαλόντα τὸν ἐκείνης ἔρωτα ὑπὸ λύπης μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον.

(2) ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ αὐτὸν μὲν φησιν ἀπείρασθαι αὐτὴν, ἄλλης δ' ἐρασθῆναι· ὥς ποκα τὰς Ξενέας ἡράσασατο Δάφνης· = 7. 73.

(3) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φασὶ τυφλωθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλώμενον κατακρημνισθῆναι.¹

It is worth noticing that this scholium is hardly in place here, where the verse itself simply records Daphnis's marriage with the nymph Nais—a statement which the scholium, for all its wealth of information, fails to explain. But, however inappropriate it may be, it illustrates clearly the way in which the minds of the ancient commentators worked upon the material in Theocritus.

The first part of the note, aside from the reference to Sositheus, is a fuller statement of the interpretation set forth on 1. 65–69, and shows an even better acquaintance with the details of the Sicilian story: not only the nymph and her rival, but the compact between the nymph and Daphnis appear

is, of course, taken from the text of Theocritus rather than from Timaeus. A summary of the ancient evidence for the Sicilian story may be found in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, x. 124, 125; the position taken in that article with regard to Theocritus's version of the story is untenable.

¹ The necessary variations from the MS. may be seen in Ziegler's *apparatus*.

in this scholium very much as in the accounts of Timaeus and the others who recorded the folk tale. Only the conclusion is changed: Daphnis, instead of being at once blinded, is cast off by the nymph, again falls in love with her, only to perish in the bitterness of unrequited love. The material in the first idyll, or in the first and the seventh, which led to this change in the conclusion of the Sicilian folk-tale is evident enough; Daphnis in the first idyll is clearly in love, and as clearly not enjoying his love; to students of the idyll who could shut their eyes to vss. 97–98, or explain them to their own satisfaction as part of such a theory, Daphnis must be a victim of unrequited love. And vss. 72–77 of the seventh idyll do not oppose this theory: on the contrary, if ἀμφοπολεῖτο or a synonymous word was the reading in v. 74 in the MSS. of the scholiasts, this verse at least would go far to support the interpretation offered. That this interpretation is merely a patching together of the Sicilian tale and of the facts in Theocritus is suggested by the language of this part of the scholium: the facts derived from the folk-tale are introduced by the generalizing plural ἰστοροῦσι; the novel catastrophe, for which Theocritus's words are alone responsible, is ascribed only to Theocritus—ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Θεόκριτός φησι κ.τ.λ.

The second part of the scholium is parenthetical, for the μὲν just quoted from the first part of the scholium is answered by the δὲ in οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ of the third part. This parenthesis is an almost reckless indulgence of the bias in favour of the Sicilian tale exhibited in the first part of the scholium: here we have a complete identification of Theocritus's version with the folk-tale. And notice that this complete identification necessitates a contradiction of the scholium on 1. 65: for the quotation of 7. 73 in this place shows that the writer, to justify his ascription of the Sicilian tale to Theocritus, assumes that Xenea in the seventh idyll is not the nymph, but 'the other woman' of the Sicilian story.

The third part of the scholium, as the δὲ shows, refers properly to the catastrophe as described at the end of the first part—ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Θεόκριτός φησι κ.τ.λ. The meaning of the whole scholium is briefly this: Theocritus is using the motif of the Sicilian tale, but in a modified form (unless 7. 73 proves that he is using the Sicilian tale in its pure form): for the other narrators of the Sicilian tale make it end differently.

Finally, it seems to me that the whole

scholium, in its essence if not in its present form, represents the view of a single scholar; the second part of the scholium is not an insertion, and a contradiction of the first part, for the μέν and δέ, joining so closely the first and the third parts, make it clear, to my mind, that the second part is a parenthetical qualification that shows a strong prejudice in favour of the pure folk-tale, a prejudice which the writer cannot wholly indulge because of the nature of Theocritus's material. Furthermore, the second part, with its quotation of 7. 73 is not really a contradiction of the scholium on 1. 65, but rather an alternative interpretation which the writer does not favour.

So far, then, we find in the scholia an attempt to reconcile Theocritus's plot with that of the Sicilian story, and an alternative interpretation, proceeding probably from the same source, which discloses a willingness to identify the two plots if the material would allow it.

A short note on 1. 97 in *k* (to the same effect in the *scholia vetera* of Ahrens), reads as follows: ἵσως γὰρ ὁ Δάφνις μεγαλορρημονήσας εἰς τὴν θεὸν ταύτην ὑπέσχε τὴν ποιήν. The brevity of this comment makes it difficult to suggest its relation to the scholia already discussed. It seems at first to be an independent interpretation. The verse which it serves to explain would certainly trouble those who were determined to impose the Sicilian tale on Theocritus, for in that story Daphnis's resistance to the allurements of love was an unimportant feature and limited to the period between his compact with the nymph and his meeting with the Sicilian princess. It may be only a lame concession on the part of the scholar, (or his followers), who is responsible for the theory advanced on 8. 93.

The comments in the older scholia on 1. 81-85 have influenced almost every editor of Theocritus, and almost every recent student of the Daphnis-myth in Theocritus. In part, at least, they have been accepted by scholars as a correct interpretation of Theocritus. But I hope to show that the commentary on this passage is nothing but part and parcel of the theory advanced in the scholium on 8. 93; if this is the case, the comments on 1. 81-85 fall to the ground, along with the theory that Theocritus is using the motif of the Sicilian story, a theory which no recent students of Theocritus venture to uphold.

The verses of Theocritus upon which the comments are made represent Priapus as saying that 'the maiden' is seeking Daphnis:

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obviously, if the maiden is the nymph either of the modified Sicilian story or of the Sicilian story in its pure form, as the writer on 8. 93 recounts them, this statement must be a falsehood; if 'the maiden' is 'the other woman' of the Sicilian story in either of the two forms offered on 8. 93, the scholar responsible for the scholium on the eighth idyll, and his followers, will refer the words in the first idyll to "the king's daughter" of the Sicilian story. Now it is just these explanations which we find in the scholia on 1. 85 (*k*, and to the same effect in the *scholia vetera*).

...εἰρωνεύόμενος δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· αὐτὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐξήτει...τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὡς οὐ διὰ τὴν Νύμφην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα, δι' ἣν καὶ ἐπρώσθη.—"Ἄλλως...εἰρωνεύεται δέ· ζητεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς μᾶλλον, οὐ ζητεῖται ὑπὸ τῆς Νύμφης. ἢ καὶ παρηγορητικὸς ὁ λόγος.

It is clear that the supporters either of the partial reconciliation of Theocritus's story with the Sicilian tale or of the complete identification of the two would find a stumbling block in these verses: and the suggestion that Priapus is falsifying, either maliciously, or benevolently (ἢ καὶ παρηγορητικὸς ὁ λόγος), and also the suggestion, ascribed to 'some,' that the woman is the king's daughter can come only, in the final analysis, from advocates of the theory advanced on 8. 93. We cannot say that the commentary on 1. 85 in its present form, or that the essence of all of it, came from the single scholar who, I believe, was responsible for the essential facts in the scholium on 8. 93. But he must have offered some explanation of the absolute contradiction between his theory and these verses of the first idyll. And I believe that unless modern scholars are willing to advocate the theory offered by the scholiast on 8. 93, they should not reckon with the commentary on 1. 85; and if they wish to set up on other grounds a theory that Theocritus's Daphnis is a victim of unrequited love, they should not quote the scholia on 1. 85 in defence of their theory, although they may choose, independently of the scholia, to assert that Priapus is falsifying.¹

¹ Although it is no part of my present purpose to consider the true meaning of Theocritus's first and seventh idylls, I may suggest my own view of the difficult problem. The interpretation offered by Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion*, 213, seems to me correct, except in so far as it is marred by the author's belief in the mysticism of the first idyll: to omit the parts with which I do not agree—'Daphnis hat sich gerühmt, der Aphrodite fern zu bleiben, . . . Darum zürnt die Göttin und sendet

The source of this theory, which if my conclusions are correct, is the basis of all the older scholia bearing on the story of Daphnis in Theocritus with the possible exception of the comment on l. 97, cannot be ascertained. But there is opportunity for a plausible conjecture. The theory in question is that Theocritus followed in some degree the Sicilian folk-tale. The interpretation to which this theory gives rise ascribes to the poet the following plot: Daphnis broke his compact with the nymph, and associated with another woman; whereupon the nymph's love turned to hatred, and Daphnis, in attempting to gratify a renewal of his love for her, met only with rebuffs; he died of sorrow. Now a single verse of Ovid has played an ever-changing part in studies of the Daphnis-myth; some who have constructed theories into which it fitted, have quoted it with satisfaction in proof of their assertions¹; others who have found it irreconcilable with other versions of the story have dismissed it as an inaccurate reminiscence of Theocritus 8. 93.² The verse, *Ars Amat.* 1. 732, runs as follows:

Pallidus in lenta Naide Daphnis erat.

Certainly this is a concise statement of the interpretation which appears in the scholium on Theocritus 8. 93, and by implication in the comments on l. 65-69 and l. 85. In this verse and in the scholia a stubborn nymph is the cause of the neatherd's suffering. Now the name Nais in Ovid is apparently derived from Theocritus 8. 93. Is it not possible that our scholium on 8. 93 appeared, essentially as we have it now, in Ovid's edition of Theocritus, and if so, was not this the edition by Theon,³ which was published probably in the last years of the reign of Augustus? From such a note in

Theon's edition, Ovid may well have derived his information. It is, of course, equally possible that Ovid may have arrived at the same interpretation of the first idyll independently of any notes, but I venture to offer this suggestion as a conjecture, fully aware that the range of possibilities in the explanation of the resemblance between Ovid's verse and the scholiast's theory is not exhausted.

It is also possible that the verses of Nonnus, *Dionys.* 15. 307, are an echo of this interpretation of Theocritus:

ἃ πόσα Δάφνης ἄειδεν ὁ βουκόλος· ἀμφὶ δὲ
μολπῇ
παρθένος ἀστιβεέσσιν ἐκέυθετο μᾶλλον ἐρίπναις
ποιμενίης φεύγουσα βοῆς μέλος.

Nonnus may have agreed with the comments on l. 85 that Priapus was not telling the truth, and may have given what he thought was Theocritus's real version of the incident with a reminiscence of Theocritus l. 82-83, as has been noted by others, and of 7. 73-74 (especially if the reading ἀμφεπολεῖτο, of which traces appear in the *scholia recentiora*, was before him). In this case παρθένος is ἡ κόρη of the first idyll, or Xenea of the seventh, and the nymph of the story which appears in the older scholia on 8. 93, and by implication on l. 65-69, l. 85.

It appears, then, that the older scholia bearing on Theocritus's plot of the story of Daphnis represent a consistent effort to reconcile Theocritus's story with the Sicilian folk-tale: this effort results in the invention of a plot which is fully stated in the scholium on 8. 93, and which is the real basis of the commentary on l. 85. The same plot is briefly referred to in Ovid's verse in the *Ars Amatoria*; the occurrence in Ovid of the name Nais, which also appears in Theocritus 8. 93, and the fact that the scholium on 8. 93 recounts the plot referred to in Ovid's verse, lead me to suggest that the interpretation of Theocritus found in the scholia goes back as far as the edition of Theon.

II.

Rohde in *Der griechische Roman*² (marginal page 78, n. 1), suggested that the argument (in *k*) of Theocritus's ninth idyll contained an intentional correction of the scholium on 8. 55 (*k*), and that this correction itself involved an error.

The scholium on 8. 55 reads as follows: Ἀυτάρκης τις ὁ Δάφνης; [ὅθεν καὶ λέγει] ᾗδεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχων τὸν ἐρώμενον ὑπὸ τῇ πέτρᾳ

ihm verzehrende Liebe, . . . Bis zum Tode leistet er dem Trieb der Göttin Widerstand, noch im Hades wird er der Feind des Eros, . . . 'I see no reason why so many students of the subject from Van Lennep (quoted in Meineke³ on l. 85) down to Helm (*Philologus*, lviii. 111 ff.) insist that the love of Daphnis was not requited, and so accept the commentary, in part, of the scholiasts on l. 85, or else emend ζᾶρεισ', as Helm does. Why need we, with Hiller on l. 82, assume that Theocritus did not mean to ascribe to Priapus a more intimate knowledge of Daphnis's love affairs? Hermes was ignorant, for he had no interest in such matters; Priapus was just the person to know all the details. Roeder's article, 'Die Sage vom Daphnis,' in the *Ussing-Festschrift*, is not accessible to me.

¹ As Helm, *Philologus*, lviii. 119.

² Hiller, note on 8. 93.

³ Concerning Theon and his edition, see Ahrens, *Bucol. Gr. Reliq.* II. xxvii.-xxxi., *Philologus*, xxxiii. 392, and Bethe, *De Theocriti editionibus*, 9 ff.

ἀφορῶν τὴν Σικελικὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν [ποίμνην]. οὐκ ἀνιστορήτως δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Θεόκριτος φησὶ καὶ Ἑρμεσιάνᾳ λέγει τὸν Δάφνιν ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ Μενάλκα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Εὐβοίας. τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διατίθεται, οὗτος δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίας.

The argument of 9 reads: ...οὐδὲν δὲ ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Μενάλκαν τοῦτον ὄντα Σικελὸν [τὰ] ὑπὲρ Μενάλκου Χαλκιδῆως, ὃν φησιν Ἑρμεσιάνᾳ ἐρασθῆναι τῆς Κυρηναίας Εὐίππης καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ τυγχάνειν αὐτῆς κατακρημνισθῆναι.¹

On the strength of this imperfect correction Rohde asserted that Hermesianax told nothing of a love affair between Menalcas, the Euboean hero and unsuccessful wooer of Euippe, and Daphnis,² and that the Euboean Menalcas had nothing in common with the Menalcas of Theocritus, and quite as little perhaps with the older mythical hero Menalcas who played a part in the popular tale of Eriphanis (Clearchus *ap.* Athenaeus 619 c).

Reitzenstein (*Epigramm und Skolion*, 257, n. 2) denied that the argument of the ninth was a polemic against the scholium on 8. 55, and noted that Rohde's view rested on the incorrect assumption that Theocritus in his eighth idyll represented Daphnis and Menalcas in love with each other. He further maintained (p. 257) that Hermesianax did bring Daphnis and Menalcas together in one and the same poem.

Neither of these two scholars, however, has stated the whole truth of the matter and discovered, or at least mentioned, what is perfectly obvious, that the scholium on 8. 55 rests on a misunderstanding of Theocritus: and Rohde's misconception, which Reitzenstein corrects, is really the scholiast's misconception, which Rohde unhappily followed. Vss. 53–56 were undoubtedly regarded by the scholiast as the utterance of Daphnis³: in this case the *τν* of verse 55 clearly should refer to ἡ καλὰ παῖς, (or καλὰ Ναῖς, according to Meineke), of v. 47, but the scholiast has been carelessly misled into referring *τν* to Menalcas, and upon this misinterpretation the scholium is based. There is, then, all the more need of correction, and I am inclined to agree with

Rohde that the argument of 9 is intended to serve this purpose. Rohde is wrong in so far as he thinks the correction itself involves an error, for it now becomes perfectly true that the Euboean Menalcas has nothing in common with the Menalcas of Theocritus, not even a love-affair with Daphnis, which Rohde, following the scholiast, falsely assumed for Theocritus, and hence concluded that the argument of 9 was itself partially incorrect. But as Rohde suggests, the author of the argument really intends to question the existence of a story by Hermesianax in which these two heroic figures were represented as in love one with the other. Certainly the untrustworthiness of the scholiast on 8. 55 is evident: and if his notion that in Theocritus the two were represented as in love with each other falls to the ground, we are more than ever suspicious of his contention that Hermesianax joined the two heroes in any way. The scholium is certainly a very weak basis for Reitzenstein's contention that Hermesianax did employ such a motif.

III.

‘οὐ φθεγγῇ; λύκον εἶδες’; ἔπαιξέ τις. ‘ὡς σοφός’ εἶπε, κῆφάπτ’· εὐμαρώς κεν ἄπ’ αὐτᾶς καὶ λύχρον ἄψας.—*Id.* xiv. 22–23.

The MSS, and early editions, according to Ziegler, offer at the beginning of v. 23 the readings κῆφατ’ ἔτ’ (*k*) κῆφατ’ ἔτ’ (*Junt. Call.*) κῆφατ’ εὐ (*p*) κῆφατ’ (*e*) κῆφα (*Med.*) κῆρα (*Alcl.*). Hermann, without quoting any examples to support his conjecture, suggested the reading κῆφάπτ’, which was accepted by Ahrens and has not been molested, so far as I know, by subsequent editors of Theocritus. And yet the verb ἐφάπτεσθαι does not appear in the sense ‘to kindle’ (intransitive), ‘to flare up,’—meanings which are prerequisite to the sense required here,—in the lexica or in authors whose diction is registered in any of the *indices verborum* accessible to me; nor does the active ἐφάπτειν appear in the sense ‘to kindle.’⁴ Certainly we are not justified in assuming that any compound of ἄπτειν may mean ‘to kindle,’ and it seems to me that an occurrence of this particular compound in this particular sense must be found and quoted before we

¹ The different spellings of the proper name Hermesianax, which I take from Ziegler, and of the genitive of Μενάλκας, in these two comments, are worth noticing. The mistake in the former might be significant if we could be sure that the editor was not at fault.

² Rohde points out that there is no trace of a pederastic motif elsewhere in Hermesianax.

³ See the *apparatus* of Ahrens and of Ziegler. Recent editors, with the exception of Cholmeley, assume a lacuna after 52, and give 53–56 to Menalcas: in this case *τν*, of course, refers to Milo.

⁴ The older editions of Euripides read ἐφάπτεται with the MSS. in *Bacchae* 778, but the verb is now corrected to ὑφάπτεται, the reading in the *Christus Patiens*.

may be satisfied with this reading which has gone unmolested for half a century.

The reading $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau'$ is an easy suggestion, but the corruption of υ to η is difficult to explain unless the MS. in which the corrup-

tion occurred was copied from dictation at a time when the two vowels had the same sound-value.

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MESSALLA IN AQUITANIA.

Aquitania, it is well known, is a name with more than a single denotation in Roman history. It originally stood for Aquitania Proper, the country of the Aquitani, which according to the well known statement of Caesar *B. G.* i. 1 was that portion of Gallia Ulterior or Comata which was bounded by the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Atlantic Ocean. But subsequently it was applied to 'administrative Aquitania' the south western of the three sections into which Gallia Comata was divided by Augustus on his definitive organisation of the province. For reasons of politics and administration Aquitania Proper was enlarged by the inclusion of fourteen tribes of a different race who lived between the Garonne and the Loire; and the new province thus comprehended the whole tract of Gaul bounded on the west by the Ocean, on the south by the Pyrenees, on the north by the Loire and on the east by the Cevenna range ($\tau\acute{o}$ Κέμνειον ὄρος) and the Rhine; see Strabo, IV. i. 1 (pp. 146, 147 Diderot), ii. 1 (p. 157 D.), the last of which passages may be quoted here.

ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀκουιτανῶν λεκτέον καὶ τῶν προσωρισμένων αὐτοῖς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα Γαλατικῶν τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαρόννα κατοικοῦντων καὶ τοῦ Λεῖγghρος ὃν ἔνια ἐπιλαμβάνει καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμίας καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ναρβωνίτιν· ἀπλῶς γὰρ εἰπεῖν οἱ Ἀκουιτανοὶ διαφέρουσι τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων κατασκευὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν γλῶτταν, εἰκάσι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἰβηρσιν. ὁρίζονται δὲ τῷ Γαρόννα ποταμῷ ἐντὸς τοῦτον καὶ τῆς Πυρρήνης οἰκοῦντες.

The exact date of this change there is no direct evidence to determine. Desjardins, *La Gaule Romaine* iii. p. 155, and Marquardt *Staatsverw.* i. 113 citing Dion Cassius 53 c. 12, who mentions the peoples of the four divisions of geographical Gaul (Γαλάται πάντες οἱ τε Ναρβωνήσιοι καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνήσιοι Ἀκουιτανοὶ τε καὶ Βελγικοί, al. Κελτικοί), in connexion with the events of this year, agree in assigning it to the year 27 B.C. when Augustus spent a considerable time in Gaul.

This view has been rejected [with great confidence by Professor Th. Mommsen (*Hermes* 15, 111)]¹ on the grounds that the references in Dion are not decisive for the earlier date and that a reference in Suetonius Tiberius c. 9 is decisive against it.

I give the latter passage with the dates for the events mentioned in them, 'regnum Armeniae Tigrani [Tiberius] restituit, recepit et signa quae M. Crasso ademerant Parthi (20 B.C.). *Post hoc Comatam Galliam anno fere rexit*, et barbarorum incursionibus et principum discordia inquietam. exin Raeticum Vindelicumque bellum (15 B.C.), inde Panonicum (12-10 B.C.), inde Germanicum (8, 7 B.C.) gessit.'

That Tiberius' governorship of Gallia Comata was subsequent to the year 27, is of course indisputable. But how the arguments advanced by the one historian, in the passage transcribed below, and repeated by the other can be regarded as in the least degree conclusive it is beyond my power to imagine. Agrippa died in B.C. 12 and it is not contested that Tiberius governed (*rexit*) Gallia Comata, the Gaul of the Three Provinces, before his death. In what capacity or, if you like, under what title he governed it, it is idle here to inquire. Neither Agrippa nor Augustus was a pedant; and the former who had been since B.C. 18 associated in the tribunician power and is described by Gardthausen as 'co-regent'² was not likely to have been influenced by the considerations of punctilious officialism which Mommsen thinks of importance, nor would the latter have felt precluded from disturbing an arrangement which had subsisted only a comparatively short time, did the state of the provinces suggest and the abilities of their governor justify their temporary re-union.³ In the default of

¹ Followed by Gardthausen in *Augustus und seine Zeit*, i. 665, ii. 359, where Mommsen's arguments, and indeed his language, are reproduced.

² 'Agrippa als Mitregent,' *Augustus, etc.*, i. 738, ii. 411 *sq.*

³ I transcribe Mommsen's observations in full that the reader may himself judge of their pertinence.

any definite statement to the contrary, we may well hold that etiquette would make way so far to the will of the princeps and the claims of the distinguished general and administrator who just before had received the captured standards from the Parthians and was presently to be entrusted with the conduct of the Rhaetian and Vindelician war. In the words of Dion Cassius which Mommsen cites there is nothing to discountenance the idea that he referred the division of Gallia Comata into three to the year B.C. 27. His words are in full: *καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη ὡς πον καὶ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει· ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα ὅτι νῦν χωρὶς ἑκαστον αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύεται ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρια τὰ ἐθνῶν ἅμα ἤρχετο, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὑστέρον αὐτῶν προσεκτήθη τὰ δὲ εἰ καὶ τότε ἤδη ἐκεχείρωτο ἄλλ' οὐτὶ γε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤρχετο ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ.* It is clear that Dion is simply contrasting the more numerous provincial divisions of his own days with the few and larger ones of earlier epochs. The passage does not indeed prove the triple division to belong to B.C. 27, but neither does it militate against this date which on general considerations was selected by Desjardins and Marquardt as the most probable.

The scantiness of the material for reconstructing the history of the times of

The words in square brackets are footnotes in the original.

¹Die Theilung der *Comata* in die drei späteren Provinzen wird allerdings auf Augustus zurückgeführt; aber das Jahr ist nicht überliefert. [Marquardt sagt freilich (Staatsverw. 1. 113) dass Dio sie in das J. 727=27 v. Chr. setze; aber Dio fügt ja 53. 12 ausdrücklich hinzu: *ταῦτα, etc.—ἤρχετο.*] Dass Augustus diese wichtige Massregel nicht von Rom aus verfügt hat, hat alle Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Ob es geschehen ist während seines Aufenthalts in Gallien im J. 727 oder während seines langen Verweilens daselbst in den J. 738–741 würde dahingestellt bleiben müssen, wenn nicht eben unsere Stelle für die letztere Annahme entschiede. Dass Tiberius damals, bei Agrippas Lebzeiten, eigenes proconsularisches Imperium gehabt und das Regiment von Gallien in dieser Eigenschaft als Nachfolger Agrippas übernommen haben soll, ist ebenso ohne Anhalt in der Ueberlieferung wie staatsrechtlich und politisch unmöglich; es ist beinahe überflüssig daran zu erinnern, dass er nach Augustus eigener Angabe [Monumentum Ancyri. 5. 45 per Ti. Neronem qui tum erat priuignus et legatus meus. Vgl. Sueton. Tib. 12] noch den pannonischen Krieg als *legatus* seines Stiefvaters geführt, also sicher auch *Gallia Comata* lediglich als *legatus* verwaltet hat. Da nun nach Sueton diese Verwaltung nicht vor das J. 734 gesetzt werden kann, so ist das von Caesar eroberte Gallien nicht bereits im J. 727 getheilt worden. Wohl aber ist es wahrscheinlich dass dies in den J. 738–741 geschah, und Tiberius mag leicht der letzte dieser hochgestellten Statthalter gewesen sein.¹

Augustus is perhaps sufficiently clear from the foregoing; but we have not far to go for further proof of it. In our well nigh total ignorance of the operations in Gaul for which M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus triumphed in B.C. 27 we have to rely almost entirely upon allusions in the vague and perhaps partial language of a poet and a friend.

Tibullus in his commemoration of the birthday of the general writes I. vii. 1–14

Hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes
stamina, non ulli dissoluenda deo;
hunc fore, Aquitanas posset qui fundere
gentes,

quem tremere fortis milite uictus Atax.
euenere: nouos pubes Romana triumphos
uidit et euinctos brachia capta duces:
at te victrices lauros, Messalla, gerentem
portabat nitidis currus eburnus equis.

non sine me est tibi partus honos: Tarbella
Pyrene

testis et Oceani litora Santonici. 10
testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque
Garunna,

Carnutis et flauī caerula lympha Liger.
an te, Cydne, canam, tacitis qui leniter
undis

caeruleus placidis per uada serpis aquis?

4 *Atur* Scaliger. 8 *nitidis* F. Wilhelm with the MSS., *nuicis* vulg. 9 *sine Marte ibi*, Baehrens. 11 *Atur Rhodanusque* Scaliger. 12 *garrula* Gruppe. 14 *placidiae—aquae* legendum ut uidetur.

In this passage, as it stands in the MSS, there are two geographical difficulties, both detected by Scaliger, to whom also we owe the all but certain correction *Tarbella* for *tua bella* in 9.¹ The motive of his two proposals for emendation was the same. He believed that an intimate friend of Messalla in an avowed commemoration of his military achievements would be careful, if mentioning rivers at all, to mention the rivers of the country which was the scene and the source of his triumphs. Now the *Atax*, the modern Aude, was the principal river of the Province; upon it stood the famous and flourishing Roman colony of Narbo, and it had been in Roman hands for nearly a hundred years. To triumph over the *Atax* was only a degree less difficult than to triumph over the Anio. To triumph over the Arar and the Rhodanus was of course possible. But Messalla more than deserved all his celebrity if he managed to bring home an 'Aquitanian triumph' from the banks of the Rhone and the Saône.

¹ Not absolutely certain as *testis* might have got into v. 10 from v. 11, driving out some such verb as *uidit*.

We may approve of Scaliger's scruples, without accepting his remedies, against which more than one consideration may be urged. It is possible, though not very probable, that *Atur* should have been twice corrupted within seven lines and into the names of two different streams. This form of the ancient name for the *Adour* rests only on the authority of Vibius Sequester, while that of the *Duranius* (Dordogne) is not otherwise attested and the vocative *Durani* would have fitted the metre. *Celer* indeed is a suitable epithet for the Dordogne; but it is no less a suitable one for the Rhone, particularly when coupled with the Saône.

The difficulties which led Scaliger to propose and O. Hirschfeld (*Sitzungsberichte Berl. Ak.* 1896, No. 22. 433 sq.) to accept the double alteration *Atur Duranusque* may perhaps be removed in another way. Let us see if the four rivers the Saône, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Garonne, mentioned in the couplet 11 sq. have anything in common. Their common property is that they form with the ocean what we may call the water-boundaries of the territory which, as we have seen, Augustus added to Aquitania. If then Messalla was entrusted with the duty of organising the province which was named after and built upon the region that had been the scene of his conquests, everything is in order. The poet first does honour to the achievements of his friend and then turns to the more congenial task of celebrating his peaceful ones first in Gaul and then in Asia and Italy 55 sqq. The reference to the Rhone (with which the Saône is, as so often, connected) is intelligible from the passage of Strabo already quoted. The function of the Loire is made clear by the mention of the Carnutes, the important tribe in the interior of Gaul whose territory adjoined it on the north and whose port, the considerable town of Genabum (Orleans), was situated on its banks.

Let us now return to verse 4

quem tremere fortis milite uictus Atax.

It is incredible that Tibullus who, whether he attended Messalla on this expedition or not, was at least his intimate friend and had every opportunity, private and public,¹ of acquainting himself with the fundamental facts of the campaign and the chief features of the country, should have written a line which suggests either that he thought the

river on which Narbo stood was a river of the Aquitani or else that he thought Messalla had subdued a river in the middle of the Roman Province.

With the disappearance of *Atur* and *Duranus* as candidates for consideration in 11, one of the objections to Scaliger's *Atur* in v. 4 disappears likewise, and with this restoration the line will give an acceptable sense. For the expression 'quem tremere', we might compare Propertius 2. 10. 16 'et domus intactae te tremuit Arabiae.' As, however, I expect many readers will be loth, for palaeographical and other reasons, to make the exchange, I will indicate another route which emendation may take.

The alternative was suggested to me by an expression in another composition of a different quality, it is true, to the present poem, but written in honour of the same subject. The 'Panegyricus Messallae' by an unknown author was written after Messalla's consulship, B.C. 31, but before his expedition to Aquitania for which he triumphed in B.C. 27. It contains, of course, no reference to the incidents of the Aquitanian campaign or the organisation of the new province, but the writer speaks of the Pannonian War, in which Messalla took part (compare Gardthausen, Augustus, i. 330, ii. 164) in the following terms:—

at non per dubias errant mea carmina
laudes : 106

nam bellis experta cano. testis mihi uictae
fortis Iapydiae miles, testis quoque fallax
Pannonius, gelidas passim disiectus in
Alpes

testis Arupinis et pauper natus in aruis,
110

quem si quis uideat uetus ut non fregerit
aetas,

terna minus Pyliae miretur saecula famae.²

It is no violation of probability to suppose that Tibullus had seen this eulogy of his friend or that some expressions in it had remained in his memory. Now if we suppose that the 'gallant troops' of Tibullus are not those of the conquering general but, as in the Panegyric, those of the conquered enemy (and it does indeed seem a higher compliment to a commander to extol the bravery of the resistance which has been overcome rather than that of the assistance which has enabled him to overcome it), then

¹ He might have seen the figures of the conquered streams carried in the triumphal procession: see Prop. 2. 1. 31 sq., Tacitus Annals 2. 41 al.

² H. Belling's speculations (*Albius Tibullus, Untersuchungen*, p. 205) are rightly condemned by M. Schanz (*Geschichte d. Römischen Litteratur*, ii. p. 165) as untenable.

Atax may be kept, *quem* however must go. The necessary correction will be slight. For *quem* we have but to write *cum* and the sense is completely transformed. For the line will now allude, not to the incidents or results of Messalla's campaign, but to the circumstances which necessitated his dispatch to the scene of hostilities, and the consternation expressed by *tremere* will not be that of the beaten enemy but that of the provincials at the sudden irruption.

If then the previous reconstruction is correct in the main, the allusions in these lines of Tibullus enable us to sketch the course of events as follows:

The Aquitani who had already given trouble before¹ broke into the Province, occupied the upper Aude and threatened Narbonne. At this alarming juncture Messalla was sent against the invaders. He defeated their forces and drove them back into their own country which he penetrated and traversed as far as the Western Pyrenees ('Tarbella Pyrene') and the mouth of the Gironde ('Oceani litora Santonici'). The Aquitani were thus completely reduced to submission: but the unrest and disorder which their inroad had produced made it desirable that the administration of Gaul should be reconstituted, and in the work of this reconstitution, one of whose features was the formation of the new Aquitania, Messalla took part.

Our history thus acquires a new clearness and consistency. The Aquitanian rising and campaign can be definitely ascribed to B.C. 28 and would be at an end by the spring of 27. Augustus we know visited Gaul and the Province in the summer (Livy, par. 134, Dion Cass. 53. 22): he had intended to go earlier, but domestic reasons and his health interfered (Gardthausen, i. 661 sq.), and Messalla could return to Rome to celebrate his triumph in the autumn.

We have hitherto argued on the hypothesis that Tibullus possessed merely such knowledge of the topography of Gaul and Aquitania as might be assumed for an educated Roman and an intimate friend of the conqueror. But it has been generally held on the strength of the traditional text of v. 9, and the statement in the anonymous *Vita Tibulli*

ante alios Cornuinus Messalam Or. ingenuem dilexit cuius contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est¹

. oratorem) ingenuus' is my correction for

that Tibullus also accompanied Messalla through his campaign in Aquitania. How those who hold this view *with* the vulgate reading and explanation of 4 (and 11) are to deal with the evidence disclosed in the course of the previous discussion, may be left to them to determine. On any hypothesis the theory rests upon a sufficiently precarious basis. An examination of the evidence for this campaign of Tibullus will show that part of it is derivative and part corrupt. The estimation of the data and authority of the 'Biography of Tibullus' is too long a task to be here undertaken, and it will form the subject of an appendix to my forthcoming selections from Tibullus now passing through the press. I will, however, anticipate so far as to say that this Life contains nothing which could not have been easily gathered from the statements of Tibullus about himself or of Horace about Albius, a writer of elegies who had been identified with Tibullus: and that the present case is no exception, the biographer having obtained his fact from the verse of this poem in its vulgate form. If the evidence of the biographer be but second-hand, there remains only the line of Tibullus, and this we need not hesitate to pronounce corrupt. What would Germany have said of the aide de camp who in the middle of a recital professedly in honour of von Moltke's conduct of the war of 1870 had uttered the 'proud words,'² 'not without me was your distinction gained,' and then proceeded to appeal to the several battle-fields for confirmation of his indecent vaunt. A howl of reprobation would have risen from the whole of the German press.

And of all persons in the world it is the diffident and retiring Tibullus who is forced to thrust himself into the foreground of his friend's achievements at the very moment that he is celebrating them. To avoid this objection it has been proposed to take *non sine me* in the sense of 'with my companionship.' But this is a desperate device to exclude the idea of participation and could never have occurred to any one who had

the 'originem' of the MSS. (*Journal of Philology*, 28 (1901), p. 159). Professor Purser has suggested to me since 'or. unice,' which would also do. The other emendations proposed are all very improbable.

² F. Marx in the article 'Albius' in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopædie*, i. 1322: 'T. war gewiss ein tapferer Soldat wenn er nach der Vita von einem Messalla *militaribus donis donatus est* und zu dem Triumphator die stolzen Worte *non sine me est tibi partus honor* sprechen durfte.' A brave soldier possibly, but hardly a modest one.

not seen that the plain meaning of the words was impossible.¹

While repudiating for Tibullus the gross ignorance of Gallic geography which has been attributed to him, we must at the same time point out that his poems show no trace of his having ever visited the country. There are no facts referred to in the present passage that might not have been gathered from common rumour or the lips of his friend. It is needless to account in any other way for his knowing that the Rhone was swift and the estuary of the Garunna broad. One specific statement indeed he makes which, if correct, might be held to point to a different conclusion. He says that the waters of the Loire are 'blue'; and, with the vulgate reading and the ordinary interpretation, he must be deemed to have visited them because he calls this river amongst others to witness that he was in Messalla's company. I have taken and given some trouble to discover the colour of the waters of the Loire, and I can find nothing to show that they are blue in any part of their course.

Of the Loire at its mouth M. Charles Barrois, for the knowledge of whose paper I am indebted to Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, writes thus in the *Annales de la Société Géologique du Nord*, vol. 24, p. 207:

'Sous son influence et celle du courant littoral on voit les eaux jaunâtres de la Loire² longer la côte au nord, se répandre le long du Morbihan et former une longue traînée qui va se perdre au N.W.'

The waters of the Upper Loire, when floods and man permit, appear to be limpid. I quote first from the article in the great *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France* of P. Joanne, vol. ii. 1894, s.v. *Loire*, p. 2236 col. 3 of the Loire entering the department of the Haute-Loire 'il y fuit, clair et rapide,' further on 2237 col. 1 'limpide sur un lit de pierre.' Still further on of the Loire near Orleans the writer speaks of 'les sables roulés par le fleuve' (p. 2240, col. 2) and of the Loire in the department of Maine et Loire (p. 2242, col. 1) we have 'Fleuve inégal entre tous et capricieux—masse immense, trouble et jaunie tout d'un coup grossie par l'irruption simultanée d'affluents à forte pente, ou nappe

limpide miroitant entre deux grèves blanches' (Célestin Port). Of the Loire below Montjean we read p. 2243 col. 1 'En hiver quand la terre est dépouillée, quand la Loire roule ses eaux jaunes ce doit être lugubre (Ardouin-Dumazab).' To these testimonies I will add that of an English eye-witness, for which I am indebted to Mr. G. A. Macmillan, who, speaking of the river between Angers and Tours, gives his recollections as follows: 'The waters were very low, it being August, but were limpid, borrowing here and there the colours of the yellow (with a faint touch of grey) of the sand which in places shewed dry in the shallow stream.'

Tibullus is the only classic who has anything descriptive of the Liger: but Venantius Fortunatus (sixth century A.D.), the biographer of St. Martin of Tours, calls it more than once 'glassy'; uita S. Martini 4. 298, carm. 5. 7. 7 '*vitrea* Liger algidus unda,' *ib.* 6. 5. 233 sq.

The 'blue' Loire then would appear to have no support in literature or fact.

Out of this difficulty Gruppe's *garrula*³ is indeed a way but one which no one has accepted or, as I imagine, will accept. The juxtaposition *flavi caerula*, whatever we may think of its taste, stamps *caerula* as genuine. A yellow-haired Gaul by a blue-watered stream is the sort of thing we might expect from the Roman fancy for *uarietas* or colour-contrasts. An exact parallel is the black Indian by the red sea of iii. 8 (iv. 2) 19 'et quascumque *niger rubro* de litore gemmas proximus Eois colligit Indus equis.' For the combination of two epithets compare ii. 5. 38 '*niueae candidus agnus ouis*.'

Tibullus had no more seen the Liger than he had seen the Cydnus, which, as I have on the authority of Prof. W. M. Ramsay, is 'in its upper course a bright clear mountain stream.'⁴ The corruption which we have been engaged in exposing is satisfactorily removed by Baehrens' emendation '*non sine marte ibi partus honos*.' This to my mind receives considerable confirmation from the words of the 'Panegyricus' in the place already quoted '*bellis experta cano*.' Mr. Housman (*ad loc.* on the Corpus text of Tibullus) has proposed in the same sense '*non sine re est tibi partus honos*.' *re* is

¹ And so, if my view of the Biography is correct, it did not occur to its writer, whose account of what he thought had happened is a very natural inference from the traditional text and the known relations of Tibullus and Messalla.

² Italics are mine.

³ In the text of his *Römische Elegie*. He does not give any reasons for the change in his note.

⁴ No one however has maintained that Tibullus describes Asia as an eyewitness. As we know from I. iii. he fell ill when accompanying Messalla to Asia and was left behind at Coreyra.

somewhat nearer to the letters, but in other respects it is inferior to the previous correction which is neither improbable in itself nor, from the changes which it assumes, devoid of a special plausibility when manuscripts of Tibullus are in question.

If we accept Baehrens' conjecture and interpret the next distich as reason requires, a difficulty which has been lurking all the time in the context starts up at once to confront us. The following lines and everything in the sequel deal with Messalla's achievements in peace—his mission to Asia and his works in Italy. But there is not a word to mark the transition. I conceive then that a couplet has fallen out between 10 and 11, the sense of which was this. 'Yet your successes in the field, Messalla, are equalled or surpassed by your exploits as a reorganiser and administrator.' Compare the division of the Panegyrist 39 sq. 'nam quis te maiora gerit castrisue foroue? | nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorue minorue' Messalla's forensic eminence being

the subject of 45 sqq. and his 'bellicae laudes' that of 81 sqq.¹

That a couplet necessary for the orderly treatment of the subject has been lost seems an easier assumption than the one which is otherwise demanded, to wit that Messalla fought Aquitanians, properly or improperly so called, on all the rivers in question.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Mr. Housman (Corpus Tibullus, note *ad loc.*) has suggested the loss of a pentameter and hexameter between 13 and 14 where there is certainly some corruption in the MS. text. Had Tibullus smooth water on the brain to this extent of selecting this characteristic for two rivers in succession? I doubt it. The best remedy seems to be to read *placidæ—aquæ* and to refer it to the Rhegma as Strabo calls it, the sense being that the 'blue' Cydnus flows so peacefully to the sea that its colour alone betrays its passage through the still and shallow lagoon. The ablative would be due to some scribe who understood neither the construction nor the allusion. The heaping up of expressions for the same idea is in itself no proof of corruption; cf. Tib. ii. 1. 80, 'placidus leniter,' Ov. *Pont.* 4. 10. 54 'et tacite peragens lenis Melanthus iter,' Sen. *H. F.* 580 'placida quiete labitur Lethe uado.' But 'tacitus undis' and 'placidis aquis' of the same water seems impossible.

THE SOURCE OF DANTE'S *EUNOË*.

MISS HARRISON's 'Query' (*C.R.*, February 1903, p. 58) as to whence Dante borrowed his *Eunoë*, puts a very interesting and difficult question. The question first occurred to me when I was preparing a course of lectures on Plato's Myths which I delivered in Oxford four years ago. In one of these lectures I called attention, as Miss Harrison now does, to the close analogy between the mythology of the Petelia Tablet (Kaibel, *I.G.S.I.*, No. 638, and Comparetti, *J.H.S.* iii. 111) and Dante's mythology of the twin streams, Lethe and *Eunoë*, in *Purg.* xxviii. 130, and subsequent passages. I found that Dante was true to mythological data at his disposal in placing Lethe in, or near, Elysium or the Earthly Paradise, and making it a stream, not subterranean, but on the surface of the earth; but I pointed out that there was no evidence to show that he had any knowledge of the Orphic mythology of the twin streams as we have it in the Petelia inscription. Nor could we suppose that he knew of Pausanias' mention (ix. 39) of the streams of Lethe and Mnemosyne at the entrance of the cave of Trophonius; although it was possible that he might have seen Pliny *H.N.* xxxi. 15. I thought it safest to

allow that Dante, taking the general idea of streams encircling the Earthly Paradise from *Genesis*, and the idea of Lethe as one of these streams from *Aen.* vi., might have hit, quite independently of mythological tradition, on the very natural idea of a stream of Memory to contrast with the stream of Oblivion, although his description of the attributes of *Eunoë* as stream of Memory, certainly resembles Platonic and Neo-platonic passages in which the process of *κάθαρσις* is identified with that of *ἀνάμνησις*. I ventured, however, to make a suggestion with regard to the name *Eunoë* (not a name obviously appropriate to the stream of Memory), which, if it goes in the right direction at all, perhaps does not go very far. I offer it here again for what it may be worth, as a contribution to the subject.

Starting from the lines in the Petelia Tablet, in which the deceased *μύστης* appeals to the *φύλακες* of the fountain:—

δίψῃ δ' εἰμὶ αἷψα καὶ ἀπολλύμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ
λίμνης·
καὶ τοῖσσι δώσουσι πιεῖν θεΐης ἀπ[ὸ κρήν]ης,
καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι μεθ' ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[s].

I supposed that Dante's use of the name Eunoë might have some connexion with the idea of *refrigerium* which apparently found its way into Christian literature (cf. *Par.* xiv. 27, *Lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia*—Tertullian *Apologeticus* xxxix. *inopes quosque refrigerio isto* (i.e. the Lord's Supper) *juvamus*), from the early Christian epitaphs which reproduce the *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ* of the pagan epitaphs. I had in view such pagan epitaphs as the following published by Kaibel and referred to by Dieterich in his *Nekyia* and Rohde in his *Psyche*:—*ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ δοίη σοι ἄναξ ἐνέρων Αἰδωνεύς* (Kaibel *I.G.* 1842)—*εὐψύχει καὶ δοίη σοι ὁ Οσίρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ* (Kaibel, *I.G.* 1488)—D.M. IVLIA POLITICE DOESE OSIRIS TO PSYCHRON HYDOR (Kaibel, *I.G.* 1705), and such Christian epitaphs as *in refrigerio et pace anima tua—Deus te refrigeret—spiritum tuum Dominus refrigeret* (quoted by Rohde *Psy.* ii. 391 and Dieterich *Nek.* 95). I supposed that the name Eunoë—*εὐνοια*, benevolentia—was chosen by Dante, or rather by an unknown authority from whom he borrowed it, to indicate that a boon was graciously bestowed by God through the water of this stream—the boon of *refrigerium*—*ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ δοίη σοι ἄναξ ἐνέρων*

Αἰδωνεύς—Dominus te refrigeret. Dante's Eunoë would thus mean the Stream of the Loving Kindness and Grace of God.

Until Miss Harrison's *Ε[ὐν]οίας* (after Comparetti's *ἐ[νν]οίας*) has been proved to belong to the original text of Kaibel, *I.G.S.I.* 642, and the reference in that inscription has been shown to be certainly to the Orphic *Κρήνη Μνημοσύνης*, it will be enough to admit that an Orphic writer in the third century B.C. might very naturally speak of the *φύλακες* of the well of Memory as *εἶνοι* towards those *μύσται* on whom they bestowed *τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ*, or *refrigerium*, and that he might very naturally describe that well itself as *Εἰδνοίας κρήνη*—the Fountain of Loving Kindness.

Considering the probable descent through epitaphs of the Christian *refrigerium* (the idea of which makes itself felt in the lines with which the *Purgatorio* ends) from the Orphic *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ*, I am inclined to think that it is to Christian epitaphs that we ought to go for the more immediate source of Dante's Eunoë. If the word were found there in connexion with *refrigerium*, we might infer with some confidence that it had occurred in Orphic epitaphs.

J. A. STEWART.

REVIEWS.

BELLING ON HORACE.

Studien über die Liederbücher des Horatius.
Von H. BELLING. (Berlin: 1903. 188 pp.
Gärtner's Verlagsbuchh.) 5 M.

THIS is a study of the art of Horace, not as poet, but as bookmaker, if I may employ that word in its literal sense. Mr. Belling has observed that there are 10 eclogues of Vergil, 10 poems in the First Book of Tibullus, 10 Satires in the First Book of Horace, 20 Epistles in the First Book, 20 Odes in the Second Book of Odes, 30 in the Third, 15 in the Fourth, and he notices that all these numbers are divisible by 5. He concludes that this is no accident, but that the Augustan poets, in collecting their compositions for publication, put them together in groups of 5 or 10, pentads or decads, arranged on some artistic principle which can be discovered by close investigation. He has already written on Tibullus

and Propertius, and is now prepared to explain why each ode of Horace comes by its place. The poet, he admits, wrote his odes on all sorts of occasions, but, in collecting them, he had an eye either to similarity or contrast, either of subject or metre, either within the pentad or decad itself or between different pentads or decads. It need hardly be said that, with all this choice of principles, Mr. Belling is never at a loss for a good reason. Like a man playing at noughts and crosses by himself, he is always sure of winning. It happens, indeed, that there are 38 Odes in the First Book, but this accident does not provoke Mr. Belling out of his common-sense. He can explain it in many ways. Thus, if Horace published all his pieces at once and the number of pieces was not divisible by 5, some book was bound to suffer, and why not the First? Again, Mr.

Belling, is confident that I. 20 is spurious, so that the true number of Odes in Book I. is 37, not 38. Deduct from this the first Ode and the last, as prologue and epilogue, and the remainder is 35, which is obviously one decad and five pentads. Or, if anyone prefers to think that I. 20 is genuine, he may divide the 38 Odes into the following symmetrical arrangement, 6, 5, 5, 6, 5, 5, 6. But it is likely that I. 3 was not written till B.C. 19, when Vergil went to Greece, and was not included in the first edition of the book. In that case, if we omit I. 3 and also I. 38, as not yet written, and reject I. 20, we have from the first only 35 Odes. Mr. Belling is quite aware that, if he omits or inserts any ode, he alters the order of the rest and must explain the new order on quite different principles from those that he employed before, but he does not shrink from this labour. The book of Epodes too causes difficulty, for there are 17 of them, but it is to be observed that the first 10 are all iambic and the remaining 7 can be brought into a symmetrical arrangement. As the explanation of this is complicated and not convincing to me, I shall refer the reader who wishes to be educated in such things to Mr. Belling himself. I should, however, not omit to remark that the book is not

one which can be read running, for the argument is always intricate and requires a most intimate knowledge of Horace, and the style is of that honest German sort which is always anxious to preclude the possibility of mistake. If Mr. Belling has a reservation or qualification to make, he makes it on the spot and does not leave it for a new sentence. Here is a sample of observations that are to be found on almost every page :

‘In pedantisch-nüchtern erfasster Wirklichkeit würde an solchem Orte der Page freilich vergebens laufen, ut devium scortum eliceret domo Lyden; denn die—an sich ganz unbedenkliche—Annahme von Th. Plüss (Horazstudien S. 168) der Dichter stelle sich—ähnlich wie III. 28—eine Lyde (nicht die Lyde, deren “Lebenslauf” G. Friedrich, in abgethane Fehler zurückfallend, S. 1 Anm. zu reconstituieren vermeint) als in dem Hause des Landguts weilend vor, findet in dem Wortlaut von v. 21 f. meines Erachtens nicht genügenden Anhalt.’

The book concludes with a number of notes on particular passages, mostly in favour of traditional readings or interpretations (e.g. *Apuliac* and *Apulicum* in III. 4. 10 and 24. 4). There are some novelties: e.g. in II. 19. 23, 24 Mr. Belling regards *leonis unguibus horribilique mala* as a description of Rhoetus and, at III. 30. 2, *situs* as = *vetustas pyramidum*.

J. G.

BRANDT'S *ARS AMATORIA* OF OVID.

P. Ovidi Nasonis de arte amandi. Libri tres erklärt von PAUL BRANDT. Dietrich, Leipzig. 1902. Pp. 256. 8 M.

FEW books of the world-famous kind have so long been waiting for an adequate exponent as the *Ars Amatoria*. It is remarkable that this, the most read perhaps of all Ovid's works, and if we except the *Amores*, the most deserving of that immortality which the poet predicted as awaiting him in the future, has never been edited with anything like the completeness it deserves. The cause of this, no doubt, lies on the surface. It is not merely the Art of love which Ovid has treated, but the art of the lover, in other words he has written a manual of the most practical kind for the everyday purposes of the seducer. It was not without reason that Augustus made the *Ars Amatoria* the pretext of the

poet's banishment, however certain it may be that it was *only* the pretext. When we think of the small interval which separates the high moral tone of the Odes of Horace from this work of his successor, it seems almost incredible that each should belong to the principate of the same man. Why, we ask did not Augustus at once show his disapproval? Nothing could be in more direct opposition to one of his chief aims, the establishment of a chaster moral tone. We must, however, remember that Tibullus and Propertius had made love a popular subject even in the earlier and severer part of Augustus' long reign; that Ovid had himself published his *Amores* seemingly as early as 19 B.C. (death of Tibullus) certainly not later than 15 B.C.: that the *Amores* at once became so popular that all Rome was asking 'who is Corinna?', and that, when the *Ars* appeared many years later, probably

(as Schanz thinks) in the first or second year of our era. Ovid was and had long been the most famous poet of his time. Even the omnipotent master of the Roman world might well shrink from attacking such a man; a man who had done much to make his Empire and the imperial house popular; let us add, who had made the Roman language known through the entire empire by the unequalled finish and perfection of the series of poems which he had consecrated to the most popular of all the subjects of poetry, love.

Ovid himself in the second book of his *Tristia*, by the elaborate and lengthy defence of his *Ars*, seems to show that it must have been one, if not the chief, cause of his relegation to Tomi. But it cannot have been more: for the poet himself tells us with the greatest openness that the real cause was something he had *seen*; in other words that he had witnessed some act (certainly *not* the Empress Livia bathing) which it was dangerous to know. We may therefore exculpate the *Ars* on this head: it would not by itself have caused the poet's relegation; but it was a convenient pretext, under which that act of stern severity might seem to find its justification.

In the preface to his edition, Brandt disclaims anything like finality or exhaustiveness. His aim is to give an intelligible and easily accessible explanation and illustration of a famous work, in the best manner of Ovid's earlier and more polished style. We are therefore not much surprised to find that nothing new has been done as regards the criticism of the text. Ehwald is followed throughout, and no new examination of MSS. has been attempted, though much yet remains to be done. Indeed the MS. criticism not only of the *A.A.* but of the *Remedia* and *Amores* still calls for a much larger investigation than any one since Heinsius has been able to give to them; we have as yet no edition even which presents a *complete* collation of the three best MSS.; in which particular these works of the poet stand at a decided disadvantage if compared with the *Heroides* or *Medicamina Faciei*, neither of them at all rising to the same level of poetical importance.

Brandt's commentary has great merits. Without being long or prolix it generally gives as much elucidation of historical and archaeological points as most readers require. Ovid is, as a rule, easier than Propertius, and only now and then (*e.g.* in *games*) obscure, or calling for anything like prolonged disquisition. An excellent

feature in Brandt's notes is the even-handed citation of parallels from Greek as well as Latin writers; see for instance the note on ἀφροδίσιος ὄρκος p. 54, on the little-known Amoebeus p. 173, on the proverb *occultae musicae nullus est respectus* (ib.) There is perhaps hardly enough notice of grammatical or syntactical points *e.g.* the use of *non* in III. 129 *Vos quoque non caris aures onerate lapillis*, followed by *nec* in 131 *nec prodite graues insuto uestibus auro*: I. 389 *Aut non temptaris aut perfice*; but this would perhaps be foreign to the plan of the work proposed to himself by the author. Nor can I approve of the frequent parentheses which Merkel introduced and Ehwald has left unaltered, *e.g.* II. 79, 80 *Iam Samos a dextra (fuerant Naxosque relictæ Et Paros et Clario Delos amata deo), Dextra Lebinthos erat*; III. 51, 52 *Si bene te noui (cultas ne laede puellas) Gratia, dum uiues ista petenda tibi*: nor of the shortened *fuerunt* III. 405.6 *Cura deum fuerunt olim regumque poetæ Praemiaque antiqui magna tulere chori*, for *fuerant* is not only the reading of the most authoritative MSS., but is made nearly certain by *olim*; the substitution of such shortened perfects has gone too far in many recent editions of Latin poetry, and will be found very often in conflict with the MS. tradition. On metrical grounds too the elision of *i* in *Lemnias et* III. 672 should have been defended; it is at any rate very unusual. Few will agree, again, to accept Madvig's correction, II, 217 *Siue fatigata praebeundo monstra nouerca Qui meruit caelum, quod prior ipse tulit*, where R gives *fatigatae praebeundo m. nouercae*, other MSS. *premendo* or *perimendo*, which latter was restored by Heinsius and is rightly printed in Merkel's earlier editions. The change from the genitive *fatigatae . . nouercae* to the abl. *fatigata . . nouerca* seems unsupported by any MS., and is improbable. As I am here attacking one of Madvig's corrections of the *Ars*, I may say that this great critic appears to very little advantage in his corrections of the same work elsewhere. No one I imagine can believe Ovid guilty of such a metrical monstrosity as *Praeceptis, Priami, si foret usa tuis* (III. 440), where *Priami* is vocative of *Priamis* (Cassandra) and must have its final vowel short. I am glad to see that Brandt has not allowed himself to be led away into writing either *Priamēi* (Madvig's original correction) or *Priamī* (his subsequent); forsaking R which gives *tuis*, Brandt prints with most edd. *Praeceptis Priami si foret usa sui*, confessing however to a difficulty in under-

standing to what the poet refers. This verse is a very *crux* of criticism. Brandt has done a most real service in calling marked attention to it: but the problem cannot be considered solved. It is sad that the early Bodleian Welsh MS. of the *Ars* (Bradshaw thought it of cent. ix) contains only the first book, and does not help us here.

In an even more doubtful passage, I. 731, (unfortunately omitted in the Welsh MS.) which Brandt prints thus *Pallidus in Side siluis errabat Orion*, MSS. give no warrant

for *Side*. R (Paris 7311) has *linces siliius e. arion* (not *orion*, which however seems to be the reading of the mass of MSS.) Of those which I have looked at, D'Orv. 170 (of cent. xii) has *linca* (a over an erasure, in darker ink, *c* might be *o*); Can. Lat. 1 (saec. xiii) has *linca*, but in a marginal note *lineam*; Auct. Rawl. G. 108 has *lincem*; Auct. F. i. 18 dated 1483 *lyricem*. No nymph or female with a name like this has yet been discovered; the daughter of Oenopion, of whom Orion was enamoured, is called sometimes Merope, sometimes (as by Parthenius) Haero (*Aero* Knaack), sometimes Aerope; Side was his first wife, but he is not said to have been specially fond of her. It is I think clear that neither of these is intended by Ovid. Meanwhile the coincidence of the name in the best MSS. with the *lynxes* which Horace says were (with lions) the main objects of Orion's hunting, is very perplexing; for the pentameter which immediately follows *Pallidus in lenta Naide Daphnis erat* (732) points unmistakably to a similar ablative in 731. There is a general consensus in all the variants mentioned by Heinsius on the passage as to the name beginning with *l*; but it seems not beyond possibility that a *c* or *g* may have fallen out before *l* in a very early period of the transmission of the *Ars*, possibly (C)lytie. The nearest actual

approach to the word which I have discovered is *Lyca*, the name of a nymph who loved the shepherd Daphnis (Philargyrius on Ecl. v. 20); but the *y* of *Lyca* would be short, nor can the *n* of *Lynce* or *Lynca* be easily put aside.

I confess to a little disappointment in not finding what I think a very probable emendation of my own in II. 305-8 not mentioned by Brandt. I published it in the American Journal of Philology for 1892 p. 343 with some other suggestions on Ovid.

Brachia saltantis, uocem mirare canentis,
Et quod desierit uerba querentis habe.
Ipsos concubitus, ipsum uenerere licebit
Quod iuuat et † quaedam gaudia noctis
habe.

I regard *quaedam* as one of the many cases where *d* has been written for *cl*, *quaedam* for *quae clam*. Then *habe* will become either *habet*, or *habet* (sc. puella). *Clam habere* = *occulere*: *licebit uenerere ipsam uoluptatem coitus et gaudia ueneris quae taces* (tacet).

III. 287, 8

Est quae peruerso distorqueat ora cacinno,
Cum risu † usa est altera, flere putes.

The conjecture of Rappold *quassa est* is good in itself, yet not very likely to have been corrupted into *usa est*. I suggest either *cum risu uisa est altera*, 'another has been seen laughing', or *cum* (when) *risu fusa est altera*, f. p.

It will be seen from the above remarks how much has still to be done for the *A.A.*, as well as for the other directly amatory works of Ovid. Brandt's new edition cannot fail to make this more sensibly felt: I am even in hopes that we may soon possess something like an adequate conspectus of the primary sources of the text of these very interesting poems.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

BOTSFORD'S ANCIENT HISTORY.

An Ancient History for Beginners. By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pp. 494. 7s. 6d.

DR. BOTSFORD in his preface tells us that this book 'is intended for pupils who have

never studied history before,' and is meant to furnish material for a year's work to 'beginning classes in the high school.' The statement helps us to understand one or two omissions strange at first sight, and to appreciate the success with which the

writer has adapted his book to its special purpose, a task not often accomplished so skillfully. Among the omissions, one notices the entire absence of Theramenes. Sulpicius is not named in the sketch of the events of 88 B.C., and no doubt Dr. Botsford was right in simplifying as far as possible the intricacies of that difficult time. There seems to be less necessity for leaving out the 'Knights' and the jury-courts in speaking of Gaius Gracchus and the changes he introduced (p. 353), and this omission is perhaps regrettable, especially as attention has been drawn to the previous community of interest between culprit and judges in trials *repetundarum* (p. 339).

But the most noteworthy omission of all is the absence of that dulness which is so hard to exclude from compressed text-books, and the history is excellent, a book for which one may well be grateful to its author. The matters of real importance are selected and made prominent with a sureness of touch that shows both historical insight and much careful work guided by a teacher's experience. The balance is well maintained between the personal and dramatic elements in history on the one hand, and on the other the influences of geographical position, tendencies of an age, general character of a race or state. Such short notices as those of Dionysios (§ 160), Agesilaos (§ 167), Flaminius (§ 277), the Gracchi (§ 281)—to name a few among many—make the men real and interesting persons. Again, the nature of a City State (§ 65) of an Amphiktyony (§ 66), the bond between a Greek colony and its metropolis (§ 63), the relations of Thebes, Argos, Athens, Sparta, to their surrounding districts (§ 68), the effects of geographical conditions on Italian history (§ 215), are some of the more general topics that are treated briefly but clearly. The girls and boys who use this book should have at the close of their year's work upon it a good outline in their minds of the main features in the histories of Greece and Rome; and they must be dull indeed if they are not kindled to an interest in the subject that will make them want to learn more about those two states.

Greece and Rome in their best days occupy the bulk of the book. Forty pages at the beginning are given to a sketch of Oriental history from the fifth millennium B.C., forty three near the end carry us from Diocletian to Charlemagne. These outlines may be made very useful by a good teacher; but the central part of the book tells its story well even by itself. Teachers are,

however, encouraged to supplement, 'Topics for Reading' being suggested at the end of each chapter.

Turning to political questions, we find that Dr. Botsford believes strongly in the necessity and advantages of imperial rule at Rome. He has little sympathy with Greek oligarchies, and holds that the history of both Athens and Rome has been somewhat distorted by passing through an aristocratic or oligarchic medium. He takes the view that Kleon 'had a remarkable talent for finance and was an orator of great force' (p. 164). The decemvir Appius Claudius was 'a man of rare intelligence and ability' (p. 303), and the fall of the body to which he belonged was due to its liberal policy (p. 304). In dealing with the early emperors, a very large discount from tradition is given. Not only is Claudius allowed to have been generous, wise, firm in punishing offenders and in protecting the frontiers (p. 393); even Domitian, whose traditional portrait is the most repulsive in the whole collection, is presented as a firm and able ruler of the provinces, his treatment of the Roman nobility being but slightly suggested (p. 398 f.). Tiberius one no longer expects to find set forth in that monstrous form for which Tacitus himself supplies corrections; and Dr. Botsford's estimate of him (p. 390) is particularly just and sensible.

Due attention is paid to the interesting topic of federal government in connexion with Greece and Rome; but in the desire to bring home to American readers the nature of the Italian union under Rome, Dr. Botsford goes too far when he speaks of it as a 'federal system' (p. 296). Freeman, in his History of Federal Government, calls attention to the 'quasi-Federal position of the allies,' but clearly points out how it differed from a real federation. This difference may indeed be gathered from the context in Dr. Botsford's book; but the relation between Rome and her allies is so hard for beginners to apprehend that there is danger in a phrase which seems to sum up the situation in familiar terms.

The treatment of the Comitia Tributa is not very satisfactory. Our author starts with the view—to my mind highly improbable—that the Comitia Tributa and 'the plebeian assembly of tribes' were identical (pp. 302, 304, 311); he tells us nothing of any other assembly by tribes, and then suddenly (p. 360) we find under Sulla the tribal assembly electing the new members

of the Senate. Surely it was not a purely plebeian assembly that did this? yet the beginner in history would be justified in supposing that it was.

As to the spelling of Greek names and other Greek words, I cannot but repeat the protest I made in reviewing Dr. Botsford's *History of Greece*. And we are again instructed to pronounce 'Sikyon' as 'Sishion' (p. 103, and Index), a pronunciation recommended neither by correctness nor by beauty.

A few more dates would be helpful. Plato and Sophokles are left undated, though dates are given for Aischylos. Again, that battle at the Colline Gate in which the Samnite ox seemed so near trampling down the Roman wolf, should be marked by an exact date; perhaps also the battle of Thapsus or that of Munda. It might be well to give more often the quantities of Greek and Latin words, especially such words as 'Cle-om¹-e-nes,' in which the accent, which is marked, tends

to produce a false quantity. Unfortunately, in one of the few cases in which a quantity is given, the mark has been shifted by a printer's error to a wrong syllable, 'hegemōny' being printed (p. 76). Of such small mistakes I have detected very few: on p. 194, '287' has taken the place of '387' at the beginning of § 159, and on the maps in the Roman part the references given to other maps have not been altered to suit the present volume.

Throughout the history, quotations from original authorities are introduced with excellent effect. Pictures and maps are liberally scattered, and increase the usefulness as well as the attractiveness of this very attractive book. The pictures are remarkably good, some of the representations of statuary and vase-paintings giving a better idea of the beauty of the originals than one would have supposed it possible to convey by illustrations on so small a scale.

M. ALFORD.

THUMB'S *HANDBUCH DER Koinḗ*.

Die Griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus; Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurtheilung der Koinḗ. Von ALBERT THUMB. Strassburg, 1901. Pp. iv + 275. 8vo. 7 M.

THIS learned publication is a very acceptable and valuable contribution to our meagre knowledge of post-classical and subsequent Greek speech, a form of language recently dubbed by the misnomer *Koinḗ*. It is to be regretted that this term *Koinḗ* has been adopted also by Prof. P. Kretschmer in a paper on 'Die Entstehung der Koine,' published contemporaneously and independently in the *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* (vol. 143 X. pp. 1-40): a very meritorious and painstaking essay which has been issued also separately and which I recommend to all students of Greek, alike classical and modern.

Prof. Thumb's *Handbuch* of the so-called *Koinḗ* consists of six separate papers or *Beiträge* purporting to discuss and illustrate the character and historical evolution of the said *Koinḗ*.—In paper I (pp. 1-27) Prof. Thumb reviews the multifarious modern views and applications of the term *Koinḗ*, and concludes by proposing to use it synonymously with 'Hellenistic Greek'

(p. 9), applying either term to that form of Greek speech which was commonly current from 300 B.C. to about 500 A.D. (p. 6), or to the language generally spoken in ordinary intercourse from the time of Alexander the Great to the end of Greek antiquity (p. 7). Within the *Koinḗ* so defined, Prof. Thumb further distinguishes two periods of about 300 years each, then within each period again speaks of a literary and a colloquial *Koinḗ*, and later on (p. 160 ff.) discriminates no less than five dialects within the *Koinḗ*. Continuing his general remarks, the writer in the same paper points out the close connection of modern with classical Greek and the great value of present speech both for the study of the *Koinḗ* and the critical edition of classical Greek texts. The value and importance of modern Greek is, moreover, emphasised throughout the book.—In paper II (pp. 28-52) the author cites a few ancient testimonies to the survival of the old dialects in post-classical antiquity, then discusses the gradual spread of the *Koinḗ* in the inscriptions, especially in Rhodes, and attributes the phenomenon to the natural evolution of living speech.—Paper III (53-101) speaks of the influence of the *Koinḗ* on the Attic dialect (*Koinisierung des*

Attischen, p. 58), indicates the various dialectal and Atticistic elements contained in the *κοινή* as well as in modern Greek, and closes by again urging the study of modern Greek for the knowledge of the ancient dialects.—Paper IV (pp. 102—161) speaks of the influence of alien races on the formation and evolution of the Hellenistic language in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, an influence which he finds limited to a small number of oriental words met with in papyri and literary compositions, and still largely preserved in modern Greek. Here Prof. Thumb assumes that Asia Minor served as the starting point for the great majority of the Hellenistic and modern Greek phenomena, though he admits that Latin also played a considerable part in the process.—In Paper V (pp. 162—201) the author distinguishes within the *κοινή* the five dialectal varieties already referred to, then seeks to determine the relation of the *κοινή* to Biblical and Christian compositions, and recommends a critical investigation of the modern Greek dialects.—In Paper VI (pp. 202—253), entitled ‘Origin and character of the *κοινή*,’ Prof. Thumb quotes some previous views on the origin of the *κοινή*, then adduces specimens of the Hellenistic vocabulary, considers the influence of Ionic on the *κοινή*, as well as the effects of history, especially that of Alexander’s conquests, and the part played by Hellenistic countries (e.g. Asia Minor and Egypt) in the evolution of the *κοινή*.—The last 20 pp. are occupied by two serviceable indexes.

So far then Prof. Thumb’s book covers a very wide field, and touches a great number of problems. Unfortunately it only touches but does not solve these questions, inasmuch as the actual data—the solid matter underlying his studies—are so insufficient and inconsiderable that they might be easily and conveniently condensed to one score of pages. This being the case, unless otherwise self-evident, the conclusions arrived at by the writer, however tempting, remain still to be proved, and many a critical reader would value the book more highly if it contained more solid matter and real facts than subjective speculations on ‘*principielle Fragen*.’ Such tempting speculations might be excusable in the case of a dilettante *littérateur*, but do not heighten the credit and authority of such a sound scholar as Prof. Thumb, who has spoiled us by his previous painstaking publications, notably his *Untersuchungen über den Spiritus asper*, and his *Handbuch der neugriechischen Sprache*. Nor can we forget that, next to the

lamented Gustav Meyer and Prof. Kretschmer, the author of the above book is a leading authority in Germany on the post-classical and subsequent history of the Greek language, and that his thorough familiarity with modern Greek speech entitles us to expect always from him wide, thorough and systematic scholarship. In the present case we find that, in point of detail, the author is rarely guilty of errors, unless we insist on absolute accuracy even in modern Greek. For here among the terms quoted as modern Greek, *ἐγκαίρῳ* and *μεσολαβῶ* (p. 212), *ἔγκνως* (225 f.) *ἀρσενικός* (15, 77 f. and 242), *κορμός* (218), *ἀνάβα* and *κατάβα* (207), *ἐξολοθρεῖω* (212), *κοινολογία* and *κοινολογῶ* (213, 270), *τέτταρες* (180), and such like, are not surviving colloquialisms, but cases of literary revival, or neologisms due to literary influence. Nor is the author right in insisting that the modern Greek *νερό* (water) comes from *νεαρὸν* (*ἵδωρ*); it is only the rare by-form *νιαρὸ* or *νεαρὸ* that may go back to *νεαρός*, whereas the universal form *νερό* cannot possibly have any other direct progenitor than *νηρόν* (*ἵδωρ*).—However, slips like these are but few and insignificant as compared with the numerous pearls scattered in almost every page of the book. The case is different with the system adopted. Any attentive reader, after perusing a few pages of the book, will find that the same views and statements are over and again repeated throughout the book, and confess that it proves inadequate to its title. As already stated, it consists of a series of separate papers, originally intended, as it would seem, for a periodical, but subsequently recast and issued in the form of a book. It is this accidental origin of the work that may account for the infelicitous title *κοινή* adopted, seeing that, had the author gone more carefully into the question, he would have found that the ancients never speak of a *κοινή* without *διάλεκτος* (or *λέξις*), and that, which is most important, when they refer to this *κοινή διάλεκτος*, they never mean the vernacular or *Umgangssprache* but, as we have shown in a previous page of this Review (p. 94), the *non-dialectal model language* of such prose-writers as the orators. This being the case, we doubt whether well-informed readers, particularly if they are Germans, will thank the author for his pet terms *κοινή* or *koinē* and *Koinisierung* dished up right and left through all the pages of this otherwise very acceptable book.

A. N. JANNARIS.

TUCKER'S *CHOEPHORI* OF AESCHYLUS.*A Rejoinder.*

χαλεπὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα μὴ διαμαρτάνειν ἐν πολλοῖς, τὰ μὲν ὅλως ἀγνοήσαντα, τὰ δὲ κακῶς κρίναντα, τὰ δὲ ἀμελέστερον γράψαντα. A salutary reflection, even for a reviewer.

I may perhaps be permitted to doubt whether the archididascalian tone adopted by Mr. W. Headlam is warranted by a comparison of our respective records in the world of Greek scholarship. It is true that at school we accept the form master's dogmatic statement that such and such a line is not metrical or not grammatical, but in the later republic of letters pretensions to dictatorship are scarcely tolerable :

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖς ἡβῶσιν δὲ—
ποιηταί.

Editors of classical works do not expect to be free from mistakes, but they do expect the reviewer to 'bring candid eyes unto the perusal of men's works, and let not zoilism or detraction blast well-intended labours.' I have read Mr. Headlam's article carefully in order to discover any one place in which he actually proves or disproves an assertion. I find no such place, and I humbly submit that the article therefore fails to serve any rational purpose. I must also be audacious enough to hold that in several most important departments of Greek scholarship—to wit, in the scientific study of grammar, in palaeographical knowledge, and in comprehension of Greek tragedy as literature and as practical drama—Mr. Headlam betrays very defective qualifications.

In the matter of Greek lyric metres in tragedy I do not here propose to argue with him. Intuition or direct revelation tells him (so I gather) that in this domain he possesses that ear which is 'a gift from God.' Unfortunately intuitions have little place in serious philology, in which demonstrable facts are generally demanded. Mr. Headlam appears to imagine that the facts of Greek lyric metres are now actually demonstrated. I have no belief of the kind and, until the day of certainty, I shall not feel bound by any particular schemes of longs, shorts, and irrations which may commend themselves to the divinely gifted ear of my critic. The day of (quite a different) certainty may possibly come to me also by grace of the Olympians: ἐπί τ' ὕμνῳ εὐρὼν

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ἀπαγγέλω. At present I may in all the modesty compatible with self-defence remark that I am probably in as full possession as Mr. Headlam of the more or less received traditions concerning dochmiacs and epitrites and the like. The trouble is that I am more sceptical about their relations and limitations. A judicial critic would recognise that this attitude is permissible. He might regret a disagreement, but would console himself with the proverb πλατεῖα κέλευθος.

That Mr. Headlam's attitude towards the Greek language, both as grammar and vocabulary, is unscientific and behind the times, and that his criteria in matters of emendation and interpretation are too purely subjective, needs little illustration to those *che sanno* (as he might put it). His quarrel with me is in reality a quarrel with a more cautious and rational school of philology. Thus to the mind of Mr. Headlam the Greek vocabulary has become by some process best known to himself, divided uncompromisingly into words which belong entirely to prose and words which are admissible in poetry. All of us make such a distinction, but we regard our lists as constantly open to revision. Mr. Headlam, however, puts himself above the evidence. The judicial philologist is content to examine the records and to base his conclusions upon them. In *Cho.* 914 the MS. has διχῶς, which makes excellent sense. Mr. Headlam calls this 'a purely prose word of the prosiest.' He was not alive in Athens in the year 458 B.C., but he is absolute on the point. Despite warnings which he might have drawn from the vocabulary of Shakspeare, Wordsworth, or even Tennyson, he 'corrects' διχῶς. Such a procedure is manifestly vicious. A doubt as to διχῶς may be intelligible, even if not very intelligent; but its removal from the text is quite another matter. The argument that, because *e.g.* πολλαχῶς is not found in a verse, therefore διχῶς must be ejected from a verse, has no basis in logic. ἐφοδεῖσαι, again, is a 'purely prose word.' The Medicean declares otherwise. 'But,' says Mr. Headlam in effect, 'the Medicean errs, and I do not.' In face of this attitude discussion is vain. If therefore I retain and explain a reading which is in the MS. but which Mr. Headlam does not like, I

claim firmly that my behaviour indicates no deficiency of scholarship but may quite as probably shew that I have a more intelligent and modest conception of the function of an editor.

My critic's handling of grammar is, I think, logically beyond defence. He complains that my belief in the 'elasticity' of the Greek tongue is 'a very different thing from what it was.' The statement, I am happy to admit, is true. It is well to continue learning. Time was when, like Mr. Headlam, I trusted my 'natural instinct for the language,' even if it conflicted with the practice of Greek writers. When youth has been duly fed on grammar-books and has revelled in the fascinating pages of the Cobetian uniformists, it is easy to decide precisely where an optative or a genitive can or cannot appear. Since those days I have, unfortunately for Mr. Headlam's approval of me, read the Greek authors in the only warrants which we possess for judging of their Greek. I have found them habitually and shamelessly flouting many of the choicest doctrines of the school grammarian. I have made large collections of the things which, so far as the evidence goes, they ventured to say, but which you would not have expected them to say, and for saying which Mr. Headlam would probably be exceedingly severe upon their little poetical, oratorical, or other literary exercises in the Greek tongue. After making these collections and pondering them, I feel that I am hardly confronted by serious scholarship when I am instructed that the proper word for 'how' is *πῶς*, still less when it is urged that if I can say *δόμοις ἐπικάζειν* I can also say *τύπτω σοι*. I presume that even Mr. Headlam will admit that *τύπτω σοι τὸν παῖδα* is Greek, and that the dative may be quite legitimately called a 'dative of behalf.'

This matter is one of the first importance for an editor of Aeschylus. 'Much of the originality,' says Mr. H., 'is now displayed in championing long-exploded readings.' It requires no logician to perceive the *petitio principii* in this remark. To the philologist it betrays a pernicious misconception of editorial duty. What final court of appeal has declared the readings in question to be 'long-exploded'? And is it not the first concern of any editor out of his nonage to exhaust every endeavour to discover whether a MS. reading may not perchance be right after all, before he turns aside to dally in the primrose path of

'emendation'? Mr. Headlam quotes for example *Cho.* 14

ἡ πατὴρ τῶμῳ τάσδ' ἐπικάσας τύχῳ
χοῦς φερούσας νερτέροις μειλίγμασιν;

He sagely informs us that *μειλίγμασιν* was 'corrected by Casaubon to *μειλίγματα*'—and that settles it! Are we then to accept any alteration proposed by Casaubon (or, at least, any which Mr. Headlam endorses)? The 'correction' is so obvious in itself that Casaubon, or a dozen other people, might have made it in less than a minute's reading of the passage. Meanwhile the MS., imperturbable as the Sphinx, offers us *νερτέροις μειλίγμασιν*. The question is not 'Is *μειλίγματα* an easy reading, the substitution of which will enable us to proceed on our way to other places in which we may similarly elude a *crux*?' It is 'What does *νερτέροις μειλίγμασιν* mean?' Mr. Headlam virtually says it means nothing. On my side I maintain that the fault lies in his own apprehension. My note on the passage need not be repeated here. What I have a right to complain of is that, while my note does offer what I believe to be a true interpretation, supported by argument and illustration, Mr. Headlam writes upon that note an obiter dictum which contains no demonstration and adds nothing to the resources of scholarship.

Mr. Headlam seems incapable of understanding that there is a class of students who, having passed through the stage at which subjective impressions based on inadequate observation are valued more highly than documentary evidence, recognise that their first duty is to search for an explanation of the text. To them emendation is only a necessary evil, not the *raison d'être* of classical study. It is a fascinating pursuit, but it does not possess the innocence of, say, acrostic-solving. As Mr. Headlam has referred to my edition of the *Supplices* I am ready to confess that it is the representative in my case of the stage still favoured by Mr. Headlam. To me it must, I suppose, once have seemed little to alter a *κράτος* into a *τάχος* and the like. Yet despite this defect, which I regret to the full, will Mr. Headlam, point to any recent edition of a Greek play from which more conjectures have been adopted or commended by various scholars, including himself? It is with great reluctance that I am compelled to play the egoist with this question, but self-defence unfortunately renders it necessary.

I should be glad if I could stop here. Unhappily there is an unpleasant feature of the 'review' which I cannot pass over in silence. The temper in which Mr. Headlam has approached my work is, I submit, singularly unjudicial. What reasons there may be for this attitude I can hardly divine, except from such glimpses as are afforded in *C.R.* p. 349, first column. This temper renders it impossible for him to make a fair, much less a generous, statement, or even to quote correctly. Let me illustrate.

(1) In my preface I pay to Dr. Verrall the tribute which courtesy and conscientiousness demanded. I go on to say that 'in several passages' I have found that he has anticipated me in what I imagined to be a new interpretation. I can readily understand that such a tribute is disagreeable to the writer of a certain pamphlet 'on editing Aeschylus.' But when Mr. Headlam says that I 'avow having found myself habitually (*sic*) in agreement with Dr. Verrall,' he is drawing upon that imagination which so often plays him false. I fancy no one will be more surprised than Dr. Verrall to learn that I 'habitually' agree with his views. I do, however, habitually respect them.

(2) Mr. Headlam is kind enough to dole out reluctant praise to my translation. No less should be expected from a writer who has made such free use of my renderings of the *Supplices*. But in the middle of his frigid commendation he speaks airily of my renderings as being 'often incorrect.' If this means that my renderings are 'often' actually untenable as renderings of the particular Greek text which I have adopted, I maintain that a jury of the Greek professors of Great Britain would declare the assertion to be—well, let us say unsportsmanlike. My credit for accurate scholarship is hardly to be wrecked by such a puerility.

(3) Mr. Headlam labours to convey to those who have not read my book a notion that it contains nothing exegetical beyond that which has been 'collected by Blomfield, Paley, &c.' I trust no reviewer will behave in this way to Mr. Headlam when that gentleman finds the energy and courage to publish a complete edition of some classical work. As a fact, my book contains a very large number of new interpretations, studiously illustrated by quotations bearing upon both grammar and matter. Other reviewers have recognised the evident truth that I had read all classical Greek literature for the purpose of understanding and illustrating the *Choephoroi*. Unfortunately I had

forgotten a paper in the *Journal of Philology*.

(4) I mentioned in my preface that Mr. Headlam's contribution to the *Classical Review* appeared too late for me to make use of it. It is part of the comity of scholarship for such a statement to be accepted without question. But, jibes Mr. H. 'my last paper in the *Classical Review* was not available much more than a year before he dates his preface.' If Mr. Headlam knew more of the progress of a large work through the press, especially when printed in England for a writer in Australia, he would recognise the paltriness of the jibe. A preface is usually written when the rest of the book is in print. It hardly seemed worth while to recall the costly complete sheets for the sake of proving the undesirability of a number of Mr. Headlam's suggestions.

(5) On *Σκυθικὰ βέλη* (160), in observing that the bow was the characteristic weapon of the Scythians, I remark, 'and the Scythian police (*τοξόται*) had been established at Athens from B.C. 480.' The purpose of these words was merely to remind the reader that the Athenian audience had been for twenty-two years accustomed to the sight of the 'Scythian weapon,' and would, therefore, at once understand that *τόξα* were meant, so that the addition of *παλίντονα* 'is not required simply for further identification.' On this Mr. Headlam must observe 'But would Aeschylus make his chorus call for the police?' I leave it to any scholar to assess the value of this exquisite stroke of humour. To me it simply indicates that in writing for Mr. Headlam one must take no contributory apprehension for granted.

(6) In 542 Mr. Headlam is pleased to state that I 'disregard' the scholion *ἐπιμελείας ἡξιοῦτο*. For sufficient answer to this egregious assertion I refer the reader to my note on the passage. It will probably disgust my critic to learn that I actually once suggested to a class—for the same reasons as his—that the scholion might represent *ἐκομίζετο*. But I am thankful to say that I have made sufficient advance in palaeographical study to refuse to admit that *ἐκομίζετο* looks sufficiently like the *πλείζετο* of M. So obvious was the dissimilarity to me, and so obvious did I suppose it would be to anybody, that I did not even think this crude 'first offer and conceit of the mind' worthy of record in my notes. Here again the humour of Mr. Headlam breaks out in the remark that *σπάργαν' ἡμφωπλίζετο* suggests the picture of an 'embolstered

'Tweedledee.' I do not rightly understand 'embolstered,' and can only imagine that he labours under some *a priori* error as to the word ὀπλίζω. ὀπλίζετο is, of course, due to a far greater scholar than myself, namely Victorius. If the protection afforded to the Greek baby by the process implied is not pleasing to Mr. Headlam I am afraid it is too late for him to rectify matters. In default he might look at the illustration in Dict. Ant. vol. I. 1005 b.

(7) On φιλίοις *οἷγμασι δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας (805), with which cf. Ag. 525, we have more humour. 'The image apparently being such a smile as parts the face of Sir John Tenniel's Cheshire Cat.' To analyse delicate humour is to destroy its fine bloom. I may therefore quietly ask any unprejudiced reader whether an opening in a veil (or door) which brings, or is accompanied by, joy can or cannot be normally expressed in Greek poetry by παιδρὸν οἶγμα καλύπτρας (or πύλων). Mr. Headlam will find endless work for his Procrustean bed if he is disposed to handle the Greek language as he has done here or at v. 469. He there declares that οὐ δόμασιν ἔμμοτον τῶνδ' ἐκάς cannot mean 'except this way the house can find no staunching of its wound.' 'That,' he announces with characteristic absoluteness 'would be οὐ τῶνδ' ἄτερ ἔμμοτον δόμασιν.' Even if this astounding assertion contained a germ of truth, it might be pointed out to Mr. Headlam that his order should mean 'not apart from *this* way has the house a cure.'

(8) On v. 882 he invites me to 'try to strike anyone's head off with a razor.' I do not find anything in the text about cutting off a head. I really cannot agree to alter the text of M to a conjecture of Abresch because Mr. Headlam misconstrues.

(9) On v. 1038 'let every Argive in time to come e'en bear me witness that I wrought it not ruthlessly,' he asks, 'Is not that rather in the style of Mr. Gilbert?' I think not, when English words are properly understood. 'Ruthless' means 'without pity.' A man who slays his mother at the bidding

of an oracle may still feel pity in the act, and Orestes desires to make that point. My conjecture μὴ νηλεῶς (for μενέλεως) may, of course, be wrong, but it is certainly not disproved by a forensic observation of Cicero. Aeschylus had not studied the moral or dramatic law under Cicero. In any case μὴ νηλεῶς may claim some resemblance to μενέλεως. Contrast this with ἐνπᾶς ὥς (687) 'corrected' by M. Schmidt, with the approval of Mr. Headlam, into νηλεῶς. If this is emendation, then any substitution is emendation.

It would require too much space in the *Classical Review* to deal with all the cases in which Mr. Headlam misrepresents or dogmatizes. More than once he remarks, explicitly or in effect, that 'we have only his (*i.e.* my) word for it.' Yet no one can read his review without finding statement after statement made which amounts simply to flat contradiction. I repeat that this is not reviewing. As a contribution to scholarship it is unconvincing.

I deeply regret being compelled to write in this way of a scholar from whom I had expected to welcome some *magnum opus* at an early date. But I believe it will be conceded that I have no alternative but to speak plainly when so vigorous an attempt is made to discredit those contributions of mine to the study of Aeschylus, concerning which I entertain no very exalted opinion, but concerning which my conscience as a 'well-intending' worker is entirely at ease.

T. G. TUCKER.

P.S.—On re-perusing the above I find a slight error in the statement that Mr. Headlam nowhere actually proves an assertion. He does prove that the verses numbered 956, 957 do not metrically correspond respectively to vv. 967 *sq.* Yet any one else would have perceived that ἰδεῖν at the beginning of 968 is simply misprinted there instead of at the end of 967.

ROBERTS' DEMETRIUS DE ELOCUTIONE.

Reply to Dr. Rutherford.

IN a review—not too severe if sound, but, as I contend, radically unsound—criticizing in the current number of this Journal my recent edition of *Demetrius de Elocutione*, Dr. Rutherford suggests haste and hurry as

an excuse for some of my alleged shortcomings. Instead of troubling my readers with an autobiographical account of my literary life, which would prove that I am unable to avail myself of this plea, I

propose to show that the scholar who needs it is not I but my critic.

I shall begin by expressing some surprise that, in the review, no description is given of the general plan, scope, and contents of my edition. No mention is made of the fact that the Introduction includes a historical sketch (however slight) of the study of Prose Style among the Greeks; a summary and appreciation of the *De Elocutione*; and a discussion of the evidence (internal and external) with regard to the Date and Authorship of the treatise.¹ Not one word is said about the Bibliography, though the endeavour to reach and read the various writings included in it has been not slight; nor is any reference made to the many modern illustrations incorporated in the work. Nor yet is any notice taken of the fact that this is the first English critical text, and the first English translation, of Demetrius; and that, for this edition as for Dionysius' *Second Letter to Ammaeus*, the Paris MS. 1741 has been carefully collated. For the print, indeed, and the facsimiles there is a word of commendation; and it is commendation well won. But that is all. Are these omissions, on the part of the reviewer, the outcome of haste, or what is their origin?

Dr. Rutherford has chosen, then, to devote himself almost entirely to criticism of the Translation and the Glossary: ground on which I am quite ready to meet him. But it is necessary to premise that, for sheer lack of time and space, I must confine myself (with little more than one exception) to the first page of his review, and in that to specimen blunders only. I therefore pass lightly over the reviewer's confusion (in a passage where accurate language is of consequence) of Dionysius and Demetrius on the second page of his review; nor do I dwell on the bustling haste, quickening often into a scamper, which causes him to give some wonderful Greek of his own in the second column of the last-page-but-one.² I have no wish to waste time on comparative trifles, but desire rather to meet him on the ground where he evidently feels strongest.

¹ In the matter of Date and Authorship (as indeed in many other matters) the most recent German editor Rademacher and I have independently reached very similar conclusions: based, for the most part, on a study of the language and the grammar of the treatise. It may be well to add that, when I undertook the publication of the *De Elocutione*, I had not heard that a critical edition, on modern lines, was elsewhere in preparation.

² From this point onward it will be understood that the words in italics are those used by Dr. Rutherford himself when reviewing *Demetrius on Style*.

There is, then, one point (not on the first page) that I shall dwell on because Dr. Rutherford thinks it a conclusive one against me: the true meaning of the word *γλαφυρός*. Let it be admitted at once that he is right in attaching the utmost importance to a correct rendering of this term. It is one of the most vital words in the whole treatise; and if I have misrepresented its meaning, I deserve all the censure which can be conveyed by his most ample vocabulary of depreciation, on which, being now confessedly in a hurry, I shall continue to draw occasionally. His own equivalent for *ὁ γλαφυρὸς λόγος* is 'the light style,' and he says:—

'Perhaps no part of the translation is quite so bewildering as that relating to the 'light style' (*ὁ γλαφυρὸς λόγος*). . . . Following tradition, he renders the cardinal term *γλαφυρός* by 'smooth,' and then all the subordinate terminology goes wrong. There is one passage from which he might have learned for certain that 'smooth' does not render *γλαφυρός*, at least in Demetrius, namely, § 183; but this contains technical terms unfamiliar to him, and is so rendered that it does not represent in any sense what Demetrius says.'

Now will it be credited that not once in the entire translation (not even in § 183, to which the reviewer refers specifically), nor once in the Summary (pp. 28–34 of my edition), is *γλαφυρός* translated 'smooth'? The rendering 'elegant' is given consistently throughout, the words 'smooth' and 'smoothness' being as consistently reserved for *λείος* and *λειότης*: cp. § 178, where *τῶν δὲ εἰρημένων ὀνομάτων τὰ λεία μόνᾳ ληπτέον ὡς γλαφυρόν τι ἔχοντα* is rendered, 'Of all the words indicated, the smooth alone must be employed as possessing any elegance.' As far as I remember, the word 'smooth' is only once used in connexion with *γλαφυρός*, namely in the Glossary (p. 272), where the entry runs: '*γλαφυρός*, §§ 36, 127, 128, 138, 178, 179, 183, 184, 186. *Smooth, polished, elegant*: *χαρακτήρ γλαφυρός* being one of the four types of style. Lat. *politus, floridus, ornatus, elegans*. French, *élegant, orné*.' The Glossary is intended to supplement the Translation; and anyone who had read the Translation might be expected to remember (refreshing, if necessary, his memory by consulting the references) that 'elegant' had been deliberately preferred in it, and that the adjective 'smooth' is mainly (though not entirely) introduced in order to show how the sense 'polished' or 'elegant' arose from the early Homeric meaning. For the meaning 'light' I can find no support in etymology, nor yet in the actual usage of the *De Elocutione*. Take § 138 for

example: 'The conveyance of two ideas in one sentence often gives a graceful effect (*τὸ χάριεν*). A writer once said of a sleeping Amazon: "Her bow lay strung, her quiver full, her buckler by her head; their girdles they never loose." At one and the same time the custom concerning the girdle is indicated and its observance in the present case,—the two facts by means of one expression. And from this conciseness a certain elegance (*γλαφυρόν τι*) results.' Dr. Rutherford, would, I suppose, substitute 'a certain lightness' for 'a certain elegance.' But where is the 'lightness'? I see none, though I see considerable neatness.¹ My censor may reply that, though he favours the adjective, he would not necessarily favour the noun. But no one knows better than Dr. Rutherford that one of the first duties and most difficult problems for the translator is to find, if he can, an adjective which has a corresponding noun, adverb, and (if possible) verb as well. Let us, however, carry our inquiries a little further.

When in a witty passage (too long to quote fully) Longinus (*de Subl.* x. 6) says: *πλὴν μικρόν αὐτὸ καὶ γλαφυρόν ἐποίησεν ἀντὶ φοβεροῦ*, he means 'Aratus has replaced the awe-inspiring poetry of Homer by a petty elegance,' not 'a petty lightness.' If these words of Longinus are compared with those which precede them, it will be seen that *ἄνθος* corresponds closely to *τὸ γλαφυρόν*. That *γλαφυρός* and *ἀνθηρός* are practically synonymous appears also from Dionys. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 21 (*τὴν μὲν αὐστηράν, τὴν δὲ γλαφυράν ἢ ἀνθηράν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην κοινήν*), and c. 23 (*ἡ δὲ γλαφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις*): the two adjectives in this last passage are translated respectively by 'smooth' and 'florid' in Jebb's *Attic Orators* ii. 56, while in vol. i. p. 161 of the same work 'polished type' is given as an equivalent of Demetrius' *χαρὰ τὴν γλαφυρόν*). Looking back on this brief investigation we are, I fear, forced to the conclusion that the reviewer is likely to prove an untrustworthy guide to rhetorical doctrine expressed in terms of art, if he deliberately mistranslates a term which he himself justly describes as cardinal. I fear we must confess that he misrepresents the doctrine of Demetrius to a serious degree. If next we desire to moralise, it will be in some such words as these: *it takes time and patience to ponder and brood over technical*

terms, and to find, if one can, simple English equivalents for them. If, in our charity, we try to find an excuse for the offender, we shall speak of a *misapprehension, due itself also to haste, of the technical terms, which in a τέχνη cannot well be avoided, and in any version of a τέχνη should be rendered with the most minute and deliberate exactness.* No one who has followed this demonstration of the reviewer's incompetence (or haste) in a cardinal instance chosen by himself will need my assurance, with reference to subordinate terminology, that it would make a long list were I to register by the page and line the cases in which he seems to me to have perverted the signification of technical terms.²

The observant reader will have remarked how careful I have been, in the course of the above argument, to quote no Roman author but only late, and probably not far from contemporaneous, Greek critics. And why so? Because Dr. Rutherford has somehow got it into his head that I am a 'Romanist,' a 'convinced Romanist'; and I want to prove to him that I am as good a Protestant as he is any day. Only, I am not blind to one great danger to which extreme forms of the Protestant religion are exposed: the danger that each man should constitute himself his own Pope. I have, indeed, heard of men, happy men, in modern times, who can think in Greek, and to whom a mere translation must seem a mockery. And if any such man there really be, I should think him well entitled to be his own Greek Pope and to command the homage of the faithful. But till I find him, I shall prefer to put my faith in Cicero. Not that I shall think Cicero infallible: my Protestant instincts will save me from that. But I shall not forget that he was a man of genius and an orator, that he learnt Greek rhetoric from the lips of Greek teachers, that he took extraordinary pains to find the best Latin equivalents for the technical terms used by the Greek rhetoricians; and I shall prefer the 'hit-or-miss' renderings of Tully to the veritable meaning of the technical terms employed by the Greeks, if the 'verit-

² There is in the reviewer's language as above quoted a small inaccuracy, unnoticed so far, to which I shall only refer as a mote moving on the surface and showing how the current goes. He speaks (perhaps because in his haste he has confined his turn for search to § 128) as though *λόγος* were Demetrius' regular term for 'style.' The truth is that here Demetrius is using not technical but popular language, his technical term for 'style,' in the sense here meant, being *χαρακτήρ*. A small point, I repeat; but such small points create, in the long run, an odd sense of mystification and of insecurity.

¹ As soon should I imagine that when Plutarch, in his *Life of Marius* c. 3, mentions *ἀστειὸν καὶ γλαφυρόν βίον*, he has in mind the 'light' life of the town. But really, what 'lightness' is in style I scarcely know.

able meaning' be that pontifically expounded by Dr. Rutherford.

But it is time to return to the selected first page. Take the following criticism:—

'It were possible, no doubt, to find Greek terms which ought to be translated, "like as a horse untethered bounds proudly prancing over the plain"; but the line (sic) from Xenophon (§ 89) does not furnish them, but common words that should be Englished; "like a horse unbridled bounding freshly across the field and kicking up his heels."'

Let us give the Greek of § 89 as a whole (since the reviewer quotes none of it, being—for a Hellenist—rather sparing of the Greek in all his criticisms): ἐπὶ μόντοι εἰκασίαν ποιῶμεν τὴν μεταφοράν, ὡς προλέλεκται, στοχαστέον τοῦ συντόμου, καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν πλέον τοῦ ὥσπερ προτιθέναι, ἐπεὶ τοι ἀντ' εἰκασίας παραβολὴ ἔσται ποιητικὴ, οἷον τὸ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος, ὥσπερ δὲ κύνων γενναίως ἀπρονόητως ἐπὶ κάπρον φέρεται, καὶ ὥσπερ ἵππος λυθείς διὰ πεδίου γαυριῶν καὶ ἀπολακτίζων. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ εἰκασίας ἐτι ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ παραβολαῖς ποιητικαῖς. The gist of this passage is that, in prose, poetical imagery must be avoided; plain metaphor and plain simile may be employed, but nothing more. Now in the example dealt with by Dr. Rutherford there is 'color poeticus' not merely in the image but in the actual language, and the words in my English version were carefully chosen so as to suggest that most undesirable thing, poetical prose. In the reviewer's own better mind there may lurk some dim consciousness of this when he speaks of Xenophon's 'line'. But the passage does not, seemingly, come from any of Xenophon's extant works. Here the reviewer, *in his haste*, has been led astray by the misplacement of one numeral, and the loss of another, in my edition. As he would have seen, had he been at the trouble to turn the reference up, the words are not taken from the *Cyropaedia*, but should have been marked (after my usual practice) by *Scr. Inc.*¹ Nevertheless it is in a work attributed to Xenophon that the best parallel to the passage may be sought: ἦν δέ τις οὕτως ἀνεξωπυρηνμένῳ αὐτῷ δὴ τὸν χαλινόν,

¹ It would have been a real service to scholarship had Dr. Rutherford helped in tracing to their source the too numerous illustrations unassigned in my edition. Some of these are probably invented examples, but there are no doubt others which could be found somewhere in extant Greek literature if only we were to carry our search far enough. Again, it would have been a useful thing had he made some remarks on the connexion of Demetrius *de Elocutione* with Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Theophrastus' treatise *On Style*. I have said something on this subject in my edition, but by no means all.

ἐνταῦθα ὅφ' ἡδονῆς τῷ διὰ τὴν χαλαρότητα τοῦ στομίον λελύσθαι νομίζειν, κυδρῷ μὲν τῷ σχήματι, ἔγροϊν δὲ τοῖν σκελοῖν γαυριώμενος φέρεται, παντάπασιν ἐκμμούμενος τὸν πρὸς ἵππους καλλωπισμόν (*R. Eq.* 10, 16). It is to me incomprehensible how the editor of *Babrius* and *Herondas* (of which latter the 'complete edition', promised long ago, still lingers), and above all the author of the *New Phrynichus*, can have so utterly failed to seize the point of Demetrius' criticism in § 89. 'Common words', yes; but common only in the 'Common Dialect' and in poetry, not in the best Attic prose. If anyone doubts this, let him consult Dr. Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* and other books; let him think of *πεδίον*, with its suggestion of a score of Homeric similes; let him even take *ἀπολακτίζων*, which on the surface looks the essence of colloquialism, and note that it is never used by Aristophanes (who, in my opinion, would never have used it except in parody of Aeschylus) and that *ἐκλακτίζων* would be the appropriate word in Attic prose. Shall I *speaking my mind in perfect frankness* to the reviewer and tell him one chief cause of his *shortcomings*—grave shortcomings as they appear to me? It is his want of true literary sense: a want conspicuously illustrated, in the general judgment of scholars, by his magisterial method of criticism as exhibited in the castigation of Thucydides.

It has puzzled me why, on the same first page of the review, exception should be taken to the conception of the Notes as notes—as a means of stating doubts, suggesting alternatives, removing difficulties, and generally supplementing the Translation. Metaphrase can hardly be made to do duty for paraphrase. This point has been well made, in a recent number of the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique* by Monsieur Ch. Michel, Professor of Greek in the University of Liège: 'celle-ci (la traduction) forme ce premier commentaire qui ne devrait jamais manquer dans les éditions de traités techniques et dont se dispensent si facilement les philologues.'² This conception of the translation as the first line of commentary is surely the right one. It is the first line: that and no more. But the first line should never be wanting. How far there is, in my edition, due co-operation

² If my memory serves me (I have not the volume within reach where I write) a similar view was not long ago expressed, in a notice (in the *Revue de Philologie*) of my *Longinus* and *Dionysius* by the distinguished scholar M. Albert Martin, author of 'Les scolies du manuscrit d'Aristophane à Ravenne: Étude et collation,' published in 1882.

(so to say) between Translation, Notes, and Glossary, it is for others to judge; but I could wish nothing better than that each reader of Dr. Rutherford's review should read the book for himself, in order to test personally the validity not only of the criticism now under discussion but of every other. Take, for instance, p. 68, l. 21 of my edition (we are still keeping to the first page of the review): *κατακεκομμένη γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ σύνθεσις καὶ κεκερματισμένη, καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος διὰ τὸ μικρὰ σύμπαντα ἔχειν*. That is the reading of the Paris manuscript, on which my text is avowedly based, and whose readings I am therefore anxious to retain if possible. And so in the Notes I write: 'Schneider proposed *κατακεκομμένη* and *κεκερματισμένη*, which palaeographically would be hardly a change at all, apart from the corresponding alteration of *εὐκαταφρόνητος* which it seems to entail.' I might have added that *ἔοικατε ἡδόμενοι* occurs in Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 3, 8, and is rightly retained in Mr. E. C. Marchant's recent text; though, as might be expected, Cobet (and no doubt his faithful British henchman) would 'correct' *ἡδόμενοι* to *ἡδομένοις*. And so one might go on and on. But to repeat one's edition is weary work, and I prefer (after again asking each reader to see and judge for himself) to take another line. In order that this controversy may, if possible, be not entirely barren, I shall pick (not from the first page only but from the entire review) the three cases in which the reviewer seems to have some show of reason on his side.

The first case, though it looks at first sight substantial, is really only verbal. The reviewer complains that in § 122, through an ignorant belief that *στρατηγός* can mean nothing but 'military commander,' I proceed to insert a conjectural *ἡ*. He exaggerates my ignorance: I have not read Polybius and Plutarch (and much earlier writers than these) to so little purpose. Nor have I failed to read § 78 of the *De Elocutione*, where I translate 'There is a resemblance, for instance, between a general, a pilot, and a charioteer; they are all in command. Accordingly it can correctly be said that a general pilots the State, and conversely that a pilot commands the ship.' Here in using 'general,' rather than 'magistrate,' to translate *στρατηγός*, it is obvious that I was not thinking solely of military command. Nor in § 122 do I give 'military commander,' but 'general' (a word which in earlier English was much less restricted than now) in my translation; and I may add that the real difficulties of the passage which lead

Radermacher to mark a lacuna, and me to insert a word, are not met in the rendering which the reviewer substitutes for my own.¹—The second instance seems more serious. In § 258 the Greek runs: *ποιήσῃσι δ' ἂν ποτε καὶ δεινότητα, εἴ τις ὧδε εἴποι 'ἀνέτρεψεν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφροσύνης τε ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας τε τὰ ἱερὰ τε τὰ ὄσια τε,'* which I have rendered, 'Force of style will also mark a sentence of this kind: "He turned upside down, in his folly and his impiety too, things sacred and things holy too."' Here Dr. Rutherford kindly suggests that, in 'working against time,' I have overlooked the established meaning of *ἱερὰ καὶ ὄσια*. Again I would assure him that I have not read Thucydides and Demosthenes (not to mention Plato's *Republic*) without coming upon that well-known phrase and apprehending (I hope) its meaning. But the question a translator has to ask himself is: what is its meaning here? Is it here used in its Attic sense, or is it not? My own feeling was, and is, that it is not.² The part of the *De Elocutione* in which it occurs is, as I have more than once remarked in my edition, markedly inferior to the earlier part and probably contains many interpolations; this may be one of them. At all events, I find it hard to believe that any good Attic writer is the serious author of the illustration given by Demetrius; the *τε* four times used (as a sort of Homeric echo in prose) in the Greek original is even more awkward than the 'too' twice used in the English rendering. Here, where we are in a real difficulty and would like to be informed from what author the words are taken, Dr. Rutherford does not help us at all, and till he informs me to the contrary I shall take them to be late Greek and to be correctly translated as above. The sentence is a remarkably poor example

¹ For verbal points of this kind, cp. *C.R.* xvi. 386b, xvii. 79a. Professor Seymour's article illustrates the difficulty of translating not only *ναύκληρος* (which can be applied even to a 'doss-man'), but also *κυβερνήτης* (*π. ἔρμ.* § 78, where Demetrius clearly has Demosth. *de Cor.* § 194 in mind: a fact that throws light on the meaning of *στρατηγός* here and elsewhere in the *π. ἔρμ.*) The Elizabethan translators have much to teach us in these matters: cp. Sir Thomas North's 'that he had continued treasurer under his captain the space of three years,' as a rendering of a passage in Plutarch's *Life of C. Gracchus* c. 2 *ταμιεύων* ('acting as quaestor') δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ ('praetor', or more strictly 'proconsul' here) *παραμενηκέναι τριετίαν*.

² It is noteworthy that so diligent a student of the Attic writers as Dionysius never (so far as I know) uses the phrase *ἱερὰ καὶ ὄσια* in the special Attic meaning. Instead, he uses such expressions as *ἐκ παντὸς ἱεροῦ καὶ βεβήλου τόπου* (*Antiq. Rom.* vii. 8).

of 'force,' but it is on a par with similar suggestions in §§ 256, 257, and I have myself little doubt that the writer (or interpolator) intended a kind of parallelism or proportion, ἡ ἀφροσύνη: ἡ ἀσέβεια:: τὰ ἱερά: τὰ ὄσια. It is noteworthy that Victorius (a scholar not inferior to Dr. Rutherford) explains τὰ ἱερά τε τὰ ὄσια τε as meaning 'fana et sacras alias res.'—The third instance, again, is a question of late Greek. Personally I am not much concerned to defend the reading in question, for the suggestion is not my own. But as an illustration of the reviewer's methods, let this graphic sentence be transcribed. 'But as Demetrius says:—ταῦτα μὲν δὴ παρατεχνολογείσθω (παρατετεχνολογήσθω ??) ἄλλως.' The natural inferences of a reader here would be: (1) the editor has conjectured and adopted παρατετεχνολογήσθω, (2) he has committed a great enormity in so doing. But, as a matter of fact, the conjecture is not adopted in my text, and the only mention of it is in the Notes (p. 242) as follows: 'if any change were to be suggested, it might be (with Goeller) that of παρατεχνολογείσθω to παρατετεχνολογήσθω (cp. λελέχθω § 41).' Let it be observed that recognition of late grammatical forms and usage is denied to the reviewed, though permissible to the reviewer. Says the reviewer, in one of those remarkable suggestions he makes when he turns from the task of demolition to that of reconstruction: '§ 260 τοῦ ὀπλίτου δραμόντος: the active aorist will not translate unless in this race there were but one runner; but can Demetrius have written a form like δραμέντος?'—δραμέντος?!!!

Thus on reviewing my reviewer, I have been astonished at the weakness of his onslaught, and have been tempted to think that I could do better myself. Of one thing I am certain. Did I desire to find fault at all costs with any classical edition, it is on the Translation that I should undoubtedly fasten, especially if my general acquaintance with the subject was limited and I did not wish to take any great trouble. The reasons why translations (however carefully executed) must always be vulnerable are obvious; in a translation are involved such difficult points as those of taste, of ambiguities in the original, and of the inadequacy of all attempts to render those terms which were meant to be significant and informing to Greeks alone.

There is one other passage in the review to which I must briefly refer before concluding. It begins just two lines from the end of the first page (which, after all,

is only three-quarters of a page), but even if it were not on the first page at all, I am sure Dr. Rutherford would never forgive me were I to pass it over and thus deprive this dull encounter of the comic relief it so sorely needs. The paragraph of Demetrius must have tickled his own sense of humour irresistibly, though (rather selfishly, as I consider) he has kept all the fun to himself. But as the sage Ibsen somewhere says (I am, I regret, too much in a hurry to give the quotation with that precision which the reviewer demands), 'sorrow and suffering we can bear alone; it takes two to be glad.' And I feel confident that, once he realises the truth of this, Dr. Rutherford will not refuse to share his joys with others more liberally than he has done on this occasion. I quote, without further preface, from the bottom of the first page:—

'In § 160 Demetrius says: "And there is mirth too in likening one thing to another thing, the cock to a Mede because he wears his turban cocked, or to a king because a king dresses in rich colours": καὶ εἰκασίαι δ' εἰσὶν εὐχάριτες, ἂν τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα Μήδω εἰκάζῃς, ὅτι τὴν κυρβάσιαν ὀρθὴν φέρει· βασιλεῖ δέ, ὅτι πορφύρεός ἐστιν: the editor renders, nor gives any proof that κυρβάσις is ever used for a cock's-comb, "Comparisons also are full of charm—if (for instance) you compare a cock to a Persian because of its stiff-upstanding crest, or to the Persian king because of its brilliant plumage." [It will probably be convenient to the reader that the text and translation of the remainder of this section should be added at this point (before we proceed to comment on the reviewer's criticism): ἡ ὅτι βοήσαντος ἀλεκτρυόνος ἀναπιδῶμεν, ὥσπερ καὶ βασιλέως βοήσαντος, καὶ φοβούμεθα,—'or because when the cock crows we start with fear as though we heard the loud call of the monarch.']

'The editor renders, nor gives any proof that κυρβάσις is ever used for a cock's-comb.' This is a true charge: the editor is guilty of the alleged omission. He has, at all events, given no reference at the foot of the page.¹ And why? Because in his simplicity he thought that any reader—Dr. Rutherford, for example—would have made use of a *solid and informing*, but by no means *dull and unattractive book*, by one who is anything but a *Romanist*, Rutherford's Scholia Aristophanica, which would have saved a critical notice from some disfigurements. References are given in 'Rutherford,' which if followed up would have kept a reviewer straight, even if he had not read largely in Aristophanes. The passages (R 1, 458 ff. = Aristoph. Av.

¹ It is, perhaps, to be regretted that Dr. Rutherford was not Romanist enough to visit just for once the *locus paenitentiae*, p. 239. He would there have found the needed reference.

275 ff.) are a capital example of archaic Greek, expressing straightforward reasoning in straightforward and accurate language, and I give a translation of them below.¹

Dr. Rutherford may not be satisfied with one passage of Aristophanes (Av. 487), but may object that it is equivocal (as all puns have the misfortune to be: let him compare λόφος, *ib.* 279). Very well, I present another to his notice: Aristoph. *Fragm.* 465, καὶ τὴν κυνὴν ἔχειν με κυρβάσιαν ἐρείς. I can well imagine that, in translating this passage, Dr. Rutherford will be loyal to his

¹ The cock fu' stately strides wi' genty tread,
An' wears his bonnet straight upon his head:
[The cock's a vera Shah!
His philabeg an' tartan plaid sae gay
Shame e'en the rainbow hues on simmer's day:
[The cock's a vera Shah!
His pibroch loud, when heard in mirkest night,
Gars lazy louns start frae their beds wi' fright;
[The cock's a vera Shah!

I wish I knew my Burns better, but I have done the best I could—in a hurry. It is well known among Hellenists (as distinguished from mere 'Romanists') that the genuine works of Aristophanes, like those of Menander, have long since perished from the world. In the reconstructed Greek which underlies my verse translation, I have ventured to assume that expressions such as διαβάσκει, ἀβροβάτης and ὀρθίος νόμος, gleaned or inferred from Rutherford's invaluable (the praise awarded above is altogether too grudging) *Scholia Aristophanica*, are part of the original passage. May I take this opportunity of announcing that I have long had in preparation a work entitled *Aristophanes e Scholiis Aristophanicis Rutherfordianis Restitutus*: a work which, when it appears, will be no hurried production but the ripe fruit of my leisure and not unworthy (I trust) of the source from which it draws its inspiration?

It will be noticed that (in order to humour the reviewer, who has a pronounced aversion to the 'cock's-comb') I have translated τὴν κυρβάσιαν (which should be 'bonnet-crest') by 'bonnet' merely. I am afraid I cannot help him any further, though, in the rather awkward dilemma in which he finds himself placed. Either (1) he has forgotten his Aristophanes, or (2) he has missed his jests; and one really does not know which is the less formidable alternative. The methods of cure are, however, fortunately obvious. In case (1), the natural remedy is not to pin one's faith to Liddell and Scott; (who are here most misleading), and not to allow the *brisk and humorous lecturer* Demetrius (who here enjoys his joke so much that he is more than usually elliptical and never pauses to explain that he means the Persian king throughout—not an ordinary Persian, nor an ordinary king) to prove altogether too brisk and altogether too humorous for his casual reader and so be changed into a clumsy and somewhat prosy writer treating of things which he does not wholly comprehend. In case (2), I have no title to prescribe. But I cannot help thinking that, when Dr. Rutherford has found a remedy, he will then modify in some way the following translation in his *Scholia Aristophanica* I. p. 459, 'κοκκύει γὰρ κυρίως ὅταν παρ' ἑαυτῷ μετὰ νίκην τῆς μάχης ᾄσῃ: "κοκκύειν being properly applied to the noise made by the bird for his own satisfaction after a victory in the cock-pit."

turban and (with Blaydes) will say 'and the cap that I am wearing you will take for a turban.' But where's the point in that? And if I suggest that there is a punning reference to the dog and the cock and that a better English rendering would be 'and you'll call my beaver my cockade,' or something of that kind, he will tell me that I am ignorant of my Homer, let alone my Demetrius. (By the way, Burns's 'Cock up your beaver, and cock it fu' sprush,' or his own 'cocked turban' might have kept him straight, though I do not suggest that there is any actual pun in these expressions). Even in Homer's time, he will remind me, κυνὴ had become a mere conventional term for 'cap,' so that the aged Laertes is wearing αἰγέλην κυνέην when his gallant son finds him in the vineyard. This is true. But may not the inveterate punster, a true lover of the past though less reverent than his brother-poets of epic and of tragedy, laugh into life again the dead meanings of words? Is not this, this also, part of the Greek nimbleness of mind?

But though Dr. Rutherford will have none of Aristophanes, he may yet hearken to a later Greek, Hesychius (who writes 'κυρβάσιαν ὀρθὴν τιάρα. ταύτῃ δὲ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς μόνοι ἐχρῶντο. καὶ κορυφὴ ἀλέκτορος'); or (passing by other evidence of a similar kind) to the Greek dictionary instituted by a still later Hellenist Stephanus ('κυρβάσιαν, ἢ, Hesychio κορυφὴ ἀλέκτορος, crista gallinacei; item ὀρθὴ τιάρα, Tiara erecta, qua Persarum reges soli utebantur'). And if he will have none of these, then we must just leave him to himself with his *turban cocked*.

But no. Never shall he in this merry war be compared to vainglorious chanticleer, not even in that happy hour when the royal bird 'makes a noise for his own satisfaction after a victory in the cock-pit.' Rather, remembering alike his present plight and the undoubted services which in the past he has done to Greek scholarship, we shall employ a nobler and yet a sadder image and shall liken him to the 'struck eagle':—

'Twas thine own genius gave the final blow,
And help'd to plant the wound that laid thee low:

So the struck eagle, stretch'd upon the plain,
No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
Viewed his own feather on the fatal dart,
And wing'd the shaft that quiver'd in his heart.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

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February 17th, 1903.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1902, P. 284.)

DURING the past summer and autumn no discoveries of first-rate importance have been made in the Forum.

The fall of the campanile of St. Mark's forced upon the authorities the necessity of taking measures to investigate the stability of other buildings of Venice, and it was also incumbent upon them to examine the foundations of the campanile itself as an indispensable preliminary to its reconstruction. In connexion with this work Comm. Boni was summoned to Venice, and has devoted to it much time and attention. The result is, that, though work in the Forum has by no means been suspended, it has not been carried on upon so large a scale as has sometimes been the case. Further, it so happens that the parts of the site now under examination have not produced anything of paramount interest since the date of my last report. As Dr. Vaglieri says (*Bull. Com.* 1902, 186), owing to Comm. Boni's absence a great deal of time has been spent in the shifting of large masses of earth as a preparation for more detailed investigations.

On the other hand, the literature of the present excavations has been enriched by the first general summary of the results that has yet appeared. I allude to Prof. Hülsen's article (*Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum 1898-1902*) published in the *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1902, pp. 1-97, and also separately. As a description of the state of the excavations, and a discussion and critical bibliography of the various works that have appeared on the subject, it is quite unsurpassed: it is well illustrated with plans and photographs, and any one who wishes to form a clear idea of what has been done in the Forum since 1898 could have no better or sounder guide. Prof. Hülsen has also dealt with the epigraphic results of the excavations in C. F. Lehmann's *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, Bd. 2 (1902) pp. 227-283.

In the first of these two articles there are a few points which may well be touched upon. First among these is the almost certainly correct identification (p. 12) of the schola Xantha (the office of the subordinates—*scribae librarii* and *praecones*—of the curule aediles) with a small, almost rectangular, building, of which only the white marble pavement is preserved, situated between the

Arch of Tiberius and the south-west end of the (so-called) Graecostasis of the late Republic (for which see *C.R.* 1901, p. 330 n. 2).

The epistyle of the schola Xantha itself was found in or near this very spot in the sixteenth century,¹ (*C.I.L.* vi. 103, Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1888, 208). With regard to the date of the so-called tomb of Romulus and the group of monuments adjacent to it, including the inscribed stele, Prof. Hülsen (pp. 29, 30) attributes (conjecturally) the tomb to the fifth century, considering the stele to be earlier rather than later in date. The destruction of the whole group he ascribes, probably with truth, to the reconstruction of the Forum and its buildings by Caesar and Augustus.

The comparatively good preservation of the monuments (remembering, as we must, that they had been above ground for at least four centuries before their partial destruction) and the extraordinary freshness of the lettering of the inscriptions on the stele seem to require explanation, when we consider the friable nature of the tufa of which they are composed. We may of course suppose that they were protected by a roof from the weather—to conjecture that what we now have before us may be restorations of the second or third century B.C. (following closely, however, the older forms) would be dangerous.

Prof. Hülsen re-echoes the often expressed wish (p. 52) for the removal and examination of the heap of fragments at the south corner of the Basilica Aemilia, of which the most important are those of the great inscription in honour of Lucius Caesar (*C.R.*, 1899, p. 465). It may be noted that the inscription itself is suffering from exposure to the weather.

An important theory is that (pp. 74-81) as to the original destination of the building behind the temple of Augustus, which was later on occupied by the church of S. Maria Antiqua, and which, with the temple, forms a single group of buildings, dating, as the brickstamps show, from the time of Domitian. Now we know (1) that the temple of Augustus was restored by Domitian (Richter, *Topogr.*² 151), (2) that soldiers' discharge certificates ('*tabulae honestae misionis*') were, since about 89 A.D., copied

¹ Marliani (*Topogr.* Bk. II. ch. x., p. 29, ed. 1543) gives the find-spot as 'sub Concordiae templo (by which he means that of Saturn) in capite fori.'

from originals preserved at Rome 'in muro post templum Divi Augusti ad Minervam,' (3) that the Curiosum (Richter, p. 373) mentions templum Castorum (not Caesaris, as Hülsen says on p. 80) et Minervae (the latter, according to the chronographic of 354 A.D. erected by Domitian), (4) that there was a library connected with the temple of Augustus, of which Minerva would be the natural protector. Prof. Hülsen is, therefore, inclined to suppose that the eastern of the two halls behind the temple contained the military archives and the shrine of Minerva, while the western was the library.

He also (p. 95) attributes the fragment of a curved epistyle of white marble (*C.R.* 1899, p. 467) bearing the letters '... toninus/... imp. ii/... estituit,' and on the right of the inscription, a Maenad in relief, to a temple of Bacchus of which Martial speaks thus (i. 70, 9 is the correct citation) 'flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei et Cybeles picto stat Corybante torus' (v. l. tholus). A coin of Antoninus Pius (to whom the inscription probably belongs) gives a representation of a round temple containing a statue of Bacchus (Cohen, ii, p. 396 n. 1187). If the attribution is correct, then 'sacer clivus,' in l. 5 of the passage of Martial, would after all refer to the ascent from the Forum to the 'Summa Velia' (*C.R.* 1902, pp. 96, 286).

Prof. Hülsen refuses to believe (p. 94) that the building on the north-east side of the Sacra Via between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the temple of Romulus (see *C.R.* 1902, p. 286) is a prison, and prefers to call it a series of treasure chambers for the jewellers and sellers of precious stones who had shops in the Sacra Via. Dr. Vaglieri's attempt (*Bull. Com.* 1902, pp. 31-34) to demonstrate that this edifice is the *Carcer Lautumiarum* (Liv. xxxii. 26) is open to grave objections, the chief of which is, that he transfers the *Lautumiae* from the north-east side of the Capitol to almost the lowest point of the valley of the Forum, where there is apparently (see the section in *Not. Scav.* 1902 p. 99) no rock at all, but rather a sedimentary deposit of tufa washed down from the higher ground (*ibid.* p. 101).

Short summaries of the more recent results are given by Dr. Vaglieri in the *Bullettino Comunale* (1902, pp. 25-36, 186-191): and in the same periodical appears also Prof. Lanciani's article on the altar of Vulcan (pp. 125-133) in which he justifies *in extenso* his view that it is to be identified with a roughly squared mass of rock in

front of the steps of the temple of Concord (see *C.R.* 1902, p. 94).

The official reports, on the other hand, after having at first kept pace with the progress of the excavations, have of late fallen somewhat behind: since the long report on the shrine of Juturna in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for Feb. 1901 (pp. 41-144), only two short papers on the Forum have appeared in this, the official publication—one by Prof. Marucchi on a Christian sarcophagus (1901, pp. 272-278), and the other by Comm. Boni on the recently discovered prehistoric necropolis (1902, pp. 96-111: cf. Dr. Pinza in *Bull. Com.* 1902, pp. 37-55, and pp. 186-189; in the last passage Dr. Vaglieri describes four other tombs which have been lately discovered, the bodies in some cases having been buried, in others cremated). It is to be hoped that, notwithstanding the complexity of the subject, it will be possible to continue the regular publication of these reports. With regard to the excavations themselves, though, as has been said, discoveries of first-rate importance have not occurred, the investigation of the prehistoric necropolis still continues, the Arch of Severus is receiving much needed repairs, and great progress has been made with the important task of connecting the Forum with the Palatine.

The road ascending from the Arch of Titus to the Palatine has been followed further, and some remains of buildings belonging to a date previous to the construction of the Domus Gaiana have been discovered. The reconstruction of the series of inclined planes which ascend from S. Maria Antiqua to the Palatine is complete: and excavations are still proceeding on the S. W. side of the temple of Augustus, where the depth of earth to be removed is very considerable, and, so far, hardly anything has been discovered except remains of 'tabernae' built against the S. W. wall of the temple, and some further remains of an already known private house on the N. W. slope of the Palatine. Facing both of these there is a brick wall from which project buttresses connected by arches, which seems to be represented in the Forma Urbis (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Fig. 47), though what we now have before us looks like a reconstruction of later date than the time of Septimius Severus.

On the Palatine itself the house that stood between the N. E. end of the so-called Stadium and the church of S. Bona-

ventura has been removed, and the scanty remains laid bare of a building which Hülsen (*Forma Urbis Romae Antiquae*, Pl. III.) calls 'Bibliotheca.' Beneath this building are large subterranean water tanks, (cf. Venuti, *Roma Antica* (ed. iii) Vol. i. p. 38) in which was stored the water brought by the branch of the Aqua Claudia which passes over the Caelian and then crosses the valley which separates it from the Palatine.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

REINACH'S COINS AND HISTORY.

L'histoire par les monnaies. By THEODORE REINACH. Paris (Leroux) 1902. 10 fr.

FOLLOWING a convenient practice, more familiar in France than in England, M. Reinach has gathered together in a volume some of the more important of his numismatic articles that have appeared during the last fifteen years. These articles, however, are not mere reprints but are brought up to date and have in some cases been re-written.

In an introductory essay the writer defines ancient numismatics as 'la science qui étudie et classe les monnaies anciennes en vue de les faire servir à la connaissance de l'histoire,' and he makes a distinction—perhaps, however, not always quite easy to make—between 'pure' and 'applied' numismatics. M. Reinach's own interest, as the title of his book and the bulk of its contents indicate, is chiefly in the latter species of coin-study. The question he is disposed to ask about a coin is what historical fact does it teach us. The question that the collector is rather inclined to ask is how far does my coin differ from any hitherto published. Thus to the collector the discovery that the king's head on his coin 'goes to the right' while all other known heads turn to the left is a matter deemed hardly less important than the finding of a new dynast or a new portrait; and it may be said that his peculiar delight is to make a diabol grow where his predecessors have only cultivated obols.

In his second paper—like the first a Sorbonne lecture—Reinach deals with the invention of coinage and succeeds in treating a familiar theme with considerable freshness, as for instance in his remarks on 'monetary' exchange in Homer and

among the ancient Cretans and Lacedaemonians. The third article, 'La date de Pheidon,' is an argument in favour of the old date—B.C. 748. The *ὀβελίσκοι* dedicated by Pheidon in the temple of Hera near Argos are explained as standard specimens of the new system of weights and measures introduced by him. His alleged connexion with the invention of coinage (*i.e.* the minting of silver money in Aegina) has thus no real foundation. The articles on the proportional value of gold and silver in Greece and on the gold coinage of Sicily are learned and luminous papers which should be serviceable to many besides numismatists. A shorter article deals with the monetary system of Delphi and the local peculiarity (revealed by inscriptions) of the division of the mina into 70 instead of 100 drachms.

An important series of articles is concerned with various points in the regal coinages of Pontus, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia, and attention should be directed to the revised genealogical table of the dynasty of Mithradates of Pontus as set forth on p. 137. A readable account of the kingdom of Commagene, with a stemma, should also be noticed. M. Reinach is well known to have a peculiar *flair* for the regal coinages of the ancients, and though the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and the Arsacids have, to some extent, become the (not very inviting) prey of others, he should still be able to throw light on many problems presented by these obscure and difficult coinages. I may mention as a small but not unimportant series that still awaits exhaustive investigation the coinage of the Kings of Persis from the time of the rise of the Arsacids (*circa* B.C. 250) till the emergence of the Sassanian dynasty in the third century A.D.

Without attempting to summarize the many articles contained in this book, I may say in conclusion that the whole volume is a record of much valuable work and should be of hardly less interest to the historical scholar than to the numismatist.

WARWICK WROTH.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—In the Piazza Colonna a lead water-pipe has been found, bearing the inscription...I PHOEBIANI TRIB CHO PR VIQ, *i.e.* [sub cura]...i Phoebiani, trib(uni)

c(o)ho(rtis) pr(imae) vig(illum). Cf. *C. I. L.* xv. 7245. It is thought that the pipe belongs to a conduit which supplied the barracks of the 1st cohort of *vigiles* with water. Prof. Lanciani, however, combats this view on the ground that the barracks were situated at a considerable distance from the site of the discovery, and would have in any case drawn their water-supply from the Aqua Virgo which was close by them. His idea is that the pipe forms part of an elaborate system of hydrants for the fire-brigade, which were laid down in all parts of the city.

Near the same place a piece of a brick has come to light, which bears a stamp hitherto unpublished: *IVVENTI SATVRNINI E(x) F SEI A E S | ISAVRIC OPVS DOLLAR | ASIATICO II COS.* Iuventius Saturninus was evidently in 125 A.D. superintendent of one of the brick-kilns belonging to Seia Isaurica. In the *orbiculus* of the stamp is a bust of Mercury to the right with *caduceus* and purse. The position of this figure is unusual, since such designs are nearly always found in the middle of the stamp; a parallel, however, is offered by *C. I. L.* xv. 1095, where a bust of Mars is found in the small eccentric circle.

A portion of the pavement of the Via Flaminia has also been discovered during the present drainage works in the Piazza Colonna; it was found at a depth of 21 feet under the present level.¹

During the restoration of the church of S. Saba on the Aventine a fragmentary inscription has been found, which contains a list of names, each followed by the word *loco*. It bears the date 40 A.D. ([C. Caesa]re III cos.). By comparing the present list with similar inscriptions previously discovered (*C. I. L.* vi. 1977-1979) we may conclude that we have here a list of fresh members co-opted into the body of the *Salii Palatini*. Among the names given are those of Cornelius Dolabella, Torquatus and Junius Silani, Asinius Marcellus, Pompeius Magnus. Another fragment from a marble *cippus* found in the same place evidently comes from the barracks of the 4th cohort of *vigiles*, which were situated on the Aventine. It was dedicated by soldiers promoted to the rank of *principales*. We find mentioned the grades of *beneficiarius sub praefecti*, *commentariensis praefecti*, *cornicularius praefecti*, and, a new office, that of *tubularius beneficiarii praefecti*.²

¹ *Bull. della Comm. Arch.*, 1902, pp. 192 ff., and *Athenaeum*, Feb. 7th 1903.

² *Bull. della Comm. Arch. loc. cit.*

Further fragments of an inscription relating to the exploits of Avilius Teres, a famous jockey of the time of Domitian, have been found in the Vatican. Part of the same inscription, discovered previously, had been removed to Florence. All the fragments put together form about half of the whole text, which is in three sections, relating (1) the victories of the rider, (2) the names of the winning horses, and (3) innovations introduced by Avilius Teres in harnessing, method of driving (*e.g. intra funes primum vicit*), etc., together with the names of riders defeated by him, such as Claudius Olympus of the "Greens." Judging from the number of inscriptions of this character found there, the Campus Vaticanus must have been a favourite burying place for jockeys.

A large block of houses near the Forum of Trajan has been levelled to the ground with a view to doubling the extent of the Piazza di Venezia and carrying out other alterations. These operations will probably lead to important archaeological discoveries. Already on the East of the Piazza di Venezia a fine bust of Didia Clara, daughter of the Emperor Didius Julianus (193 A.D.), has been found. This shows that she was not included in the *memoriae damnatio* of her father.³

Via Nomentana.—A piece of the pavement of the old Roman road has been discovered, and near it a large marble *cippus* with the inscription: *DIS MANIBVS CLAVDIAE PELAGIAE | TI CLAVDIVS AVG L MOSCHVS LANIP | FILIAE PISSIMAE.* Moschus was therefore a freedman of the Emperor Tiberius and held the office of *lanipendius*, whose duty it was to apportion the wool for spinning.²

Terni, Umbria.—The remains of a very old Roman fountain have been found here, consisting of a terracotta mask of rough Etruscan workmanship, perhaps intended to represent a head of Neptune. The flesh part was painted red, and the hair and beard green; in the mouth was a hole for the emission of water. The water descended through a small grotto, and the fountain was, even in ancient times, below the level of the cultivated ground, since remains of stone steps, which led down to it, have been discovered.⁴

Florence.—The François vase, which was shattered by a mad attendant in 1900, has been most successfully reconstructed out of thousands of fragments. The restoration

³ *Athenaeum*, 7th Feb.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1902, p. 282.

was greatly facilitated by the fact that Reichold's careful drawing had been made before the catastrophe took place. Unfortunately in the excitement of the moment, a piece of the vase was secured by some person unknown, and this fragment is greatly needed for the complete reconstruction of the vase.⁵

F. H. MARSHALL.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Parts 3 and 4, 1902.

H. Gaebler. 'Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens, III. An interesting paper (pp. 141—189) dealing in detail with the history and coinage of Macedonia under Roman rule. An important attribution proposed is the assignment to the rebel Philippos-Andriskos (B.C. 149—148) of some of the silver coins inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ and hitherto supposed to have been struck by Philip V.

⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, Dec. 27th, 1902.

of Macedon. Gaebler has discovered that specimens of these coins are re-struck on coins that are certainly later than Philip V, and the attribution to Andriskos thus becomes very probable.—K. Regling. 'Zur Griechische Münzkunde II.' Coin of *Philippopolis* in Thrace of Geta with the interesting inscription IC Ε[Ω]ΝΑ (eis aiōna) ΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΥΣ ΕΠ Α[Γ]ΑΘΗΝ ΤΗ ΜΗ[Τ]ΡΟΠΟΛΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠ[ΟΛΙ]. A coin of Gorgion dynast of *Gambrium* in Mysia. ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΟC an epithet of Artemis on an Ephesian coin of Severus Alexander (cp. the Πανιώνια). *Hermopolis*. There is no numismatic or other authority for the existence of a supposed Lydian town of this name. *Siocharax* in Phrygia; coins of Geta and J. Domna.

Revue Numismatique. Part 4, 1902.

J. Rouvier. 'Les rois Phéniciens de Sidon d'après leurs monnaies sous la dynastie des Achéménides' (5th and 4th cent. B.C.).—J. Foville. 'Monnaies trouvées en Crète.' Some varieties of coins of Eleutherna, Lyttus, Polyrhénion, &c.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 26, 4, 1902.

M. Beaudouin. *Notes critiques sur les Lettres d'Alciphron*. With reference to Schepers' edition. H de la Ville de Mirmont, *La 'Nenia'* II. *Nenia* denoted originally the primitive funeral chant. Being misunderstood in course of time it came to be the despised name of magic formulae. In Gallo-Roman times the old name of *Nenia* was given to panegyrics in honour of the dead. L. Parmentier, *Soph. O. T.* 10, 11. Takes στέραντες as = 'having filial affection' not 'desiring.' L. Parmentier, *L'adjectif ἐξάντης* (Plat. Phaedr. 244 E). On the alleged derivation from ἐξ ἄτης. H. Bornecque, *Le texte de Sénèque le père*. A. Misier, *Les manuscrits parisiens de Grégoire de Nazianze* (continued). A. Cartault, *Sur Tibulle*. On various passages. F. Gaffiot, *Études Latines I, A propos de quelques locutions fixes*. On *Quid est quod, Ut qui, Praesertim cum*.

Hermes. Vol. 37, 2, 1902.

P. Jahn, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* Ecl. x. 43b-64 and 69 may contain several resemblances to Gallus. The composer of the *Ciris* was not Gallus, but a later poet, who was quite acquainted with Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics. K. Schmidt, *Die griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus. I.* A collection of names that are found in Greece or that only differ from such by their termination. W. Crönert, *Philittas von Kos*. To prove that Φιλίτας, not Φιλίτας, is the correct form. C. Vick, *Karneades' Kritik der Theologie bei Cicero und Sextus Empiricus*. Seeks to determine what is really attributable to Carneades in Cic. N. D. iii, and where the authority of Cicero is to be preferred to Sextus adv. math. ix. 137 foll. W. Dörpfeld, *Thymele und Skene*. Against Bethé's article in the last vol. θυμέλη is the altar itself or its base (πρόθυρος) in the centre of the orchestra, on which in the earliest

period the actors had their place, then it became a name for the whole orchestra. After the σκηνή (the house forming the back ground) was introduced, representations in which this was the central point were called 'scenic,' and all other 'thymelic.' F. Studniczka, *Eine Corruptel im Ion des Euripides*. Suggests in l. 223 ἀμφί τε γοργὴ <χρυσοφαέννω Διὸς οἰωνῷ>. J. Schöne, *Zur notitia dignitatum*. Maintains that the cod. Spirensis or rather its last archetype is composed from the *Notitia dignitatum per Orientem*, and the *Not. dig. per Occidentem*. E. Bethé, *Die Zeit des Heauton Timorumenos und des Kolax Menanders*. The former is one of the earliest and the latter one of the latest comedies. K. Prächter, *Zur Frage nach der Composition der sechsten Rede des Dion Chrysostomos*. Maintains the separation of §§ 1-7 from the rest of the speech. G. Knaack, *Encheirigastores*. Rejects Tümpel's interpretation as = Polypī. W. Dittenberger, Ἐλαφρόστικτος (Lyrics xiii. 19). This is not a proper name but an adj. = ἔλαφον ἐστιγμένος. U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Lese Früchte*. A number of passages in Greek and Latin authors considered. F. Leo, *viso vidi*. The last is the perfect in use of *viso*. Th. Preger, *Noch einmal die Gründung Constantinopels*. The change of name from Byzantium was in 324 or 325. The official beginning of the elevation of rank of the city was 26 Nov. 328. C. Robert, *Alektryon*. The figure, not hitherto correctly explained, upon a lately-discovered Pompeian wall-painting is Alektryon, the watchman of Ares.

Part 3. U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Lese Früchte*. Several passages in Greek authors discussed. C. Oestergaard, Διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης. Explains διάκτορος as = διάφθορος and refers the phrase not to Hermes but to an earlier god of Light 'one who kills with beams of light.' Th. Thalheim, *Zur Eisangelie in Athen*. To show that the notion of εἰσαγγελία has a wider meaning than is generally thought. K. Schmidt, *Die griechischen Personennamen*

bei *Plautus II.* Gives a list of names which are words in Greek but not proper names. L. Ziehen, *Ὀβλοχύται*. Maintains that *Ὀβλ.* had a cathartic meaning and had no connexion with the rites of animal sacrifice. A. Gercke, *Die Überlieferung des Diogenes Laertios*. Concludes that the codd. BFP are sufficient for the reconstruction of an archetype. The greater completeness of Book 7 does not justify us in assuming an old tradition for the vulgate, for the completeness is due to interpolations. J. Kirchner, *Zu den attischen Archonten des III. Jahrhunderts*. Gives a list of Archons on the authority of a fragment of Apollodorus, which is not consistent with the order given by Beloch. Th. Mommsen, *Sallustius = Salutius und das Signum*. We must distinguish between Flavius Sallustius praefectus praetorio of the Gauls and Saturninius Secundus with the by-name Salutius, prefect of the East. The word *signum* is explained from inscriptions of the imperial time in the sense of personal designation. The *signum* differs from *nomen* and *cognomen* as being grammatically distinct from the name, e.g. *M. Aurclius Oenopio Onesimus signo Acaci*. After the fourth century the distinction between *signum* and *nomen* vanished. F. Blass, *Die Berliner Fragmente der Sappho*. Gives the text and explanations. H. Diels, *Onomatologisches*. Maintains the monophthongic writing of *παρμενίδης* and explains the word *λιγναστράδης* referring to Minnemos in Solon ap. Diog. I. 61. W. Dörpfeld, *Zur Tholos von Epidauros*. Arguing from the analogy of Delphi, maintains that the round basis at Epidauros is not a *puteal*, but can only have been an altar. W. Sternkopf, *Zu Cicero Phil. xiii. § 36*—In the letter of Antonius reads *difficile est credere eosque, qui etc.*

P. Stengel, *Vogelflug*. Finds in the inser. Dittenberger Syll.² 792 a confirmation of the old belief that a bird seen on the left is a bad omen. M. Ihm, *Zu Suetons Vita Lucani*. On the hemistich of the emperor Nero.

Part 4. M. Krascheninnikov, *De Gitanis Epiri oppido*. In *Polyb.* xxvii. 16. 5 and *Liv.* xlii. 38. 1, *Gitana* is correctly handed down, the modern *Dhelvinon* in Epirus. M. Manitius, *Aus der Dresdener Hyginhandschrift*. Gives important readings with an estimate of their value for the text. Br. Keil, *Von delphischem Rechnungswesen*. On the value of money at Delphi about 300 B.C. from the inscriptions published in *B.C.H.* 1900, xxiv. 463–483. H. Schrader, *Telephos der Pergamener* *περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὀμηρον ῥητορικῆς*. This writing seems to have been the common source of Ps.-Plut. *περὶ Ὀμήρου*, Ps.-Dion. Hal. *τέχνη*, the Porphyrian *Ζητήματα* and Homer-scholia, in part also of the Hermogenescholia. A. Körte, *Das Mitgliederverzeichnis einer attischen Phratric*. On an inser. published in the *Ἐφημ.* ἀρχ. 1901, 157, foll. as evidence of the dwindling of the Phratric. M. Ihm, *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Sueton*. On the worthlessness of three 'humanist' codd., and of the Monacensis, a copy of the Gudianus. G. Knaack, *Zur Sage von Daïdalos und Ikaros*. On this legend as represented by Euripides and Callimachus. K. Schmidt, *Die griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus III.* The small number of purely Greek names in Plautus is evidence of the independent growth of an Italo-Greek popular consciousness. O. Kern, *Votivreliefs der thessalischen Magneten*. C. F. Lehmann, *Zu den thessalischen Gewichten*. F. Bechtel, *Zur Inschrift des Sotairos*.

CORRIGENDUM.

In *C.R.* for February, p. 79, col. 2, l. 2, for 'Mr. Mairs' read 'Mr. Monro.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1903.

AN INVERTED NEMESIS.

ON SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus Rex*, 1270.

AT verse 718 of the *Oedipus Rex*, Jocasta tells how Laius exposed his infant child :

καί νιν ἄρθρα κείνος ἐνζεύξας ποδοῖν
ἔρριπεν.

'And he, yoking together the joints of its feet, cast it away.' The editors have generally assumed that the feet were bound together with a thong through holes bored in the ankles. Prof. Jebb says they were fastened together by driving a pin through them. Instead of the usual word for ankles, σφυρὰ, and of particular interest is the expression ἄρθρα ποδοῖν 'joints of the feet,' with which may be compared the corresponding German word *Fussgelenke*. Prof. Earle's edition of the play has the following note on the passage: 'The baby's feet seem to have been fastened together with a περόνη such as may well have been used (like its modern counterpart) to secure the σπάργανα or swaddling-clothes. Such a large clasp-pin could well be used to pin together the heels of a three-days' child, if the pin were run between the ankle-bone and the heel-tendon. 'Ενζεύξας would well depict the process to the audience—φωνᾶν ξυνετοῖσιν.' The explanation given by the later scholiast supports Prof. Earle's view of the case: τὰ σφυρὰ περόνη συνάψας 'joining the ankles together with a brooch.'

In Euripides *Phoenissae*, 22, the description is: σφυρῶν σιδηρὰ κέντρα διαπείρας μέσον, where the word κέντρα may include any sharp point such as that of the περόνη, as is made clear by v. 1318 of the *Oedipus*:

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κέντρων τε τῶνδε οὔστρημα, 'the sting of these goads,' meaning the point of the περόνη. That Euripides in the passage quoted may well have had in mind the action of the περόνη is evident from his account of the blinding of Polymestor (*Hec.* 1170):

ἐμῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων,
πόρπας λαβοῦσαι, τὰς ταλαιπώρους κόρας
κεντοῦσιν αἰμάσσουσιν.

Another passage from the *Phoenissae* makes the use of the περόνη quite certain, and greatly strengthens Prof. Earle's position (*Phoen.* 802-805):

ὦ . . . Κιθαιρῶν
μήποτε τὸν θανάτῳ προτιθέντα, λόχευμ'
'Ιοκάστης
ὥφελες Οἰδιπόδαν θρέψαι βρέφος ἔκβολον
οἶκον
χρυσοδέτοις περόναις ἐπίσαμον.

That the brooch was used especially to fasten the σπάργανα is stated in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*: 'at other times the swaddling-clothes consisted of a small purple scarf, fastened with a brooch.' The only authority cited is Longus, I. 2:

καὶ (ὁ αἰπόλος) θανμάσας . . . εὐρίσκει παιδίον ἄρρεν, μέγα καὶ καλὸν, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἑκθεσιν τύχης ἐν σπαργάνοις κρείττοσι. χλανιδίον τε γὰρ ἦν ἄλουργές καὶ πόρπη χρυσῇ καὶ ξιφιδίον ἐλεφοντόκωπον.

I could wish that this passage were more conclusive; it is not clear whether the

χλανίδιον is the same as the σπάργανα or not. But from the fact that the χλανίς like the larger χλαῖνα was often used as a blanket (*Anthol. Pal.* 5. 173) I am inclined to think that the Dictionary is right. The use of the purple 'scarf' may be further supported by the story of Jason told in Pind. *Pynth.* 4. 114:

κρύβδα πέμπων σπαργάνοις ἐν πορφυρέοις
νυκτὶ κοιάσαντες ὀδὸν Κρονίδα δὲ τράφειν
Χείρωνι δῶκαν.

We come now to the story of the herdsman from Corinth to whom the baby Oedipus had been given by the herdsman of Laius. Oedipus asks him (v. 1031):

'Suffering what pain was I when you saved me?'

To whom the messenger:

ποδῶν ἂν ἄρθρα μαρτυρήσειεν τὰ σά.

Oedipus exclaims:

'Alas, what is this old-time evil you make mention of?'

The messenger:

λύω σ' ἔχοντα διατόρους ποδοῖν ἀκμάς.

Oedipus answers:

καλὸν γ' ὄνειδος σπαργάνων ἀνελόμην,

'A fine *stigma* did I take upon me from my swaddling-clothes.' (If we may read *καλόν* with Eustathius, as Prof. Earle does, rather than *δαινόν*).

In this dialogue two points are to be noticed: first, the same expression as in v. 718 for the ankles, *ποδῶν ἄρθρα* and secondly, the use of *σπαργάνων* which I have rendered literally 'from my swaddling-clothes.' Prof. Earle translates 'Yes, a fine reproach of infancy I took upon me,' meaning, I suppose, that the marks left by the wounds became in his manhood a cause of reproach. Hence if the *περόνη* used to bind his feet together had been taken by Laius from the child's *σπάργανα*, Oedipus might truly say that these *stigmata* were taken up from his swaddling-clothes. Prof. Jebb says *σπαργάνων* in the genitive must be taken with *ἀνελόμην* and quotes Soph. *Electra* 1139: οὔτε πρὸς ἀνελόμην ἄθλιον βάρος, but translates 'from my swaddling-clothes' as meaning 'from the earliest days of my infancy.'

Finally, when Jocasta has killed herself, the house messenger comes out with the story of the blinding of Oedipus: (vv. 1268-1270)

ἀποσπάσας γὰρ εἰμάτων χρυσηλάτους
περόνας ἀπ' αὐτῆς, αἶσιν ἐξεστέλλετο,
ἄρας ἔπαυσεν ἄρθρα τῶν αὐτοῦ κύκλων.

We notice at once the use of the two words *περόνας* and *ἄρθρα*. Moreover, the expression *ἄρθρα τῶν κύκλων* with reference to the eyes, is very strange, and each editor has a different interpretation. Prof. Earle says it means the lids; Prof. Blaydes the pupils, and quotes the later scholiast: τὰ μέρη τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔνθα ἀρμόζεται τὰ βλέφαρα· τουτέστι τὰς κόρας. Prof. Jebb says 'ἄρθρα can only mean the sockets of the eye-balls: he struck his eye-balls in their sockets is a way of saying that he struck them full.' Prof. White says, 'ἄρθρον first a joint, then more specifically the socket of the joint, then the ball as opposed to the socket.'

The use of these two words in this final narrative I do not believe to have been unintentional or without special force to Sophocles. As a baby the great king had had his feet pierced and yoked together with a *περόνη*, and now for his self-inflicted punishment the poet makes him choose exactly the same instrument. The cause of a reproach put upon him in infancy by others' hands now in his old age becomes at his own hands the instrument of a fitting punishment; and as if to intensify the impression and to cause us to remember the former scene, the poet uses a peculiar periphrasis, *ἄρθρα τῶν κύκλων*, unusual, yet similar in form to that other expression *ἄρθρα ποδοῖν*. Hence I do not believe we are justified in seeking here a meaning too exact, because it would seem that, while expressing clearly enough the eyes, the phrase was chosen more for its dramatic suggestiveness than for its physiological accuracy. While in the first place the *περόνη* had passed through the *joints* of his feet, now it passes through the *joints* of his eyes. Unconscious was he of the disgrace put upon him from his swaddling-clothes, and all unconsciously had he committed crimes for which his self-inflicted punishment led to peace.

But why does Sophocles make the wound of the *περόνη* come back upon the innocent sufferer? To answer that question we must understand the character and purpose of the play. Although technically guilty of monstrous crimes, Oedipus is morally innocent. He meets a fate that he seems not to deserve: a guiltless man, he suffers. Hence in the ordinary sense of the word there can be no Nemesis for him, unless it come as a part of that undeserved suffering which he owes to his involuntary error. Just such we find it. It seems as though Nemesis had changed her nature, as though

her purpose was to reward the undeserving with evil. She is the opposite of herself, an inverted Nemesis. The punishment, terrible and yet undeserved, becomes to us a symbol of the deeper meaning of the drama, and the poet draws our attention to this fact by choosing words which recall

the time when the hero's blood was first shed in childhood.

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Jan. 21, 1903.

ON ARISTOPHANES *KNIGHTS* 413.

ὑπερβαλίσθαι σ' οἶομαι τούτοιςιν, ἢ μάτην γ' ἂν ἀπομαγαδάλιας σιτούμενος τοσοῦτος ἐκτραφεῖν.

AFTER much reflection I find it impossible to believe that the optative can be right here as a substitute for a past tense of the indicative, and I suggest that we should read ἐκτραφεῖς ἦν.

The first thing is to shew that there is no parallel forthcoming for such an optative. In Homer indeed a use more or less similar (imitated two or three times by Virgil) is not very infrequent, but no argument lies from Homer to Aristophanes. Homer uses the subjunctive as a future; it does not follow that Aristophanes could do the same. Even tragedy has no such optatives, unless it be in one echo of a Homeric phrase hereafter to be mentioned; much less comedy.

An idiom with which it is natural to compare or confuse our passage is one fairly common in Herodotus, which may be illustrated from 1. 2. Ἑλλήνων τινὰς... φασὶ... ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην εἶησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες and 1. 70 αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς... ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. (For other passages see Stein on 1. 70¹ and Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek* § 437.) To this idiom there is an English one (found I think also in other modern languages) exactly corresponding: 'these would probably be Cretans,' 'the vendors would perhaps say,' instead of 'were Cretans' and 'perhaps said.' It is distinguished by two things from the phrase before us in Aristophanes: (1) it occurs

¹ Stein seems to distinguish 1. 2 from the other passages, not making his meaning very clear, but probably thinking with Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses*, 238 and 443) that it means 'these would prove to have been Cretans,' i.e. would now prove, if we could go into it. It seems better to take this passage like the others.

always in a simple direct sentence, not in a more or less complex one as here: (2) what is more important, the optative is not, as in Aristophanes (and in Homer), an alternative for the indicative. In hardly one of the passages of Herodotus could we use a past tense of the indicative with ἂν. οὗτοι δ' ἂν ἦσαν Κρήτες would mean something quite different.

If therefore we find in Attic a passage or two parallel to those in Herodotus, they cannot fairly, even though in them an indicative would have been possible, be pleaded in defence of the line in the *Knights*. Thuc.

1. 9. 4, οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων ἕξω τῶν περιοικίδων αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἶεν—ἡπειρώτης ὧν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν may be classed as such, though the optative can quite well bear its usual sense, 'would not prove many, if we added them up.' Antiphon 4. 2. 5, πῶς ἂν ἐπιβουλεύσαιμι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (which Blass alters, needlessly I think, to πῶς ἂν ἐπεβούλευσα τί αὐτῷ ὃ τι μὴ καὶ κ.τ.λ.), 'how' or 'why should I plot against him, if he had not plotted against me,' is exactly parallel to Herodotus 2. 11, κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προανασιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ... οὐκ ἂν χωσθεῖη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶ μέζων ἔτι τούτου; Another example is *Menexenus* 240D ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ἂν τις γενόμενος γνοίη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχανον ὄντες κ.τ.λ., which clearly refers to past time; and a fourth perhaps *Critias* 114 B, but there the reading is uncertain. In the Thucydides passage the indicative would be as impossible as in Herodotus; in Antiphon it might have been used, and with a slightly different meaning in the *Menexenus*. On the other hand the words of Lyeurgus 138 καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἂν μετὰσχοιεν² are not really parallel, for ἂν μετὰσχοιεν = ἂν ἐθέλοιεν μετασχεῖν.³

One or two Attic passages may also be

² Quoted as an instance by Mr. Platt in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. 26, p. 87.

³ I have noticed one or two examples in Pausanias (1. 9. 5: 8. 12. 7).

quoted in which I take it that the optative is defensible on ordinary grounds as referring to future time, though the indicative might have taken its place with some change of meaning (referring to the present) and might perhaps have been more naturally used. Such are Soph. *Ant.* 505 τοῦτοισι πάντων ἀνδάνειν λέγουσι' ἄν, εἰ μὴ γλώσσαν ἐγκλήσοι φόβος, on which Jebb has no comment, and Eur. *Med.* 568 οὐδ' ἂν σὺ φαίης, εἰ σε μὴ κνίξοι λέχος. They mean virtually 'Every one would say so, if the fear of Creon were removed,' and 'Even you would not maintain it, if you could get rid of your jealousy.' In poetry this slight irregularity or straining of expression is pardonable enough. The important point to notice is that the speaker really has or might very well have the possible future in mind, and this clearly separates the two passages from that in Aristophanes. So in *Phaëdo* 89 c καὶ ἔγωγ' ἄν, εἰ σὺ εἶην καὶ με διαφύγοι ὁ λόγος, ἔνορκον ἂν ποιησαίμην κ.τ.λ.: the optative is not irregular: it means 'if I were ever to find myself in your place, I would.' But in Eur. *Suppl.* 764, φαίης ἄν, εἰ παρήσθ', ὅτ' ἡγάπα νεκρούς, (before which a line is lost, if we are not with Lobeck to delete 764 itself) I do not see how we are to justify the optative except by regarding it as an echo of the φαίης ἄν which occurs several times in Homer. We might perhaps compare it with the Homeric εἰ οἶδα etc. which Attic drama, even comedy, uses regardless of hiatus. But as far as I know it is found nowhere else in Attic.

Lastly there are a few places in which (if the MSS. are right, which is not by any means always certain) one clause is indicative and the other optative. The explanation seems to be that the speaker's point of view shifts. He might have spoken in the past throughout. He might have spoken in the future. Both being possible, he mixes the two together. Thus in Lycurgus 66 εἴ τις ἕνα νόμον...ἐξαλείψειεν, εἴτ' ἀπολογοῖτο...ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπεκτείναντ' αὐτόν; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι δικαίως, εἴπερ ἐμέλλετε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφάζειν, and with a deliberate repetition of the confusion Lysias 10. 8 εἰ μὲν τις σε εἴποι πατραλοῖαν ἢ μητραλοῖαν, ἡξίους ἂν αὐτὸν ὀφελῖν σοι δίκην; εἰ δέ τις εἴποι ὡς τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἢ τὸν φύσαντα ἔτυπτες, ὧν ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξήμιον δεῖν εἶναι. The same explanation will apply, if the readings are right, to *Phaëdrus* 251 A ὡς θεὸν σέβεται καὶ, εἰ μὴ ἐδεδίει τὴν τῆς σφόδρα μανίης δόξαν, θύοι ἂν ὡς ἀγάλματι: Alcib. i. 111 E, τί δ' εἰ βουληθείμεν εἰδέναι...; ἄρ' ἱκανοὶ ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν διδάσκαλοι οἱ πολλοί: Diog. L. 6. 59 θαυμάζοντος τινὸς τὰ ἐν

Σαμοθράκῃ ἀναθήματα ἔφη, Πολλῶ ἂν εἶη πλείω εἰ καὶ οἱ μὴ σωθέντες ἀνέτιθσαν (where however εἶη should probably be ἦν). To this type of sentence I should be inclined to assign *Iliad.* 2. 80:

εἰ μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἔνισπε,
ψεύδός κεν φαίμεν καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον.

and *Odyssey* 1. 236

ἐπεὶ οὐ κε θανόντι περ ὧδ' ἀκαχοίμην,
εἰ μετὰ οἷς ἐτάροισι δάμνη Τρώων ἐνὶ δήμῳ,
ἧὲ φίλων ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπυνσε.

In the first Nestor mixes up 'if any one had said' and 'if any one were to say'; in the second Penelope says in effect 'I should not grieve so much; I say I should not have grieved so much, if,' etc. Such passages seem to me very different from the καὶ νύ κεν εἴθ' ἀπόλοιτο...; εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυν νόησε type, where a future contingency cannot possibly be in the speaker's mind.¹

Coming back now to the *Knights*, we shall find that the words of line 413 are quite different from the usages we have been examining. The optative cannot be taken, as in the latter of them, for an ordinary optative referring with or without some inconsistency to the future; nor has it, as in the former, any idea of what would be likely (= was likely) to occur under real past circumstances. To regard ἐκτραφεῖν as = ἐκτεθραμμένος εἶην or φανεῖν (Gildersleeve) is to invent a licence for which no parallel is adduced and which seems an undue strain on the possibilities of colloquial Attic Greek.

Rather than acquiesce in anything so irregular, I think we ought to add to ἐκτραφεῖν one letter and turn it into ἐκτραφεῖς ἦν. First let us assume that those two words go closely together and are the analytical equivalent of ἐξετράφην. Such an equivalent seems quite admissible, though probably not to be paralleled from Aristophanes himself. Consider the following instances of an aorist participle with εἰμί or γίνομαι:

1. Ionic Prose.

Herodotus 2. 10. 4 ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ: 3. 27. 3 οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς σφι

¹ In Eur. *Or.* 1132

εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς γυναῖκα σωφρονεστέραν
ξίφος μεθεῖμεν, δυσκλῆς ἂν ἦν φόνος.

why does Dr. Goodwin (*M. T.* 508) make μεθεῖμεν optative? It is the indicative, like ἀνείμεν *Wasps* 571, ἀνείτε *O. T.* 1405. Xen. *Cyri.* 12. 22. (which he cites) is probably wrong.

θεὸς εἴη φανείς (Cobet θεὸς ἐπιφανείη): *ib.* 120. 1 ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθείς ἦν Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος Ὀροίτης: 4. 127. 1 οὐδέ τι νεώτερόν εἰμι ποιήσας: 7. 194. 3 ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι (περίεσεσθαι Reiske, ἀθῶς ἔσεσθαι Cobet).

Melissus fragm. 12 (Mullach) κὼς ἂν μετακοσμηθὲν τῶν ἐόντων τι εἴη;

2. Tragedy.

Soph. *O.T.* 90 οὔτε γὰρ θρασὺς | οὔτ' οὖν προδείσας εἰμί: 957. αὐτὸς μοι σὺ σημανῆνας γενοῦ: 970 οὕτω δ' ἂν θανὼν εἴη ἔξ ἐμοῦ: 1146 οὐ σιωπήσας ἔσει; four examples in one play, to which add *O.C.* 816: *Ant.* 1067. *Aj.* 588: *Phil.* 773. There is a dubious instance in Aesch. *Suppl.* 460, and what seems a clear one in Eur. *Suppl.* 511 ἔξαρκέσας ἦν Ζεὺς ὁ τιμωρούμενος.

3. Attic Comedy.

Menander *Incert.* 475 M. 684 K.

ὅταν λέγῃς μὲν πολλά, μανθάνῃς δὲ μή,
τὸ σὸν διδάξας τοῦμόν οὐ μαθὼν ἔσει.

4. Attic Prose.

Antiphon 3. 4. 4 ὁ παιδοτρίβης ἂν ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν εἴη, and almost the same words in 2. 3. 8 (cf. *O.T.* 970 above, but some editors <δ> ἀποκτείνας very plausibly): 3. 4.

5 τὸ μεираκίον .. ἐστὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἁμαρτόν: [*Lys.*] 20. 1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἦσαν αὐτῶν: Plat. *Tim.* 47C ἔνεκα ἁρμονίας ἐστὶ δοθέν: *Soph.* 217c μὴ τοίνυν .. ἀπαρνηθεὶς γένῃ: *Pol.* 289 A ἦν γὰρ δικαιοτάτα μὲν ἂν τιθεὶν κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸ πρωτογενὲς εἶδος: less clear or certain instances in *Pol.* 265 CD and 272 E, *Laws* 961 B. In Thucydides 1. 138. 3 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιοτάτα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι Classen, Stahl, and Hude agree in separating δηλώσας from ἦν on the ground that there is no other apparent instance of this construction in Thucydides: cf. however, 4. 54. 3 ἦσαν δὲ τινες καὶ γενόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ λόγοι πρότερον πρὸς τινὰς τῶν Κυθηρίων.¹

These examples are probably enough to remove any *a priori* objection to the construction. There is however no necessity to take the words of Aristophanes in this way. The construction may be μάτην γ' ἂν ἦν τοσοῦτος, with ἐκτραφεὶς either standing alone, 'when fullgrown,' or going with ἀπομαγαδάλιας σιτούμενος, 'brought up on a diet of dog's bits,' for the two participles need not be of the same tense.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

¹ I have taken this and one other passage from Mr. Gildersleeve's *Syntax* § 293.

NOTES ON THE ANTI-MACEDONIAN SPEECHES OF DEMOSTHENES.

Ol. 1. 1 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλά τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμ' ἐνίοις ἐπελθεῖν ἂν εἰπεῖν.

In this construction it is surely impossible to dispense with the article that would naturally accompany πολλά .. ἐπελθεῖν ἂν εἰπεῖν, just as in § 10 we read τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλλ' ἀπολωλέκεναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικαίως. Read <τὸ> πολλά. τό would easily be lost before πο.

20 δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων.

It is well known that δέ and γάρ get interchanged. Logic here seems to require γάρ.

26 τίς αὐτὸν κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζοντα; Θηβαῖοι; μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἐτόίμως. ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς;

'I wish it were not (I fear it may be) too harsh to say' (what is only too true) is Sandys' rendering. (1) This use of μή is however not found in Demosthenes or (I think) any

other orator, being practically confined to Plato. (2) The sense is unsatisfactory. The editors seem to have a notion that the words are more or less equivalent to those of *Phil.* 3. 1 δέδοικα μὴ βλάβοι μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ἦ, and mean something like 'harsh though it be to say'; but they cannot be twisted into that.

Demosthenes is quite fond of putting a rhetorical question to his adversary, or his audience, and suggesting an answer which he immediately proceeds to demolish. Thus we read in *Mid.* 41 ποῖα γὰρ πρόφασις, τίς ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ μετρία σκῆψις φανείται τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; ὀργὴ νῆ Δία. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τυχὸν λέξει. ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ. *Chers.* 17 τί ποιήσομεν, ἂν ἐπὶ Χερσόνησον ἦ; κρινοῦμεν Διοσίτῃ νῆ Δία. καὶ τί τὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ βελτίω; *De Cor.* 101 τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακέειν νῆ Δία. . . καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινεν με δικαίως, εἰ κ.τ.λ. For these and many other passages see Rehdantz' *Index* p. 35.

Anyone who has read thus far will perhaps have seen what I wish to suggest, namely that *μη λίαν* is a corruption of the *νῆ Δία* (ΜΗΛΙΑ, ΝΗΔΙΑ) which occurs so constantly in parallel passages. So Herwerden (and I myself, not knowing that he had anticipated me) suggested some time back that in Plat. *Rep.* 607 B the absurd τῶν Δία σοφῶν should be τῶν λίαν σοφῶν. If we adopt *νῆ Δία* here, a slight further change will be necessary. I should suggest *τίς αὐτὸν κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζοντα*; *Θηβαῖοι νῆ Δία· κὰν· πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἤ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν εἰτοίμως.*

Ol. 2. 2 δέι τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἥδη σκοπεῖν αὐτοῦς, ὅπως μὴ χείρους περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι δόξωμεν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

ib. 22 ἐθελόντων ἂ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρόν.

ib. 25 μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐτέρους τινὰς ἐλπιζόντων πράξειν, αἰτωμένων ἀλλήλους, κ.τ.λ.

In 22 αὐτῶν is omitted by Dionysius and Gregory of Corinth: in 25 S alone has αὐτῶν, other MSS. ὑμῶν. In all three places some modern critics have wished to omit αὐτοὺς or αὐτῶν, e.g. Cobet in 25. In 2 the αὐτοὺς seems very pointless, and with the ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς immediately following distinctly objectionable: in 22 I can hardly think αὐτῶν right, all things considered. Perhaps for αὐτοὺς and αὐτῶν we might think of substituting πάντας and πάντων, which will be found more suitable. It is curious that in all three places the word preceding ends with a ν. ν and π are liable to confusion (*Bast Comm. Pal.* p. 747), and the ν might therefore absorb a π.

In Plutarch's *Demetrius* 30 τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐξέστη δι' ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ should we not read παντός for αὐτοῦ, *he lost all composure*? The final ν recurs there.

3 ἡμῖν δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαι.

Do not ὑμᾶς preceding and ὑμεῖς following point to ὑμῖν?

14 ὑπὴρξέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους (ἢ Μακεδονικῇ δυνάμει)· πάλιν αὖ πρὸς Ποτεΐδαιαν Ὀλυνθίους ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφότερον.

So the words stand in most editions, though Madvig's stop after Ὀλυνθίους is sometimes adopted now. I have no doubt that it is right, but it does not give us quite all we want. The scholiast's explanation of συναμφότερον as σὺν ἄλλῳ τινὶ γεινόμενον ought not to have been accepted by modern scholars in view of the use and the plain

meaning of the word. After the last letters of τοῦτο a τό has been lost. Demosthenes wrote ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο <τὸ> συναμφότερον, *this combination.*

17 οἱ δὲ δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ξένοι καὶ πεζέταιροι δόξαν μὲν ἔχουσ' ὡς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκριημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

Even if we render θαυμαστοὶ by *admirable* and not by *wonderful*, which is rather its meaning, do we not feel that a bare συγκεκριημένοι is not enough to keep it company? That troops are σ. is not enough to make them deserve the epithet θαυμαστοὶ, and we should at least expect to find with σ. some heightening adverb like εἰ or κάλλιστα.

I suggest however, not that any adverb or adverbial expression has actually been omitted, but that Demosthenes wrote θαυμαστῶς (or θαυμασίως) ὡς συγκεκριημένοι, as in the πρὸς Ἀφoβον I he writes θαυμασίως ἂν ὡς ἡλαβούμην, in the πρὸς Δάκριτον 16 λόγους θαυμασίως ὡς πιθανούς, and in the πρὸς Πανταίνετον 10 θαυμαστῶς ὡς ἐλυπήθην. καί and ὡς are very liable to interchange (*Bast u. s. p.* 24 and elsewhere), and, καὶ once written here, the adverb would easily become an adjective.¹

Ol. 3. 1 οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν περὶ ἧς βουλευέσθε οὐχὶ τὴν οὔσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν ἁμαρτάνειν.

As it stands, this is a very clumsy expression. Has no one ever suggested the obvious and idiomatic future βουλευέσσεσθε, 'bringing before you for consideration'?

Unless I am much mistaken, a similar correction is to be made twice at least in the First Philippic. In § 46 ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκείνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, idiom in the same way requires or at least very strongly suggests ψευδόμενοι. In 43 εἰτα τοῦτ' ἀνα-

¹ Is not the puzzling expression in *Soph. Phil.* 300

φέρ', ὦ τέκνον, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νήσου μάθης.
ταύτη πελάζει ναυβάτης οὐδὲς ἐκάν.

to be corrected in the same way by substituting ὡς for καί? I cannot indeed produce any exact parallel to φέρε, ὡς μάθης; but, if Plato could use the unusual phrase φέρε, εἰάν (*Crat.* 430 A φέρε δὴ, εἰάν πη διαλλαχθῶμεν, ὦ Κρατύλε· ἄρ' οὐ κ.τ.λ. *Rep.* 453 E φέρε δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰάν πη εὐρωμεν τὴν ἐξοδὸν· ὁμολογοῦμεν γὰρ δὴ κ.τ.λ. Cf. *Dion Chrys.* 13.29 φέρε, ἂν... διαλέγωμαι. *Dion* has also occasionally, e.g. 31, 93 and 163, φέρε εἰπεῖν, *say*, (*let us say*), there would seem to be nothing against the possibility of φέρε, ὡς in a poet. Perhaps the line would be best written with something less than a full stop at μάθης, and we may supply, if we like, *let me tell you.*

μενούμεν; καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δέινος ἐλπίδας ἂν ἀποστείλῃτε πάντ' ἔχειν οἷσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθ'; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ κ.τ.λ. the future tenses before and after, the really future meaning of ἂν ἀποστείλῃτε, and the manifest sense point in the strongest way to ἔξειν, unless indeed we should read οἷσσεσθε, which is less likely. If these corrections are allowed to be probable, I should be inclined to go on and say that in 32 ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χιμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ . . ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἄ χρῇ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει, which is matched with a future in the δέ clause (ῥαδίως ἔσται), one or other ὑπάρχει should be ὑπάρξει, both for symmetry and to avoid ὑπάρχει awkwardly occurring twice. Cf. Dobree's correction of ἔξω to ἔχω in *Frogs* 1230, where ἔξει immediately follows. For choice I would write ὑπάρξει δ' ὑμῖν, though strict symmetry would perhaps rather favour πάνθ' ὑπάρξει.

This corruption of a future to a present is one of the most inveterate tendencies of MSS. At different times I have pointed out a good many passages needing correction, and I have many more to point out when opportunity offers.

28 ἐχθρὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικοῦτον ἡσκήκαμεν.

ἡσκήκαμεν is not a suitable word at all. Will anyone really defend it against what I should like to read in its place, ἡξήκαμεν? *Ol.* 1. 9 ἡξήσαμεν . . Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς; 2. 49 μέγας ἡξήθη and *ib.* 6 ἡξήμενον, 7 ἡξήθη; *Phil.* 1. 104 ἐπηξήσεται. *Phil.* 3. 52 εἰς δ' ἀγῶν' ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἡσκηται is no parallel.

31 ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι . . ἡ . . πέμψωσι.

The difference of present and aorist here is much more than that of a 'continuous series' and a 'single incident' (Sandys). ἐὰν with aorist means 'if they have done so and so,' while ἐὰν with present means 'if they do' or 'are doing it.' It follows, I think, that we should either read μεταδῶσι, for which there is authority, or change πέμψωσι to a present. The mixture of times, though not impossible, would be awkward. The parallel passage 13. 31 favours the present tense, for all MSS. seem to have μεταδιδῶσι there.

34 οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις; φήσκει τις· καὶ παραχρήμά γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἅπαντων . . , ὥα τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων ὅπου δέοιθ' ἢ πόλιν τοῦθ' ὑπάρχοι (or τοῦτο παρέχοι). ἐξέστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν; οἴκοι

μένειν βελτίων . . . συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον οἶον καὶ τὰ νῦν; στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων . . . εἰς τάξιν ἡγαγον τὴν πόλιν . . οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου μηδὲν ἐγὼ ποιοῦσιν τὰ τῶν ποιοούντων εἶπον ὥς δεῖ νέμειν.

τοῦτο παρέχοι, which the text of Dion. H. 609 gives us, seems a more usual and likely expression. But, if we adopt it, I should like to bring the later ὑπάρχων into harmony with it by reading στρατιώτην αὐτὸν παρέχων. Though in each place the use of ὑπάρχω as distinct from εἶναι can probably be justified, it needs justification and is perhaps a little suspicious. Cf. παρασχέιν ἕκαστον αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. in the similar context of 13. 3-4.

Great difficulty attaches to the use of the optatives after ἵνα, and no even plausible account of them has been given. Observing the aorist tenses (ἡγαγον, εἶπον) which follow a little later, I should suggest that we read ἔλεγες for λέγεις and thus remove all difficulty as far as the optatives go. But then what is the meaning of the past tense ἔλεγες? I do not know; but neither does any one know what is the meaning of ἡγαγον and εἶπον. The obscurity is not increased in any way by ἔλεγες, while it accounts for the optatives, and renders παραχρήμα to my mind more natural. On the other hand 1. 19 τί οὖν; ἂν τις εἴποι, σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά, may be quoted in favour of λέγεις, which in itself is no doubt easier.

36 μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς . . κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.

Entirely disbelieving that τῆς ἀρετῆς can depend on ἦν, I suggest either <διὰ> τῆς ἀρετῆς or τῇ ἀρετῇ.

Phil. 1. 44 οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινα στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν;

Should we write οἰκείῳ? A possible cause of error is obvious in the ν of νῦν, but really ων and φ are almost freely interchangeable.

De Pace. 11 οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γινώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δύο· ἐν μὲν κ.τ.λ.

The editors seem hardly to realise the difficulty of δι' ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δύο, 'whatever two things I shall have said.' It is surely nonsense to say 'my intelligence and foresight are due to whatever two reasons I shall be pleased to assign.' The words cannot possibly mean 'the two things I am about to state': ἂν or ἂ ἂν must be indefinite. It seems likely that ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω has strayed by accident from the line before,

and that we should read δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γιγνώσκειν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶπω καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν διὰ δύο· ἐν μὲν κ.τ.λ.

In a somewhat similar way καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν εἴποι in *Ol.* 1. 13 has evidently grown out of ἂν τις εἴποι in the next line.

20 οὐδέ γε τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων ὕστατον ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν.

It is not easy to understand ὕστατον. Read ὑσπερον.

24 ἀλλ' ὥς οὔτε πράξομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἔσται πόλεμος. . . τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν. ('δεῖν ποιεῖν S: δεῖξιν or δεῖξαι vulgo: δεῖν ἐννοεῖν Liebhold' says Dr. Sandys).

I doubt whether ὥς with a future, even when resumed in a τοῦτο, can be made to depend on ποιεῖν. As ὥς comes at the beginning, the verb on which it was to depend must have been foreseen, and, whatever a writer like Xenophon might do, it is very questionable if Demosthenes would have written ποιεῖν ὥς with a future. (Cf. however the construction of ὅπως in § 13.) Observe further the clumsiness of bringing the two verbs ποιεῖν and πράττειν thus together, ποιεῖν ὥς πράξομεν οὐδέν. For ποιεῖν we may perhaps read σκοπεῖν, which would be the natural word for Demosthenes to use. A clear case of the same corruption is Plutarch *De Exilio* 606 c τοῦ δὲ θυσαμένου καὶ τὰ σπλάγχχνα κωλύειν φάσκοντος, ἐπετίμυσεν εἰπὼν 'σὺ τί κρέας λέγει ποιεῖς, οὐ τί νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος,' where Madvig restored σκοπεῖς for ποιεῖς.

Phil. 2. 3 οἷα ποιεῖ δ' ὥς δεινὰ καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξερχόμεθα.

I should prefer ὅσα to οἷα. The mistake is fairly common.

11 μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντες ταῦθ' ἂ πάντες αἰετὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται.

Here on the other hand I should like to write τοιαῦθ' for ταῦθ'. Demosthenes' ear would probably have shrunk from ταῦθ' just after ταῦτα (as from ὑπάρχει twice over in *Phil.* 1. 32 above), and τοιαῦτα is at least as proper.

25 τί ζητεῖτ'; ἔφην· ἐλευθερίαν.

Should we not point ἐλευθερίαν as a question?

31 τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω; . . . οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λαιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δὲ κ.τ.λ.

For ἐμαυτῷ λόγον ποιήσω Dr. Sandys offers the two alternatives that the words = ἵνα λόγον τύχω, and that they = ἵνα λόγον ποιήσωμαι. Besides obvious objections to both alternatives, the context indicates, I think, that ἵνα should introduce something in itself plainly undesirable. Not merely the εἰς λαιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν, but the main predicate should be of this character, as in the parallel clauses. Such a sense and one otherwise unexceptionable, as far as I see, might be obtained for these notoriously difficult words by the slight and familiar correction of λόγον to ψόγον. ψόγον ἐμαυτῷ ποιεῖν, *bring blame on myself*, would seem to be as good Greek as πόλεμον ποιεῖν *bring about a war*, which occurs repeatedly, for instance, in the speech about the Chersonese (§§ 7, 8, etc.). Add such phrases as *ib.* 52 ἡσυχίαν ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται: *Phil.* 4. 7 ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ . . . οὐκ ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἀμελουμένων ποιεῖ τὴν αἰσθησιν εὐθέως: *Plat. Apol.* 20 D τί ποτ' ἔστιν τοῦτο ὃ ἐμοὶ πεποίηκεν τό τε ὄνομα καὶ τὴν διαβολήν; *Laws* 937 c τὴν νίκην τῷ ἐλόντι πεποιηκέναι. But I think ὅχλον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω would be equally admissible and it is perhaps even more likely. In *Thuc.* 7. 56. 4 ὅχλου is now often read by conjecture for λόγου.

Cherson. 5. To the proposals for supplementing ἔστι δέ I would add the suggestion ἔστι δ' <ὡδί>. Plato makes free use of ἔστιν οὕτως, and ὡδί, a favourite expression with Demosthenes, would seem equally possible, though I do not know any precise parallel but *Il.* 18. 266 ὦδε γὰρ ἔσται: *Soph. El.* 573 ὦδ' ἦν τὰ κείνης θύματα.

Phil. 3. 48 οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον . . . ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὀνεισθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν.

The difficulty of ὥστ' οὐ, not ὥστε μή, here is well known. Has it ever been suggested that we could remove it by writing εἶχον for εἶχον? εἶχον would depend on ἀκούω in the previous sentence, and, these words then becoming *oratio obliqua*, the objection to οὐ would disappear. In 12. 4 the correction of εἶργειν to εἶργον seems certain.

68 τίς γὰρ ἂν ψήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι;

If ἂν is to be taken with ψήθη, as seems natural, the other words cannot be quite right. 'Who would have thought it would happen?' requires after ἂν ψήθη either ταῦτ' ἂν γενέσθαι or ταῦτα γενήσεσθαι. It is not Greek to write οἶμαι ταῦτα γενέσθαι for 'I expect it, think it likely, to happen.' It is just possible that the reading of the MSS.

is right, *ἀν* going with *γενέσθαι*; but I suspect the orator said *γενήσεσθαι*.

Phil. 4. 31 ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἔδει, διαφεύγει δ' οὐδὲ νῦν, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ.

The present tense *διαφεύγει* is odd. Should we not read *διαφέευνε*?

49 οὐδένες ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ τῶν πάντων εἰσὶν ὑμῶν, οὐ μόνον τῷ μάλισθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύειν Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πάντων ἀργότατ' αὐτοὶ διακείσθαι.

The two English editions I have looked at make no comment on the fact that grammar requires *αὐτούς* for *αὐτοί*. We must either read the accusative or say that the nominative is put as though preceded by *ὑμεῖς ἐν μεγίστῳ πάντων ἐστὲ κινδύνῳ*. Irregular accusatives in this sort of case are occasionally found: I do not know an instance of an irregular nominative quite parallel to this, though Herod 1. 2. 5: *Xen. Hell.* 5. 4. 1: *Thuc.* 5. 41. 2: 8. 104. 4: and especially *Thuc.* 8. 48. 5 and 75. 2 may be compared.

The preceding suggestions include three or four in which I have sought to restore grammar or sense by the addition of a word, in two cases the article. I should like to conclude my notes on these speeches by putting together a few other passages which seem to me to have suffered worse loss in the same way. About half of them are recognised difficulties, for which no convincing solution has been put forward. I do not know that in any of them the conjecture of a word or two missing has been made. I will write them out *seriatim* as I think they might stand restored, premising that any such attempt at restoration can of course in most cases only be approximate, and I will then add a few remarks.

Ol. 1. 21 οὗτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος, εἰ πολεμεῖν ᾗθη δέησιν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπιῶν <ἀπηγγέλλετο> ἅπαντα τότε ἥλπιζεν τὰ πράγματ' ἀναιρῆσεσθαι, κατὰ διέψυσται.

Ol. 2. 2 ὥς ἔστι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον πόλεων καὶ τόπων ὦν ἡμῖν ποτε κύριοι φαίνεσθαι προεϊμένους <ἀμελεῖν> (or <μὴ φροντίζειν>) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καιρῶν.

ib. 18 εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅς ἐμπειρὸς <εἶναι> πολέμου καὶ ἀγώνων.

ib. 28 ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰθλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος ὑμέτερα, <Πύδνα, Ποτειδαία,>

Ἀμφίπολις· καὶ ληφθῇ, παραχρῆμ' ὑμεῖς κομείσθε· οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστηκόντων ἴδιοι, μισθὸς δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐκεῖ δὲ κίνδυνοι μὲν ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ λήμματα τῶν ἐφεστηκόντων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Λάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖ' ἃ συλῶσιν.

Ol. 3. 15 καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσὶν <τινες>, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι τὰ ῥηθέντα. [εἰσὶ wanting in S.]

ib. 26 οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν <ιδίαν> ἐπράττετ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν ἕκαστος ψέτο δύν.

Phil. 1. 48 οἱ μὲν περιούντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν. . . οἱ δ' ὥς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλεία, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες <ἐτέρους> ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα.

Phil. 2. 22 ἀλλὰ μὲν <ὥς> γέγονεν ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι.

Chers. 32 ἂν μὲν οὖν τὸν αἴτιον <τοιούτον> εἶπῃ τις, ὃν ἴσθ' ὅτι λήψεσθε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, φατέ καὶ βούλεσθε· ἂν δὲ τοιοῦτον λέγῃ τις, ὃν κ.τ.λ. οὐκ ἔχετ' οἶμαι τί ποιήσετε.

Ol. 1. 21 The meaning required seems to be: he never expected to be compelled actually to carry on a war: he thought the mere rumour of his coming would bear down opposition and give everything into his hands. But this can hardly be got out of ὥς ἐπιῶν, 'he thought to carry everything before him, as being about to attack.' Cf. *Ol.* 3. 4 ἀπηγγέλλετο . . . πολιορκῶν: *Thuc.* 3. 16. 2 ἡγγέλλοντο αἱ νῆες τὴν περιουκίδα πορθοῦσαι.

2. 2 It is certain the genitives cannot be governed by *προεϊμένους*. If the passage is right, they must be attracted into the case of the relative *ὧν*. I have only noted two places in Demosthenes (though there may be others) where anything like this construction occurs: 18. 16 ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν, and 49. 3 ψέτο . . . οὐ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομείεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλον εἶ τοι δέοιτο πρὸς Τιμόθεον πράξαι ὑπάρξειν αὐτῷ. These are obviously very different from our passage, even if they can be called examples of the construction at all. ἄλλον and probably ἐτέρῳ go so closely with the other pronoun that they need hardly be brought into any relation with the infinitive. In prose moreover and even in poetry it is almost always nominative or accusative, not genitive or dative, that stands in this sort of attraction. In our passage the difficulty

is greatly enhanced by the genitive continuing in τῶν κ.τ.λ. I conclude therefore that some such expression as ἀμελεῖν, ὀλιγορεῖν, μηδὲν φροντίζειν has been lost.

2. 18 The only parallel cited for οἷος ἔμπειρος is Ar. *Wasps* 970 ὁ δ' ἕτερος οἷός ἐστιν οἰκουρὸς μόνον, where since Brunck οἰκουρεῖν has often been read. The nominative is not really intelligible, and it would be easy for εἶναι to drop out (so probably εἰσί in 3. 15).

2. 28 Ἀμφίπολις κἄν ληφθῇ, as it is usually written (Madvig and Blass in some of his texts omit Ἀμφίπολις altogether), throws an unreasonable emphasis on the name, which requires none at all. The parallel sentence with Δάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖα strongly suggests, I think, that one or two names have dropped out.

3. 26 By itself εἰς περιουσίαν is in no way contrasted with τὸ κοινὸν αὐξεῖν. There may be a surplus in the treasury as well as in private hands.

Chers. 32 Is the meaning sufficiently expressed without such a τοιοῦτον as appears in the parallel clause? The resemblance in letters to τὸν αἴτιον would facilitate its omission.

There are one or two other places where the insertion of a word or two might make things easier (e.g. *Ol.* 1. 2 an infinitive like φυλάττεσθαι before μὴ πάθῃτε: 2. 29 a participle with ὡς τοῦτους: 3. 7 something after ἡμεῖς); but I do not wish to propose it.

I will add a brief appendix on one passage in the *de Halonnese* and two in the *Letter of Philip*.

7. 13 τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα γίνεταί εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ μηδ' ἀμφισβητῆσαι εὐλόγως ὑμᾶς ἐτι Ποτειδαίας, 'as an admission that you cannot lay reasonable claim any further to Potidaea.' The sense requires μηδ' <ἀν> ἀμφισβητῆσαι. ἀν dropped out before αμ. The future ἀμφισβητήσῃν would be less suitable. So in 16. 5 it would seem necessary to insert ἀν before ἀντιπάλους.

12. 5 ὥστ' ἐγὼγ' ἀπορῶ τί ποτ' ἔσται καινότερον ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃτε μοι πολεμεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φανερώς διεφερόμεθα, ληστὰς ἐξεπέμπετε καὶ τοὺς πλείοντας ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐπωλεῖτε, τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐβοηθεῖτε, τὴν χώραν μου κακῶς ἐποιεῖτε.

Read ὅτ' <οὐ> φανερώς διεφερόμεθα. The time referred to is from 346 to 340, when Philip and Athens in spite of acts of hostility on both sides were not at open variance and war. Cf. 18. 43, 44.

12. 14 προῦκαλούμην κριθῆναι περὶ τούτων πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

The meaning is clearly the same as that expressed in 16 by προκαλούμενος ὑμᾶς εἰς κρίσιν ἔλθειν, and it follows that πρὸς ὑμᾶς should be πρὸς ἡμᾶς. This would be evident even without the parallel passage. In the *Letter* ἡμεῖς is constantly used of Philip.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NOTES ON JULIAN'S FIRST ORATION.

4 A. οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἔκ τινος τραγικῆς μηχανῆς, φησί. 'The law does not ordain any form of words, nor, like a *deus ex machina*, bid men seek virtue and fly vice.' What then is φησί? Neither the law nor any other noun in the neighbourhood can be its subject, but the remedy is simple; read φασί. Then φασί stands for ὡς φασι, as people have it. This idiom is of course common enough, e.g. Theocritus xii. 13, ὁ μὲν εἰσπνηλος, φαίη χ' ὠμυκλαῖζων, xv. 125, μαλακώτεροι ἔπνω, ἂ Μίλατος ἐρεῖ, and it is particularly common in Julian, but seems to have misled his latest and generally excellent editor, Hertlein. At least at 32 A, ὁ δὲ...εἶξας ὁπείποτε, φασί, τῇ Θετταλικῇ πειθανάγκῃ, Hertlein actually wants to change φασί to φησί. At 145 D this φησὶν positively appears in his text in place

of the old vulgate φασίν. At 148 B he remarks 'ego φασὶ deleverim.' Yet by the time he has got to 225 C he is of a better mind and restores φασίν rightly for φησὶν of the MSS. The same correction was also made by Hercher at 402 D. Other instances of this usage are to be found at 27 B, 173 B, 200 D, 244 B, 307 B, 366 B, 369 B, 376 D, 389 C, 411 B, 443 D, 444 A, and another instance of confusion between φησί and φασί in the MSS. at 444 D.

9 D. καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων οὐχὶ δὲ ἐνὸς μητέρα, ὧν ὁ μὲν τις τῷ πατρὶ συγκατειργάσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πόλεμον κ.τ.λ. Julian is speaking of the mother and brothers of Constantius, to whom he is writing this oration. If he said ὁ μὲν τις, it could hardly

mean anything but 'one of your brothers, I really don't quite know which,' and that is absurd. He must have said $\delta \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. For the correct use of $\delta \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma$ see 11 B.

12 B. $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa \delta\epsilon \iota\pi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\kappa$, $\omega\breve{\rho}\alpha \mu\eta\chi\alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \mu\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\varsigma \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\pi\iota\nu\acute{o}\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$. Julian is here criticising the proposal of Plato that the children of the guardians should be taken on horses to see their parents fight. It would be all very well, he remarks, if the enemy were all infantry, but if they had a superiority in cavalry, what then? $\omega\breve{\rho}\alpha \mu\eta\chi\alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ κ.τ.λ. Now in this sentence anyone will feel that there is something wrong about $\omega\breve{\rho}\alpha$ and $\delta\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\pi\iota\nu\acute{o}\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$. No one who knows his Julian will suppose him likely to have expressed his meaning by saying 'it will be time to devise a difficult way,' when he ought to have said either, 'it will be time to devise a way,' or else 'it will be difficult to devise a way.' And if we look up the passage in his mind, *Rep.* 466 c, we find $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\mu\eta\chi\alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \delta' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \omega\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon$, and hence we may perhaps suppose that Julian also wrote $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\mu\eta\chi\alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. As one form of π is just an ω with a lid to it, $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ might conceivably be corrupted to $\omega\rho\alpha$. A scribe finding what he thought to be $\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ would naturally alter it to $\omega\rho\alpha$.

15 C. $\tau\omicron \delta\epsilon \eta\gamma$, $\omicron\upsilon \tau\eta\eta \epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon \epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa \nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \tau\omicron \lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu \pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \iota\delta\rho\omega\tau\alpha \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$. We cannot praise the Carthaginian custom, says Julian, of turning children out to make their living for themselves, only forbidding them $\delta\rho\alpha\upsilon \tau\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa \delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa \alpha\iota\sigma\chi\rho\omega\upsilon$. 'That is not to bridle their desires, but to order them to try and not be found out.' Where then does $\iota\delta\rho\omega\tau\alpha$ fit in? Read $\tau\iota \delta\rho\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha$. It may be added that Julian is very careful in this oration about hiatus, and probably would not have allowed $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \iota\delta\rho\omega\tau\alpha$ to stand together.

17 C. $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega\varsigma \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$. 'πρὸς delere Reiske vult,' says Hertlein, 'αὐτ' ἔχοντες pro φέροντες scribere,' and Hertlein himself brackets $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$. But one need not go beyond Liddell and Scott to find $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega\varsigma \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ used with genitive, with dative, and with $\epsilon\pi\iota$ and dative, by a *constructio ad sensum*, and why not with $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and accusative?

19 A. 'Αρμένιοι παλαιοὶ σύμμαχοι στασιάζοντες καὶ μοῖρα σφῶν οὐ φαῦλη Πέρσαις προσθέμενοι. The nominative $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha$ is intolerable, not because of the masculine plural $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$ (for such a construction is common in Julian) but because it has no

proper construction otherwise, and because $\sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu}$ is not reflexive. He uses $\sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu}$ very often and almost always as a reflexive. I have collected the following references on this point: 21 B, 26 C, 61 C, 64 B, D, 76 A, 83 A, D, 86 B, 92 A, 99 A, 168 B, 437 C. The only exception is 99 D, $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa \upsilon\pi\eta\kappa\acute{o}\omega\upsilon\kappa \xi\upsilon\mu\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma, \acute{o}\pi\omega\varsigma \alpha\acute{\nu} \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\omega\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota, \epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha \sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu} \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha...$ where $\sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu}$ is used loosely as if he had said $\acute{o}\pi\omega\varsigma \alpha\acute{\nu} \omicron\iota \upsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \xi\upsilon\mu\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\omega\varsigma$, so that it is a *constructio ad sensum*, like $\epsilon\pi\iota \sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ in Thuc. II, 101, or the $\gamma\upsilon\mu\upsilon\omicron\iota$ of Thuc. II, 49, or fifty other passages. In Julian 60 A, $\tau\acute{\alpha} \delta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha \sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu}$ if right is to be explained in the same way, but $\sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu}$ is there ejected by Petavius and Hertlein; I myself think $\sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu}$ ought there to be retained. Anyhow these two passages are both defensible, but that we are now concerned with is not. (It is curious to observe, by the way, how $\sigma\phi\omega\acute{\nu}$ drops out from Julian's later writings; here we have fourteen instances in the first hundred pages and only two in the other 350. It is also to be noted that Julian does use $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ as well as $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$.)

To come back to 19 A, it is obvious that we must read $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha$ — $\phi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta$.

19 D. $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{o}\tau\iota \mu\grave{\eta} \tau\omicron \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa \xi\mu\omicron\iota\gamma\epsilon \phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\iota, \acute{o}\lambda\omega\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\upsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\theta' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron \tau\omicron \sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon \delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ For $\acute{o}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ read $\acute{o}\mu\omega\varsigma$. Julian knew how to use both appropriately; for $\acute{o}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ see 46 C, 80 C; for $\acute{o}\mu\omega\varsigma$ *passim*.

20 C. $\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota \chi\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omega\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \Pi\alpha\iota\omicron\acute{\nu}\omega\upsilon\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\nu \Sigma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma \omega\phi\theta\eta\varsigma, \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omega \lambda\omicron\gamma\omega \delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\chi\alpha\iota \rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon$. 'ὅπως πορείας Schaefer, Petavius vero ὅπως μὲν pro ἀθρόως coniecit.' Hertlein. But $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omega\varsigma$ has only got in by accident from some three lines down, and I think that what Julian said was $\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{o}\sigma\omega \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota \chi\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \Pi\alpha\iota\omicron\acute{\nu}\omega\upsilon\kappa \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$

21 D. $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa \delta\acute{\epsilon} \epsilon\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\kappa \alpha\upsilon\acute{\xi}\omega\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma... \epsilon\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\upsilon\omega\upsilon \delta\acute{\epsilon} \omicron\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\varsigma \pi\lambda\eta\eta \epsilon\acute{\iota} \pi\omicron\upsilon \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\eta\eta \alpha\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \delta\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\eta\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa \lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa$. V has two variants, $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon$ for $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon$, whence Hertlein rather unhappily conjectures $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$, and $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. That $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is wrong is indeed apparent, for it is manifest that the sense we require is 'unless it was needful occasionally to add a little to the taxes.' That would be $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Compare for this 23 D *ad fin.*: $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{o}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \tau\omega \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota$. From this we see that Julian probably wrote a dative after $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ without any accusative. But what of the accent in V? Of course

it may easily be a slip, but it may very well point to αἰ being the original, and on the whole, I incline to think that Julian wrote: ἐχρῆν αἰ προσθέσθαι (or προστίθεσθαι) δαπανηρότερον (adverb) τοῖς λειτουργήμασιν. Once the missing letters had fallen out (and our author is full of lacunae) and what was left was taken for αἰσθεσθαι, the rest followed as matter of course, and in the inferior MSS. the accent also was corrected to αἰσθέσθαι.

33 D. φαυλοτέρας καὶ ἐλάττονος VM, φαυλότερα cet. Here again V preserves a non-sensical reading corrected in the other MSS. But the correction is not complete, for καὶ is quite pointless. Julian said φαυλότερα ἐλάττονος, this was corrupted to φαυλοτέρας ἐλάττονος, and καὶ was then added by someone to give an appearance of sense by connecting the two adjectives. But that someone did not thereby make a sentence that would stand investigation and so a later corrector altered φαυλοτέρας back to φαυλότερα, quite rightly so far as he went.

37 D. Julian is describing the chain-mail armour which was then coming into use. ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων καρπῶν, says he, ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ὁ θώραξ <ἐκ> τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὰ νῶτα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦν ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν. This sentence is in a lamentable state, and all the editors have done for it is Reiske's insertion of ἐκ and Hertlein's ἐπικείμενον for ἐπικείμενος. Without wasting space by raising obvious objections, I will propose, (1) to mark a lacuna after ὤμους, (2) to read καὶ τὸ κράνος or τὸ δὲ κράνος, (3) to add τῷ between αὐτῷ and προσώπῳ. For αὐτῷ προσώπῳ could only mean 'face and all' and even if that were any sense there would be nothing left for ἐπικείμενον to govern. For the whole passage compare 57 B, C, especially θώραξιν ἐλατοῖς καὶ κράνεσιν.

38 B. ἢ πάντως τὸ τέλος ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ἔργων ποθοῦσιν ἄξιον; Hertlein observes 'τοῖς ποθοῦσιν malim,' but, though he is well advised in desiring some change, his proposal is not sufficient. 'Shall I leave off at

this point?' asks Julian, 'or is it not better to pay up the reward in full?' Pay it τοῖς ποθοῦσιν? No, indeed; it was Julian himself who desired to complete it (or who pretended to desire it in this disgraceful piece of hypocrisy and flattery). For at 40 C he writes ἐμοὶ δὲ ποθοῦντι μὲν ἐπεξελεῖν κ.τ.λ. So here what he wrote was ποθοῦμεν, whether the corruption can be 'scientifically' accounted for or no.

40 D. μήτ' εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον τῶν πάλαι γεγόνος λέληθε τοὺς πολλοὺς. 'I won't mention this and that of your exploits,' says the orator, 'nor'—what? Apparently 'any other ancient exploit of which the public know nothing.' Apart from the irrelevancy of such a remark, you would expect him then to go on to talk of the flood or the tower of Babel. But not he, he trots out the city of Antioch, which may be named after Antiochus but has only become fit for human habitation by the benefit of Constantius. Therefore what the public did not see was this very recent debt due to Constantius from the city of Antioch, they did not appreciate the Emperor's magnificence. All that has happened is that the word ἄξιον has dropped out between ἕτερον and τῶν πάλαι.

43 A. πλουτοῦσι μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι διὰ σὲ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐνδεεῖς οὐσαι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Wytttenbach, followed by Hertlein, reads διὰ σὲ διὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν. But what can be more wiredrawn and senseless than this change of case after διὰ? Also τῶν (after σέ) is the reading of V alone, the vulgate has τόν. And in this case the vulgate is nearer the truth than V, which can by no means be trusted through thick and thin; within the next few lines V is twice wrong in differing from other MSS. Here the original plainly was τό γ' ἔμπροσθεν.

I add a few suggestions for what they are worth. In 12 A read τοῦ μὲν <οὖν> ἀκίνδυνον. In 18 C στρατευσομένοις for στρατενομένοις. In 26 D φιλάνθρωπον seems corrupt; so also in 35 B the sentence beginning σκηπτός. And in 48 A query <τῶν> ἐρυμάτων to avoid hiatus?

ARTHUR PLATT.

CAESAR'S CONCEPTION OF FORTUNA.

It is a common idea that Caesar had a profound belief in his own good fortune. Some writers have even postulated for him the notion that a kind of benevolent destiny watched over his life and guaranteed him success in a long career of carefully calculated ambition. Mommsen, it is true, wrote cautiously on this point: (R. H. iv. 452).

'However prudently he planned and contemplated all possibilities, the feeling was never absent from his heart that in all things fortune, that is to say accident, must bestow success; and with this may be connected the circumstance that he so often played a desperate game with destiny, and in particular again and again hazarded his person with daring indifference. As indeed occasionally men of predominant sagacity betake themselves to a pure game of hazard, so there was in Caesar's rationalism a point at which it came in some measure into contact with mysticism.'

But as a recent specimen of the more definite view to which I allude I may quote a few words from Mr. T. Rice Holmes' excellent work on Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, p. 22:—

'He believed, with the faith of a devotee, that above himself there was a power, without whose aid the strongest judgment, the most diligent calculation, might fail. That power was Fortune; and Caesar was assured that Fortune was ever on his side.'

The question as to the belief in Fortuna, whether as deity, destiny, or simple luck and accident, during the period of the Roman Revolution and the early Empire, is an extremely interesting one; and I have lately been at pains to discover what views were taken of this mysterious agency by writers of that age. So far as Caesar himself is concerned, I cannot find in his own works (the only good evidence we have) any certain indication of such a view as Mr. Holmes expresses. I think I can shew that a superstitious belief in Fortuna, such as Sulla is said to have held, is more prominent in contemporary writers than in Caesar himself. I also have some reason to think that a belief in blind chance, whether conceived as a deity or not, gained ground steadily in the century after Caesar's death, until it reached a pitch which is very forcibly expressed in a well-known passage of the elder Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 2, ch. 22): 'toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibusque horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, una agitur rea, una cogitatur, sola laudatur,

sola arguitur. Et cum conviciis colitur, volubilis, a plerisque vero et caeca existimata, vaga, inconstans, incerta, varia, indignorumque faulrix. Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta, et in tota ratione mortalium sola utramque paginam facit.' The tendency towards such a belief as is indicated in this strange passage was not unnatural at a time when educated men had almost entirely lost their old faith in the gods, when few had realised as Lucretius did the power of universal law in Nature, and when the influence of the Christian idea of a benevolent Providence, acting not wilfully, but according to the moral deserts of individuals and communities, had not yet begun to be felt in Roman society. The nearest approach to this last view is seen perhaps in the conviction of a destiny governing the Roman State (*Fortuna Populi Romani*), but capable of forsaking it in times of moral delinquency; a view seen best in Virgil, and one which gives the *Aeneid* a higher moral tone than any work in Roman literature. But I must return to Caesar, with whose view I am chiefly concerned in this paper.

Mr. Holmes quotes several passages from Caesar in support of his view; these I will examine in the first place. The first is in the short letter written by Caesar to Cicero 'ex itinere' on April 16, B.C. 49 (Att. 8. 10 B):

'namque et amicitiae graviorem injuriam feceris et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videbere—omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur.'

There is nothing in these words that might not be written at the present day by a man urging a friend to join a successful side in war or politics. Caesar is thinking of nothing more than the events of the preceding three months, which were not due to luck, but entirely to his own skill and rapidity; but in deference to Cicero's sensibility, he tactfully suggests that Fortune had befriended him and might also befriend Cicero, if he would join him.

(2) Next Mr. Holmes quotes B.G. v. 58, § 6: 'comprobat hominis consilium fortuna, &c.' This passage is not without value for Caesar's view of Fortuna, but here the homo is not Caesar himself, but Labienus,

whose plan for making an end of Indutimarus *turned out*, as we should say, to be well laid.

(3) B.G. vi. 30: 'Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest fortuna.' Here the whole chapter should be read in order to understand the force of these words. Caesar himself was not on the spot; his lieutenant Minucius Basilus was hunting Ambiorix in a difficult and wooded district. Basilus, Caesar means, was lucky in not running unprepared right into the enemy's quarters, and Ambiorix was still more so in contriving to escape. The nature of the country was such that luck had more than usual to do with the result.

(4) and (5) B.G. vi. 35: (cp. 42, which will be quoted directly)

'Hic, quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus, cognoscere potuit.'

With these words Caesar introduces the story of the disaster to Quintus Cicero at Aduatua, which was owing to the unexpected raid of a body of Sugambrian horse. It is one of those scenes in the Gallic War which vividly recall the late 'regrettable incidents' in South Africa. Cicero had allowed himself, contrary to Caesar's orders, to send out of his camp half a legion of recruits to forage; and in their absence the camp was attacked, and only saved by the heroism of a veteran centurion. Then the foraging recruits were attacked in their turn on their way back to camp and all but cut to pieces. Caesar arrived that night and saved the situation. (c. 42):

'Reversus ille, eventus belli non ignorans, unum, quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio essent emissae, questus ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisset multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisset judicavit, multo etiam amplius, quod paene ab ipso vallo portisque castrorum barbaros avertisset.'

With his usual consideration for the feelings of his officers—and this one had recently done him excellent service—he contented himself with telling Cicero that he had been unlucky in being suddenly attacked, but that he should not have disobeyed orders, and was particularly fortunate in being able to save his camp.

(6) B. C. iii. 10:

'Hoc unum esse tempus de pace agendi, dum sibi uterque confideret et

pares ambo viderentur; si vero alteri paulum modo tribuisset fortuna, non esse usurum condicionibus pacis eum, qui superior videretur, neque fore aequa parte contentum, qui se omnia habiturum confideret.'

Caesar is here endeavouring to treat with Pompeius after landing in Epirus in January 48. Both sides, he argues, had had equal success so far; if one should be luckier than the other in the future, it might be more difficult to come to terms. Here there is an apparent personification of fortuna, but no stress can be laid on the use of the word, for Caesar is tactfully suggesting that if his opponent were beaten, it would be owing rather to ill-luck than to his own want of skill.

(7) B. C. iii. 68:

'Sed fortuna, quae, plurimum potest cum in reliquis rebus tum praecipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit.'

This remark introduces the account of Caesar's defeat at Dyrrachium. The mishap was probably owing to his own undue haste in ordering an attack on ground not thoroughly reconnoitred; his men were not well in hand, and I think he felt this himself. But he is not above putting it down to chance, and in fact it was directly caused by a blunder on the part of his men which a general might well fail to anticipate. It is however worth while noting what he told the soldiers in his speech to them after the battle (73-4):

Si non omnia caderent secunda, fortunam esse industria sublevandam.'

(8) B. C. iii. 95:

'Caesar Pompeianis ex fuga intra vallum compulsis nullum spatium perterritis dare oportere existimans milites cohortatus est, ut beneficio fortunae uterentur castraque oppugnarent.'

After the battle of Pharsalus Caesar stimulates his men to an unusual feat, the storming of the enemy's camp, by appealing to their sense that all had so far gone prosperously. The words 'fortunae beneficium' are common and conventional (cp. B. C. i. 40), and can have no special bearing on Caesar's idea of Fortuna.

(9) To these passages cited by Mr. Holmes we may add B. G. iv. 26:

'Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari defuit.'

At the landing in Britain Caesar was unable to pursue the defeated enemy as the transports with the cavalry had not reached the shore. This passage certainly indicates that Caesar thought he had so far been fortunate; but also that this was an exception to the rule, and there had in fact been many more.

(10) B. G. i. 40:

‘Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri; scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam; suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam.’

With this passage we may compare the statement of the author of the *Bellum Africanum* (83) that at the battle of Thapsus, when he could no longer restrain the impetuosity of his soldiers, he gave the signal ‘*Felicitas*’ and led the charge himself. That is, as the men insisted on precipitating his plans, he could only hope that good luck would follow their enthusiasm.

I may here interpolate a few words about the meaning of *Felicitas*. This word does not merely indicate good-luck in the sense of chance as in a game; it means rather what we ourselves mean when we speak of a happy thought or a happy conjecture, and does not exclude the cooperation of the human agent in securing a fortunate result. When Cicero in the *Pro Lege Manilia* (x. 28) says in allusion to Pompeius that the *summus imperator* should have four qualities, *scientia rei militaris*, *virtus*, *auctoritas*, and *felicitas*, he means, as the whole context shows (secs. 23—47), that the last of these will usually follow on the possession of the other three. There is a curious fragment of a letter of Cicero to Cornelius Nepos, preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi. 16, 13) in which this idea of *felicitas* is still more definitely expressed, and with special reference to Caesar. (Tyrrell and Purser, vi. 292):

“neque enim quicquam aliud est felicitas” inquit “nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas, vel ut alio modo definiam: *felicitas est fortuna adiutrix consiliorum bonorum*, quibus qui non utitur, felix esse nullo pacto potest. Ergo in perditis impiisque consiliis, quibus Caesar usus erat, nulla potuit esse felicitas.”

I should judge by the tone of this passage that it was written just after Caesar's death, and was perhaps suggested by the new temple of *Felicitas* which Lepidus had just dedicated or was about to dedicate on the site of the *Curia* built by Sulla and pulled down by Caesar apparently to make room for the temple. (Dio Cass. 44, 5. *Aust. de aedibus sacris* p. 30. It is possible that this temple was vowed by Caesar at Thapsus.)

But to return to Caesar himself. I have examined in all a great number of passages in his writings, in which the word *fortuna* occurs, but can find none which throw additional light on the question. From those quoted above, it seems impossible to conclude that Caesar had any particular belief in his own good fortune; though it is possible that at the very end of his life, as the temple to *Felicitas* may suggest, he looked back on his career with some astonishment at his singular good fortune. Two of our passages refer to serious disasters to his army; two also to disappointments, though in one of these (No. 9) he casually alludes to his former good-luck. One passage (No. 2) concerns Labienus; another (No. 6) is neutral in reference, and No. 8 is a conventional use of the word *fortuna*. No. 1 has a personal reference, but, as I have pointed out, it applies to a single campaign and was suggested by a desire to spare Cicero's feelings. In No. 10 he refers to his *felicitas* in another campaign; but that word does not necessarily imply that he thought of himself as favoured by a mysterious power. To me it seems that Caesar is in this matter, as in others, as completely rational as Lucretius; I can find nothing in him to suggest any tinge of mysticism. It is true that he believed in good and bad luck, as we all do; he believed that in things which are beyond our power to anticipate exactly we must often trust to luck—but not till we have done all that is in our power to secure it. Risks must be run, especially if time be precious, as it generally was to Caesar; but a careful study of his campaigns has long ago convinced me that he did not even run serious risk unless he knew that his enemies were not likely to make the best of the opportunities he was offering them. And if his luck failed, it is quite clear that he believed that it could be made up for by *industria*. There is no better example of this in military history than the way in which he extricated himself at Ilerda from the appalling peril caused by the sudden flood of a river.

It is true indeed, that though he never really personifies *fortuna*, he puts more emphasis upon her share in his operations than a modern general would do; but that is a tendency which is common to the writers of his age. The experiences of the last century of the Republic might well create a belief in the blind or wilful domination of chance in human affairs; society and politics seemed to be governed by no benevolent destiny, or rational law of development. But other writers emphasise this much more strongly than Caesar himself; and I will conclude this paper by quoting a few sentences from Caesar's contemporaries and friends which will shew this at a glance.

Sallust, Cat. 8 :

'Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas, *ex libidine magis quam ex vero*, celebrat obscuratque.'

ib. 10:

'Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, *saevire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, coepit*.'

De Bello Alexandrino (possibly by Asinius Pollio) ch. 25 :

'At fortuna, quae plerumque eos, quos plurimis beneficiis ornavit, ad duriorem casum reservat, superiorum temporum dissimilis Euphranorem prosequabatur.'

Cic. De Div. II. vii § 18 :

'Nihil enim est tam contrarium

rationi et constantiae, quam fortuna; ut mihi ne in deum quidem cadere videatur, ut sciat, quid casu et fortuito futurum sit.'

Cornelius Nepos, Dion 6 :

'Has tam prosperas tamque inopinatas res consecuta est subita commutatio, quod fortuna sua *mobilitate*, quem paulo ante extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primum in filio, de quo commemoravi supra, suam vim exercuit.'

ib. Atticus, 19 :

'Tanta enim prosperitas Caesarem est consecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam ante detulerat, et conciliarit, quod nemo adhuc civis Romanus quivit consequi.'

Cic. Pro. Marcello iii. 7. (addressing Caesar) :

'Quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriae non offert, tibi cedit, tuam esse totam et propriam fatetur.'

These two last passages, taken together with the fragment of a letter to Nepos quoted above, seem to me to suggest that the idea of Caesar's extraordinary good fortune, of which we can find but little trace in his own writings, was really a very natural conviction of his contemporaries, and nothing more. The others show a tendency to personify Fortuna (though hardly as a deity), and an ascription to her of wantonness and caprice, which are not to be found in Caesar's own writings.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

ON HORACE, *ODES*, III. 30, 10-14.

Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos.

At the meeting of the American Philological Association in July, 1894, I read a paper on the interpretation of these verses,¹

¹ See the Proceedings of the Association for that year, pp. 27-30.

in which I sought to show that the *qua*-clauses are to be taken closely with *dicar*. Up to that time editors had inclined to join these clauses either with *ex humili potens* or with *princeps...modos*. The former view had been adopted by Kiessling, the latter by Wickham and Page. Bentley, Orelli-Hirschfelder, Lucian Mueller, Dillenburger, Nauck, and Doering held views varying in details, but all were agreed that the *qua*-clauses are not to be joined to *dicar*.

The point of view of these various editors is very well given by Mr. Page's remark that "Horace does not wish to limit his fame to his native district, but that his native district should share in his own world-wide glory," and by Dillenburger's caution, "*Noli tamen haec cum dicar artius coniungere, nam nomen Horatii et gloria tam angustis finibus non est circumscribenda.*" Maclean, in his introductory note to the Ode, at first urges that the *qua*-clauses should be joined to *dicar*, but presently, losing the courage of his convictions, suggests that after all the clauses should be joined to *ex humili potens*.¹

Against these traditional interpretations I argued along three lines.

1. Editors generally have handled this passage in unscientific fashion; they have brought to bear upon it their *animus*, not their *mens atque ingenium*. On purely aesthetic grounds they have assumed that Horace ought, under the circumstances, to have talked in terms of universals, and they assume also that therefore he certainly did talk in terms of universals. Having reached this conviction, they proceed to torture the words into yielding, to their own satisfaction at least, the meaning they desiderate. That this is an unscientific procedure no one can deny.

2. The interpretations gained by joining the *qua*-clauses either to *ex humili potens* or to *princeps* . . . *modos* do violence to the known facts of Horace's life, for in Apulia neque Horatius ex humili factus est potens neque Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxit modos. Horace's literary career and consequent rise from low estate to high degree were connected, from beginning to end, with Rome and the Sabine farm.²

3. To join the *qua*-clauses to anything except to *dicar* is to do violence to all considerations of syntax, word-order, and rhythm.

When this point had been reached, it

¹ It was a pleasure to find that Prof. Smith, of Harvard University, in his edition of the *Odes and Epodes*, published in the fall of 1894, took the *qua*-clauses with *dicar*. Prof. Shorey (1899) takes the clauses with *princeps* . . . *deduxisse*, but he continues thus: "but it is virtually the same thing to be remembered as a poet in his humble birthplace and to be remembered as one who in or from that humble place attained the poet's fame." Prof. Moore (1902) makes the following comment, all too brief: "*qua*, &c. : i.e. "I shall be honoured in the district where I was born." Lucian Mueller, in his monumental commentary (1900), still holds that the passage is corrupt or that there is a lacuna.

² On points 2 and 3 see further the paper referred to above. Cf. too, to some extent, Lucian Mueller *ad loc.*

remained to illustrate, if possible, by a fitting parallel the thought obtained by my interpretation. This was found in Martial, i. 61, *passim*, but especially in vss. 7, 8, 11, 12 :

duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum
facunda loquitur Corduba.
Te, Liciniane, gloriabitur nostra
nec me tacebit Bilbilis.

In the last two vss. Martial expresses not only of himself, but of another, his friend, the very thought which modern feeling has been so loth to attribute to Horace. Martial knew Horace's Ode well (cf. *Epigramm.* viii. 3, 5-8, x. 2, 9-12); he knew, also, Ovid's paraphrase of it in *Met.* xv. 871 ff., and doubtless also Propertius's imitations.

Recently, in reading Mr. Strachan-Davidson's book on Cicero, in the 'Heroes of the Nations' series, I came upon a passage which seems to me to throw light on our Horatian crux. It is on pp. 6-8, and runs, in part, as follows :

'The statesman who came from a country-town in Italy was perhaps more than compensated for the lack of ancestral connection with the city of Rome, by the keen interest which his fellow-townsmen and neighbours took in his political career, by their pride and delight in his exploits, and by their anxiety for the reputation which reflected credit upon their native place. In this respect the country-towns were in strong contrast with the civic and suburban districts, such as that of Tusculum, which were surfeited with famous and noble families and were careless about their local worthies.'

Mr. Strachan-Davidson then translates *Pro Plancio*, §§ 20, 22, as affording the justification of the remarks just quoted. It will be better here to transcribe the pertinent portions of §§ 19-22.

'Tu es e municipio antiquissimo Tusculano, ex quo sunt plurimae familiae consulares, in quibus est etiam Iuventia; tot³ ex reliquis municipiis omnibus non sunt. hic est e praefectura Atinati, non tam prisca, non tam honorata, non tam suburbana. quantum interesse vis ad rationem petendi? primum utrum magis favere putas Atinates an Tusculanos suis? alteri—scire enim hoc propter vicinitatem possum—cum huius ornatissimi atque optimi viri, Cn. Saturnini, patrem aedilem, cum praetorem viderunt, quod primus ille non modo in eam familiam, sed etiam in praefecturam illam sellam curulem adtulisset, mirandum in modum laetati sunt: alteros—credo, quia refertum est municipium consularibus, nam malevolos non esse certo scio—numquam intellexi vehementius suorum municipium honore laetari. habemus hoc nos, habent municipia nostra. quid ego de me, de fratre meo loquar? quorum honoribus agri ipsi prope dicam montesque faverunt. num quando vides Tusculanum aliquem de M. Catone illo . . . gloriari? at in quemcumque Arpinatem inci-

³ Mueller needlessly inserts *quot*, and, of course, punctuates differently.

deris, etiam si nolis, erit tamen tibi fortasse etiam de nobis aliquid, sed certe de C. Mario audiendum. . . omnia, quae dico de Plancio, dico expertus in nobis, sumus enim finitimi Atinatibus. laudanda est vel etiam amanda vicinitas, retinens veterem illum officii morem, non infuscata malevolentia, non adsueta mendaciis, non fucosa, non fallax, non erudita artificio simulationis vel suburbano vel etiam urbano. nemo Arpinas non Plancio studuit, nemo Soranus, nemo Casinas, nemo Aquinas. tractus ille celeberrimus, Venafranus, Allifanus, tota denique nostra illa aspera et montuosa et fidelis et simplex et faultrix suorum regio se huius honore ornari, se augeri dignitate arbitrabatur."

No special comment is needed. The passage, put beside Martial, i. 61, will show that the thought obtained by joining the

qua-clauses closely to *dicar* is one which a Roman could thoroughly appreciate, even though a modern reader persists in feeling that under the circumstances Horace ought to have talked in terms of universals, not of particulars. It was evidently accounted no small thing in those times to be remembered in one's native place. Cicero did not feel it beneath his own dignity to dwell upon fame of that sort, in connection even with himself, as late as the year 54 B.C.; why then make so much trouble over the expression of the same thought by Horace?

CHARLES KNAPP.

ON THE ALLUSIONS IN HORACE, *ODES* I, 14.

ONLY two facts can be asserted concerning this ode. It is modelled on an ode of Alcaeus, and Quintilian believed it to be an allegory. There is hardly any internal evidence. The ship is 'Pontica pinus,' and Horace prays it to avoid the seas between the Cyclades. The former reference has been developed largely, the latter more or less neglected. Both are possibly due to Alcaeus' ode. Horace's peculiar manner of using his models can be seen in the Satire (i. 5) describing the journey to Brundisium. There he copies Lucilius so closely that we might almost call his work a parody. So here, if Alcaeus had mentioned where his ship was built, and whither it was going, Horace would probably imitate him. As to its being an allegory, we can be perfectly certain that, if the ship is the State, yet the ode had also a particular application to some time or event. I suggest that the time is B.C. 31, about the middle of December. Suetonius Aug. 17 has the following passage, 'Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset (Octavianus), turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et missionem poscentium, quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiserat, repetita Italia, tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus (primo inter promuntaria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrobique parte liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua vehebatur, fuis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto) nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit,' and the deaths of Antony

and Cleopatra follow. Plutarch in his life of Antony corroborates.

Horace and Maecenas may have gone to Brundisium to meet him during the twenty-seven days. Whether that were so or not, I think Horace addressed this ode to Octavian's battered ship, without thinking very much about the patent allegory.

The ship, as a matter of fact, was likely enough to be made of Pontic pine, and Horace adjures it to be careful on its way to Asia (Suet. *loc. cit.*) of the dangerous seas around the Cyclades. This theory explains the last stanza, both as regards fact and allegory. At Actium the state had been 'solicitem taedium,' still is 'desiderium curaue non levis,' and will be in danger if Caesar is wrecked in the Aegean. Octavian had done a plucky thing, in making a winter voyage, been in much danger, and Horace pays him a most graceful compliment. But the compliment did not end here. In several places Horace, to please his patron, recalls this voyage.

Everybody has noticed how often Horace dwells on the danger of the Adriatic at the time of Orion's setting, that is from the 13th November to December, the time during which Octavian sailed to Italy. *Odes* i. 3, gains by considering lines 17—20 a reference to Augustus' adventures and praise of his daring

Quem Mortis timuit gradum,
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia
Qui vidit mare turgidum et
Infames scopulos Acrocerania?

Line 14 indicates the time of the year; the

'tristes Hyades' set at the end of November. The 'South wind struggling with the North wind' might easily be explained by the two storms, which drove him, according to Suetonius, first on to some cliffs between the Peloponnese and Aetolia, and afterwards on to the Acroceraunia. Again cp. iii. 27. 17—20

Sed vides, quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus
Peccet Iapyx.

The time of the year is the same, and the wind is North. Such a time was unusual for crossing the sea. There is the same reference to the Adriatic in late autumn in Ode i. 28. 22, iii. 7. 5, and other places.

Ode ii. 14. 13, demands more attention :

Frustra cruento Marte carebimus
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
Frustra per autumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum.

I think this is a direct reference to Augustus. Horace himself had been shipwrecked,

—it would have been impossible for him not to have mentioned it,—but the scene was Cape Palinurus, probably during the war with Sextus Pompeius. In the stanza quoted 'frustra cruento Marte carebimus,' may of course refer to Augustus, and I am trying to show that 'fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,' refers to him also. For the third danger, Auster in the autumn, compare Suetonius, Aug. 81. 'Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes (Augustus) experiebatur; nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, *austri- nis autem temporibus gravedine.*' Also Suet. Aug. 72 'Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valetudini suae urbem hieme experiretur; assidueque in urbe hiemaret.' This interpretation of the stanza gives point to the preceding lines

'sive reges
sive inopes erimus coloni.'

ERNEST ENSOR.

NOTE ON PROPERTIUS IV. 1. 65, 66.

IN Propertius, Book IV. (V.), 1. 63—66, the MSS. N, D, and V, read

Ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria
libris,
Umbria Romani patria Callimachi;
Scandentes quisquis cernit de vallibus arces,
Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

In 65, 66, F reads 'quasis cernet,' and L 'quasis cernit.'

In the same poem at line 125 we have

Scandentisque Asis (or Asisi, Lachmann)
consurgit vertice murus,
Murus ab ingenio notior ille tuo.

Here for 'Asis' D and V read 'axis.'

Lines 65 and 66 are apparently a slightly different version of the same thought as that contained in the undoubtedly sound couplet, 125 and 126. If they are to be retained in their present context they must be emended, in order that they may be connected with the preceding lines; hence Prof. Postgate reads

Scandentes quis qui cernit . . .

others read si quis cernit, (e.g. Paley and Haupt).

But the 'quasis' of F and L cannot be ignored, for it makes no sort of sense, and is therefore not a correction but a corruption of some earlier tradition. I suggest that the corrupted word was Asis (or Asisi, for the quantity is still in doubt) and that lines 65, 66 should be

Scandentesque¹ Asis(i) qui cernit vallibus
arces,

Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

According to this view the corruption of 'que Asisi qui' accounts for quisquis, quasis, and (if necessary) si quis, and de was added later to make the line scan. The 'axis' of D and V in line 125 shews that the name of this town was easily corrupted.

The question then arises whether 65 and 66 can possibly have belonged to the same poem as 125 and 126, since the similarity of the couplets is only increased by the emendation. Such looseness of composition is, I think, unparalleled even in Propertius; but he often re-writes lines that have occurred in former poems. To take only one instance; in Book II. xiii. 47. 48. [III. v. 31, 32] we have the lines

¹ Or, Scandentis.

Cui si longaevae minuisset fata senectae
Gallicus Iliacis miles in aggeribus,

where 'longaevae .. fata senectae' is an echo of 'longae remorentur fata senectae,' in I. xix. 17, and the pentameter of 'miles ab Etruscis saucius aggeribus,' in I. xxi. 2.

It is probable then that this version of lines 125 and 126, which is undoubtedly Propertian, occurred originally in some earlier poem. It is easy to account for its insertion after line 64, since the text has been much disturbed by illustrative quotations; e.g. II. xiv. [III. vi.] 29-32, and II. xxiv. [III. xviii.] 11-16, which may be intended to illustrate in the one case 'ante tuam aedem,' and in the other 'immundo Sacra conteritur Via socco,' above. And its retention was facilitated by the subjunctive 'aestimēt,' which seemed to be governed by 'ut' in line 63, and by the fact that, unlike the majority of such additions, it made very excellent sense.

If these suppositions be correct, it still remains to assign the couplet to its rightful place. In this instance the solution is simplified by Professor Housman's extremely ingenious restoration of the last poem of the first Book, a poem generally admitted to be mutilated. According to this theory two couplets have been lost there, one of which reappears in II. xxx. 21, 22

Spargereque alterna communes caede Penates
Et ferre ad patrios praemia dira Lares

as a quotation illustrating the difficult infinitives in lines 19 and 20 which in N are read as

¹ Non tamen immerito! Phrygiās nunc ire
per undas
Et petere Hyrcani litora nota maris.

¹ Lines 19 and 20 of II. xxx. seem themselves to

The other lost couplet is the one under discussion. The last poem of Book I will then end thus

Spargereque alterna communes caede
Penates

Et ferre ad patrios praemia dira Lares, ¹⁰
Proxima supposito contingens Umbria
campo

Me genuit terris fertilis uberibus,
Scandentesque Asis(i) qui cernit vallibus
arces,

Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

The infinitives in lines 9 and 10 are in reality governed by 'egit' in line 5, but the construction is quite sufficiently obscure to admit of the couplet being deleted when it had once become incorporated in II. xxx. Similarly, lines 13 and 14 were deleted, as recurring in the last book, when the whole point of them had been lost by the corruption of the word Asis(i). If Professor Housman's conjecture be correct, the poem as restored gains greatly in force by the addition of the actual name of the poet's birthplace at the end.

O. L. RICHMOND.

have been introduced from somewhere else, as in their context they make no sense. Is it possible that 'non tamen immerito,' which has been altered to 'num tu, dure, paras,' in other MSS. to account for the infinitives, is itself a corruption of 'non Tanain metuo?' If this were possible, it would account for their addition here, presumably at the bottom of a page, as a quotation illustrating 'tu licet usque | ad Tanain fugias, usque sequetur Amor,' where D, F, and L have 'tantam' for 'Tanain.' We should then have to change 'nunc' to 'non.' The corruption might have been facilitated by the recollection of II. vi. 35. 'Sed non immerito.'

A ROMAN STAGE CONVENTION.

Agorastocles. Collybiscus.

Ag. Agite, inspicite. *Co.* Aurum est profecto, spectatores, comicum: Macerato hoc pingues fiunt auro in Barbaria boves.—Plautus, *Poenulus*. Act III. Sc. 2, line 19.

Nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis.—Horace, *Ep.* 1. 7, line 23.

THE above passages are by themselves sufficient to prove that lupines were used

upon the Roman stage to represent money, and it is generally assumed that the large, round, flat seeds of the plant resembled coins sufficiently for the convention to be tolerable. Now Miller's 'Gardeners' Dictionary' acknowledges five varieties of lupine as indigenous to southern Europe.

1. *Lupinus albus*, which is still cultivated both for food and manure. The seeds are 'rounded, smooth, and white, and smaller than those of most other varieties.'

2. *Lupinus varius*. The seeds are 'solitary, large, irregularly round, beaked above the navel by a short knob, flattish on both sides, marked in the middle with a broad ferruginous spot.'

3. *Lupinus hirsutus*. 'Three large roundish seeds, rough, and of a purplish brown.'

4. *Lupinus pilosus*, the seeds of which are not described but the plant differs very slightly from the *hirsutus*.

5. *Lupinus angustifolius*. The seeds are 'ovate, globular, equally turgid all round, variegated with dusky branching spots and whitish dots.'

Now it is plain that none of these seeds—except possibly those of the *Lupinus albus*—can ever have looked the least like a gold coin and in no case can the resemblance have been at all satisfactory. It is also improbable that Roman cattle were ever fattened on a mash of lupine seeds.

The only gold coinage existing at Rome in Plautus' life-time was issued when the Second Punic war had brought the state to the verge of bankruptcy, and was apparently recalled soon after peace was declared. The *Lex Oppia*, which was passed 'in medio ardore Punici belli' and repealed twenty years later suggests that this coinage was made out of the gold ornaments worn by the Roman ladies. In this case it would naturally have been made up again as soon as possible. It is a fair inference that the Romans of Plautus' time were not in the habit of using gold coins.

In the museum at Pesth there are some

gold bars, issued between 367 and 383 A.D., bearing the stamp of the mint at Sirmio, and obviously intended to be used as currency. These gold 'lateres' are about six inches long and half an inch square, and are, in fact, exactly like rather fat sticks of sealing-wax. It seems very probable therefore that the Romans were more or less accustomed to a currency of gold bars even in the fourth century A.D. when gold coins had existed for centuries. They must have used these 'lateres' habitually in Plautus' time, when there was no regular gold coinage at all.

Now all these varieties of lupines have a straight thick stalk from eighteen to thirty-six inches in length, which would of course turn yellow when dry. Cut up into suitable lengths, this thick yellow stalk would look quite sufficiently like a gold 'later' to be used on the stage, and if Collybiscus had a handful of them he might very well turn to the audience and say 'we fatten our cattle on a mash of this gold in Italy.'

Then if we accept Prof. Ridgeway's theory that the *as* was originally a rod of copper it would—at any rate when new—have looked quite sufficiently like a dry lupine stalk to have given rise to some proverbial remark like that quoted above from Horace's *Epistle*. It is hard to see how any one in possession of their faculties can ever have been deceived for a moment by any superficial resemblance between a large bronze, or copper, coin and the seed of a leguminous plant.

R. H. MALDEN.

KING'S COLLEGE,
February 2, 1903.

ON SOME SYMBOLS OF OMISSION IN LIVIAN MSS.

his and *h.s.*

IN collating the Harleian Livy i-viii. (British Museum, 2672: 70b) I found in Book vii. 30. 2 'pariter ac nunc *his* misericordia,' and the same reading is recorded for Leidensis: also in vii. 18. 5 both MSS. have 'ac—c. *h.s.* reges uel decemuiros.' In these passages 'his' and 'h.s.' are in themselves meaningless and take the place of omitted words. The obvious explanation is that the archetype of both MSS. had the words or letters, here faithfully copied by the scribes of H and L, to mark omissions, and that the omitted words were written or intended to be written in the margin with the same

or corresponding symbols that there might be no doubt as to their proper place: and this was the explanation I recently offered in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society. Since then I have found other instances of the same symbols in other MSS. The Paris MSS. Parisiensis and Floriacensis have at x. 45 §§ 8-10 'et herculeanum *his* etiam signis'; 'ex samnitibus—herculeanum' being omitted.

At ix. 4. 13 Mediceus has 'immo hercule *his* quam Gallorum,' omitting 'produntur—tam hercule'; again at ix. 11. 11 M has 'ciuem Romanum *hs* uiolatum,' omitting 'esse—Romanum': on which Alscheffski says 'hoc signo antiqui librarii uti solebant

si quid excidisse uideretur' and that being misunderstood the sign was written *his* and then *bis*.

(The dot found in H (*h.s.*) would help the change to *his* of course). Alschevski is partly right, but he should have said it was the sign to point where words omitted but supplied originally in the margin were meant to come; and he forgets to apply his view back to ix. 4, 13, nor does he go far enough.¹

hd, hd, haud.

In ii. 5. 2. P has 'tiberim fuit hd forte,' and F has 'tiberim fuit haud forte'; both omit 'consecratus—fuit'; but P has also in top margin 'hd' (lined through) and the missing words, written by P₂, who I think was the contemporary reviser of P and the real author of the MS. Here at any rate we have caught the scribes flagrante delicto (and what P₂ said to P₁ we can perhaps partly guess), and we have the explanation of *hd*, or *hd*, or *haud* supplied.

In H, at i. 39. 1. I find 'mirabile fuit hd nomen'; there is omission of 'puero—fuit' where 'hd' (a common abbreviation of *haud*) stands.

Also at ix. 46. 6 P has 'hd' (in lighter ink and above the line, as though by P₂) and

¹ In Cic. ad Att. xv. 24 we read, Seruilia dixit eo die Brutum hns (or his) profectum. No omission has been suggested; can there be one, *e.g.* of some second name?

F has *haud*, both omitting 'dedicare—templum.'

h, h, d, b, y.

These symbols also are found in the MSS. :—

M has at ix. 5. 7 (according to Alschevski) 'quorum h ignauia,' ('temeritate—quorum,' being omitted). H has at iv. 24 'parat^b nimiam' with *b* seen in the margin.

H has also at v. 30. 8 and 31. 1 'haberetur d creati' and at the bottom of the page 'h uellentque—haberentur': at viii. 29, 13, 'uulnerum h scalis coepit,' and at the bottom 'h quod haud fere—excesserat'; at viii. 34, 10 'deserantur h interdiu nocte,' and at the bottom 'd signa neque—discernatur.' (These marginal additions in H are written by the scribe of the page.)

F has also *y* at x. 21. 2 to mark the omission of 'Romae—exercitum': the words however are picked up later and put in between 'nec' and 'ingenui' in § 4.

The meaning of the letters can be supplied according to individual fancy; *h* is a common siglum for *hic*; *d* may represent some part of *deese* or *deficere*, and *s* may represent 'supple': 'his' of course is a misreading of 'h.s.' and 'haud' for 'hd.' Alschevski's 'bis' for 'his' I have not yet found.

W. C. F. WALTERS.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

March 1, 1903.

THE CLUNI CODEX OF CICERO.

In the *Classical Review* for December, 1902, (p. 460) Professor Robinson Ellis complains that I 'persist' in speaking of the Cicero codex now at Holkham as the *Cluni* M.S., "in spite of" his "protest in a public lecture delivered last February." It seems that I have deliberately called it so nearly twenty times in one paper (*C. R.* 8, 401-6)—'as if a thing resting on little or no evidence,' says Mr. Ellis, 'could be proved by reiterated assertion.' 'I have counted eighteen cases in five pages,' the Oxford Professor goes on to state—mercifully overlooking the advertisement on the cover of the *Classical Review*, issued under the authority of the Oxford Press. And by way of coup-de-grâce, 'against any such

hazardous conclusion, I consider myself bound once more to offer a determined and emphatic protest.'

In reply to all of which, may I be allowed to say that I know of nothing that should induce me to cancel the title under which my work was published, or to modify it in any way?

On the other side of the Atlantic, it is obvious that I cannot attend Professor Ellis's lectures, or even know when they are being delivered. My only information as to the one referred to is derived from what was said of it by another Oxford scholar who, in reviewing my *Anecdota* in the July number (1902) of the *Classical Review* (p. 322) mentioned Mr. Ellis's views

only to reject them. He also quoted Mr. Ellis on a minor point in regard to which I was afterwards able to set him right—I hope with a courtesy which did not merit the present outbreak (*Classical Review*, November, 1902, p. 401).

I do not know what the condition of the book-mark may be at the moment, but anyone who looks at the facsimile in my *Anecdoton*—taken within a day or two of its recovery—will have little difficulty in deciding that what Prof. Ellis inclines to take for a ‘half-erased *d*, corresponding in form to the first *d* of *de conventu*’ is the common contraction mark following the *n* of *Clun*. Against the view of Prof. Ellis and his two friends, (only one of whom, by the way, he can describe as being ‘extremely well-versed in MSS.’) I could at once have quoted from letters addressed to me by various palaeographical experts; but it seemed wise to write for permission to use their names in a controversy which (be it remembered) is not of my seeking. Mr. Ellis appeals to M. Delisle, and I go with him to the judgment-seat. This is what M. Delisle says on the subject, through M. Omont, writing under date February 1st 1903:—

‘M. Delisle est toujours d’avis que le MS. de Holkham doit, comme vous l’avez fait, être identifié avec le n. 498 de l’ancien catalogue de Cluny, auquel il paraît tout à fait répondre. La lecture *de conventu Clun* est non moins certaine et ne peut être interprétée autrement que *de conventu Cluniacensi*. Vous avez du reste répondu déjà à l’avance à toute objection, en faisant remarquer que cette même formule *conventu Cluniacensi* a été employée en tête de la liste des livres de L’Abbé Yves * * * * En tout cas, et comme nous vous l’avons déjà écrit, l’origine clunisienne du MS. de Holkham paraît bien tout à fait hors de doute, après toutes les preuves que vous avez apportées.

I might also cite Dr. George F. Warner, who gives me leave to refer to him, in a letter just received, as well as to Sir E. Maunde Thompson and Dr. Kenyon, his fellow-editors for the New Palaeographical Society. Each of these experts has had an opportunity of considering the facsimile reproduction of the library-mark in the light of Professor Ellis’s difficulties, and each remains unmoved.

As to the entry in the old Cluni Cata-

logue, I agree with M. Delisle that the codex now at Holkham is therein ‘bien nettement décrit.’ Prof. Ellis tells us that he has argued against this also in his public lecture, and when I know what his argument was I may attempt to deal with it. The entry runs as follows: ‘Volumen in quo continetur Cicero in Catillina (!) et idem pro Quinto Ligario, et pro rege Dejotaro, et de publicis litteris et de actione, idemque in Verrinis.’ Strict accuracy cannot be looked for in a title drafted by a person who could write *Catillina*, and I hold by my original view that *de publicis litteris* resulted from a confusion with the main title of a sub-heading, such as EX LITTERIS PUBLICIS at iii. § 89 (cp. *ibid* § 74). A similar explanation may be held to cover also *de actione*: ACTIO or ACTIONIS would certainly appear somewhere in connection with the Third Book, now missing. The cataloguer may possibly have taken it from a colophon. In view of such carelessness, I incline now more than ever to believe that the Cluni codex *did* originally contain the *pro Marcello*, and that this speech was inadvertently passed over by the person who concocted the title for the catalogue. It is difficult to believe that the *pro Marcello* did not precede the *pro Ligario*, as in the *Ambrosianus*, and other MSS. of the same family.

W. PETERSON.

McGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.
February, 1903.

POSTSCRIPT.

I take the opportunity of this communication to say that I do not understand the note which T. Stangl has appended to a very valuable and highly appreciative review of my *Anecdoton* in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (3rd January, 1903). He thinks that anyone who reads ‘*et de publicis litteris . . . idemque in Verrinis*’ together, (as a description of the Second and Third Verrines) must construe *idemque* as = *idem* (cp. *hodieque*, *hodie*.) But it is unnecessary to do anything of the kind. The cataloguer may have had some other means of knowing that the main part of the Cluni codex consisted of the Verrine speeches, and so he manages to finish up all right with ‘*idemque in Verrinis*’—using a form of entry rendered familiar by the quotations of grammarians: but in the long interval between the end of the *Pro Rege Dejotaro* and the end of the Third

Book of the Verrines (where there was probably a colophon, which may have suggested to him *in Verrinis*, if not also the

false *de actione*) he wrongly inserts the headings which have given rise to the confusion.
W. P.

REVIEWS.

BEVAN'S *PROMETHEUS BOUND* OF AESCHYLUS.

The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus rendered into English verse by EDWYN ROBERT BEVAN. Pp. xxxix, 90. Sm. 4to. London, David Nutt, 1902. 5s. net.

It is a real pleasure to welcome this translation. Having the chance of writing on this subject, I would repeat a principle I stated some ten years ago, which I think is true at any rate of languages possessing old traditions like our own,—that for true artistic form translations should be made with reference to the whole literature in either language, and that convincing translation is possible whenever the translator's literature contains a native model corresponding. Jowett in our time was able to translate Plato; but this could not have been artistically done before our prose had reached that capability of ease and grace and eloquence which he has used so admirably. When the question is debated, how to translate Homer, the first answer is that we never shall be able to translate him satisfactorily, because there is no such native Homer in the language; and if we are at a loss to translate Pindar worthily,¹ the reason is that we have nothing corresponding either to the sort of verse or to the form of composition.

With Tragedy however—the dialogue at least—we are in a different position; and Mr. Bevan, taking the same view (p. viii), has chosen for his models Milton, the Bible, and the Dramatists, blending all, but rightly, I think, here with a preponderance of Milton. 'The blank verse,' as he says

¹ Even by combining the style of *The Wisdom of Solomon* with a Celtic manner:

Farewell, ye splendid citadel, Metropolis, called Paris,
Where Phœbus every morning shoots refulgent beams:
Where Flora's bright Aurora, advancing from the Orient,
With radiant light illumines the pure shining streams.

This ballad was a favourite with Macaulay (Sir George Trevelyan, *Life*, II. p. 94).

(p. ix), 'and the style of diction, which had been developed by the Elizabethan drama, was taken up by Milton and subjected to modifications and refinements under the very influence of classical types, and the Bible: it became something less adapted for dramatic uses, but it gained in richness, in elaborate pomp, and in organic structure.' Greek Tragedy, consisting largely of set speeches, was always more declamatory than with us; and this is true especially of the *Prometheus*: Milton here, as in other respects, is our nearest single parallel to Aeschylus. This is a specimen of Mr. Bevan's verse, v. 351:

Also it moved my pity, when I saw
That creature, spawn'd of Earth, that housed
erewhile

In the Cilician caves, a grisly fiend
With heads five-score, how he was quell'd
amain,

Tempestuous Typhon. All the banded gods
He dared to battle, from prodigious jowls
Hissing terrific, while his eyes display'd
Glare of great lightnings, so as he would
storm

By force Heaven's high supremacy, but soon
The bolt of Zeus that sleeps not found him
out,

The downward-ruining thunder, quick with
flame,
And reft him at a clap from all his vaunts
And swelling bravery. Full amidst it took
him,
And charr'd, and blasted all his strength to
nothing.

And now, a useless body unstrung, he lies
Hard by a narrow passage of the seas,
Under the roots of Etna crush'd and
cramm'd

While over him, high on the peak,
Hephaistos
Sits at his forge-work. Thence one day
shall burst

Rivers of fire, with fierce jaws ravening up
The golden-fruited sweet Sicilian sward.

The most jealous lover of Aeschylus might admit, I think, that the original is worthily represented here.

On p. 89 Mr. Bevan makes a suggestion that seems right to me: 'Line 431. The description of the mourning of inanimate nature is usually connected with the reference to Atlas. It seems more naturally to follow on the description of the mourning of mankind for Prometheus. Hence Ribbeck was for *transposing* the last strophe and antistrophe. A more satisfactory method is to suppose that the part of the Chorus which sings the parenthesis referring to Atlas is not the same as that which sang the passage before and continues the theme of the mourning in *βοᾷ δὲ πόντιος κλύδων κτλ.*' The Introduction is interesting, the remarks, for instance, on the conception of Oceanus (p. xxx), whose character as a trimmer, I may add, had been developed in the Orphic poems; and the geographical notes, as is natural from the historian of the Seleucid

Empire, are very well worth reading: on p. xxxvi Mr. Bevan says, 'No one can fail to see that these geographical descriptions are an object in themselves and the main purpose for which the poet introduced Io. The geographical parts of the play were perhaps *considerably* longer even than they now appear, in the original text.' Surely they were an object in themselves; a theme in which so many romantic poets have delighted, Aeschylus, Marlowe, and Milton beyond all: Clytemnestra's description of the beacons is but one example of a practice which we do not need the scholiast on *P.V.* 733 to tell us was habitual with Aeschylus, and which those to whom romantic poetry appeals have seldom failed to feel that he has fully justified. Poets, as Aristides says, love to rehearse and decorate the names of rivers and of countries; while inaccuracy and freedom of imagination are their ancient and traditionary privileges.

W. HEADLAM.

NEWMAN'S POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE.

The Politics of Aristotle: with an Introduction, two Prefatory Essays, and Notes Critical and Explanatory. By W. L. NEWMAN, M.A., Hon. Litt. D. Cambridge, Fellow of Balliol College, and formerly Reader in Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Vol. III. Two Essays. Books III., IV., and V. Text and Notes. Pp. xlvi, 603. Vol. IV. Essay on Constitutions, Books VI.-VIII. Text and Notes. Pp. lxx., 708. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1902. Price 28s.

THE completion of this work reflects credit upon English scholarship. It is unlikely that more will ever be done by erudition and patient labour for the interpretation and illustration of an ancient classic than has been done here. To its value for the historical student I hope to return on some other occasion.

Much of the Commentary deals with minute points of grammar, and the questions raised tend to enlarge and render more precise our acquaintance with the author's idiom. Indeed, as a reference to the copious grammatical index will shew, Mr. Newman has himself laid a solid foundation for that grammar of Aristotelian Greek, which he desiderated in the *C.R.* ten years ago.

Attention may be called to his treatment of some matters directly affecting the text, *e.g.* the absence or insertion of the article in clauses of the type τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις, vol. iii., p. 275; repetition of prepositions, vol. iii. p. 112; the awkward recurrence of prepositions, vol. iii. p. 369; the supply of words from the context, *e.g.*, τῶν μέρων from πολυμεροῦς, 1311 a 33, ἀρχὴν from μοναρχιῶν, 1279 a 34, τὸν μισθὸν from ἀμίσθους 1320 a 18; lastly, to an interesting appendix on the use of hyperbaton, vol. iii. p. 579. The position maintained in this appendix, namely that departures from the *simplex ordo* in the *Politics* are to be explained as due to emphasis, does not appear to me to be the whole truth. I should be inclined to attribute them quite as often to considerations of euphony, a desire to avoid monotony and to escape from the commonplace by introducing into prose many of the complex rhythmical effects of verse, a mannerism which came in with Isocrates and has been traced in a more or less marked degree among many of his contemporaries, especially in Plato's later dialogues. Perhaps, however, Mr. Newman's use of emphasis may be wide enough to include this; all I would contend for, is that the mannerism is in many cases adopted for its own sake, and has little to

do with the meaning to be conveyed, affecting not the thing said but merely the way of saying it. Another investigation concerns the position of the adjective and noun, when the article is not used. Mr. Newman's canon is: 'When an adjective and substantive are without the article, the substantive is usually in the *Politics* placed first and the adjective second, but now and then the reverse order is adopted. When under these circumstances the adjective is placed first it is usually intended to be emphasized. Πολύς and some other adjectives are exceptions to this rule; they commonly precede the substantive with which they agree and are placed after it when they are emphatic.' (vol. iii. p. 137.) This opens out a wide field of inquiry, for if the induction be valid, it can hardly be confined to the *Politics*. The results of such an inquiry should be of considerable importance in Aristotelian studies. But it is to the textual results of the editor's labours that I must confine myself in this notice.

In editing Books I. and II. Mr. Newman appeared as an eminently conservative critic, every word in his text had manuscript authority. In the direction of emendation, he went no further than to adopt Spengel's more sensible division of the letters ἀριστ' ἄρχειν for the otherwise unknown ἀρισταρχεῖν 1273 b 5, and to read ἐπισκεψιν with Scaliger and Bentley at 1274 b 7 for ἐπίσκεψιν. He indulged in no lacuna, no transposition, square brackets were sparingly employed—once or twice for a couple of words, 1263 a 13, 1266 a 18, 1270 b 22, and in the suspected chapter xii. of Book II., he was content to bracket half a dozen lines [Φαλέον... ἄχρηστον, 1274 b 9–15]. In the new volumes the rôle of conservative editor is from the nature of the case less easy; or possibly upon further study of the text, the editor has somewhat modified the rigidity of his critical principles. A sparing use is made of emendation and transposition, once or twice we find indications of words missing in the printed text. But he is still conservative and is seen at his best when defending the traditional text. Thus, to take a few examples—he refuses to alter οὔτε at 1293 a 9 for the sake of grammatical smoothness into οὐδέ, as other editors have done (cp. 1257 b 12, 1330 b 16). He does not insert πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν in the text at 1340 b 19, he prefers to understand it: 1329 a 5 πότερον ἕτερα καὶ ταῦτα θετέον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδοτέον ἄμφω, seems to him correct and the insertion of ἑτέροις with Coraes and Bekker² unnecessary. Take again ἡ γὰρ φύσις δέδωκε τὴν διαίρεσιν, ποιήσασα αὐτὸ τῷ γένει

ταῦτὸ τὸ μὲν νεώτερον τὸ δὲ πρεσβύτερον. Here αὐτὸ is the reading of P² 3. 4. 5. etc., omitted by P¹ and Aretinus, deserted by Bekker in favour of αὐτῷ on the authority of M² and the Aldine. But it makes perfectly good sense, Mr. Newman joining αὐτὸ with ταῦτὸ τῷ γένει renders 'for nature has furnished us with the distinction, having made that which is the same in kind itself of two parts, the one younger and the other older.' Again at 1307 b 32–34, where Π² are defective from homoeoteleuton he restores from M² P¹ λανθάνει γὰρ παραδνομένη ἡ παρανομία ὥσπερ τὰς οὐσίας τὸ μικρὸν δαπάνημα ἀναίρει πολλάκις γινόμενον, agreeing independently (as we learn from the critical note) with the last impression of the Teubner text. That this is correct, he proves from the similar language of Plato *Rep.* 424 D, and in quoting this passage to determine the text of the *Politics*, Mr. Newman has been anticipated by Susemihl.¹

It is more open to doubt whether ἄγειν, the reading of M² P¹ is equally right at 1336 a 6 οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἐστὶν ἄγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἑξίν. Here Π² give αἰεὶ and Vetus Versio *inducere*. Mr. Newman admits that ἄγειν is usually rendered *ducere* and sometimes *adducere* by Vet. Int., though rendered by *inducere* in 1306 a 3. It would seem that ἄγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἑξίν is a little odd for 'to create the military habit' and it is hardly borne out by the editor's quotation of ἄγειν χορόν from Aristot. *Fragm.* 627. 1584 a 16 τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον τῆς πόλεως Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀριωνά φησιν εἶναι, ὃς πρῶτος τὸν κύκλιον ἤγαγε χορόν. Another reading of M² P¹, which has been unreasonably suspected, I mean καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ οὕτω κοσμία εἴη κ.τ.λ., 1277 b 23, receives confirmation from Philemon *Adelphoe*, *Frag.* 2, where λαλεῖν is similarly contrasted with κόσμιος εἶναι. This is one of several instances in which the editor has illustrated the language and subject-matter of his author from the Greek comic poets.

If we now inquire in what relation this text of the *Politics* stands to that of Immanuel Bekker, in its original form, while we fully admit the immense stride which Bekker made, it is clear that we are now in a position to judge more dispassionately the text of 1831. Bekker had not all the materials before him, he did not always use them with sufficient care or judgment and he adopted (this is more often the case with Bekker²) unnecessary emendations. In some three

¹ *De Pol. Arist. Quaestiones Criticae.* 1886, p. 446. Mr. Newman is throughout so scrupulous in pointing out anticipations of his views, that this must have been overlooked by him.

hundred places where Mr. Newman diverges from Bekker's original text, he almost invariably produces evidence, which commands respect, even if it does not carry conviction at the first glance. We may set on one side proposals to transpose, to bracket words, and to mark lacunae ('chasms in the text' is Mr. Newman's phrase) which can hardly ever command universal acceptance. Nor do the editor's own emendations, few as they are, appear altogether indispensable. At 1328 b 4, he proposes to insert $\tilde{\alpha}$ before *ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν* where M^*P^1 give διδ, omitted by Π^2 . The reading of Π^2 which is Bekker's text, will construe, and the change, though tempting, fails to account for διδ in Π^1 . At 1331 b 4, *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος διαίρεται τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἱερεῖς, εἰς ἄρχοντας, προεστώς* is proposed in place of *πλήθος* and the sense of the passage would be improved by the change. In the apparently mutilated passage *μηδὲν ἤττον τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καὶ τοῦ γυμναστικοῦ παρασκευάσαι τε καὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν δύναμιν*, he is prepared to accept Bekker's *οὐδὲν* for *μηδὲν*, and to shift the place of *τε* to follow *παιδοτρίβου*. In the same book, Chapter xiv, an attempt is made to frame a text of the corrupt passage 1300 a 23—b 5, which compares favourably with the former attempts by Thurot, Spengel, and Susemihl. At 1301 b 26—28, Mr. Newman reads *πανταχοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἢ στάσις· οὐ μὲν (εἰ)¹ τοῖς ἀνίσοις ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον* (*αἰδιος γὰρ βασιλεία ἄνισος, ἔαν ἢ ἐν ἴσοις*), inserting *εἰ* and interpreting 'Civil discord arises on account of inequality, not however if unequals receive in proportion to the inequality subsisting between them; (for a perpetual kingship is unequal [only] if it exists among equals).' Surely the insertion of *εἰ* is gratuitous. Assuming that Mr. Newman has rightly interpreted *τοῖς ἀνίσοις ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον*, it is plain from his translation that he regards these words as describing the case in which civil strife is *not* likely to arise, and the text unaltered would give this meaning if the sentence *οὐ μὲν . . . ἀνάλογον* be taken to refer, like the preceding sentence, to the case where strife *is* likely to arise: if, that is, instead of completing the sentence (as I suppose the editor to do) *οὐ μὲν* (*sc. διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἢ στάσις*), *εἰ τοῖς ἀνίσοις ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον*, we complete it thus: *οὐ μὲν τοῖς ἀνίσοις (sc. τοῖς στασιάζουσιν) ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον*. Two conditions are laid down, (1) the presence of inequality, (2) that it is not proportional

inequality, and both refer to the same set of circumstances.

But when these slight deductions are made, it will, I think, be admitted that we have here a more faithful presentment of the whole tradition than has ever appeared before. It is conceivable, though not, I think, probable, that the editor's verdict in favour of Π^2 against Π^1 may hereafter be challenged, but the greater number of his divergencies from Bekker, who himself chiefly followed Π^2 , will not be affected if this happens. The advance upon Bekker is in most cases due to critical insight, a prolonged study of the MSS. of that family and irrefragable inferences as to their comparative merits. No subsequent editor would dream of imitating Bekker in his occasional lapses, as when for instance he prefers the reading of Π^3 , *i.e.* inferior MSS. of the second family, or some of them, to that of its better representatives.² Now and then Bekker's text rests merely on one or two of these inferior MSS. (1298 b 7 *μὲν* added after *ἀριστοκρατία* Q^bV^b ; 1321 a 14 *δημοκρατική* L^s , Ald.; 1290 a 21; *τὴν* before *Φρυγιστί* Q^6 ; 1321 a 5 *βάνανσον* with R^b ; 1320 b 38 *δύναται* with Ald.). So at 1325 a 39, Bekker reads *ὑπολογεῖν*, a doubtful word with S^b alone, where Mr. H. Richards, doubting if *ὑπολογίζεν* is any better attested than *ὑπολογεῖν*, would suggest *ὑπόλογον* *ἔχειν* in place of *ὑπολογεῖν*, the reading of all other authorities and of Mr. Newman. But errors of this kind are trivial in comparison with Bekker's fatal confidence in that very corrupt MS. P^5 , which misled him in more than a dozen passages, notably 1307 b 32—34 noticed above. That Bekker should have collated P^5 throughout and omitted to collate P^1 seems nowadays inexplicable. So much for the still prevalent idea that Bekker's text, because founded on Π^2 remains our sole trustworthy guide.³

On the other hand there are many passages in which the reading of Π^1 is preferred and a fair sprinkling where the editor has adopted the conjectures of his predecessors. It is just possible that owing to these innovations the editor may fail to please some critics. To deal with the last named matter first, it should be remembered

² *e.g.* 1275 b 32 *καὶ γὰρ οὐ* with $P^4 Q^b T^b L^s$. I have noted thirty-two similar instances in the last six books. To these should be added 1252 a 15 *τοὺς* om. Π^3 Bk. and fourteen other instances in Books I and II.

³ An eminent scholar has declared that he deliberately prefers to quote from it, in order to escape the 'bad tradition' of inferior authorities. In view of the facts this seems very like 'out of the frying pan into the fire.'

¹ Mr. Newman employs curved brackets for words conjecturally inserted in the text as well as for marks of punctuation.

that conjectures which Bekker adopted in one or other of his editions, have not fared particularly well, most of them are now ejected from the text. Who for instance at 1275 a 13 with an intelligible ὥστε before him would dream of resorting to the conjecture διό? Who would omit the idiomatic καὶ after ὥσπερ introducing an illustration at 1255 a 36, or arbitrarily change the traditional order of the words εὖ σώματα διακείμενα to σώματα εὖ διακείμενα, 1320 b 33?¹ Whether the emendations which the editor has admitted will stand the test of time any better than those which he has excluded it is not for me to say; I fear there is little chance of their being verified by fresh discoveries in the same way in which the Vatican Palimpsest has confirmed Perizonius' ἀστῶν, 1278 a 34. But to return to the fascinating problem of the two recensions Π¹ and Π². In considering their comparative merits, Mr. Newman makes an interesting attempt to determine the sources of error in some or all of the MSS. vol. iii. p. vii. sqq. Apart from the common faults of dittography, lipography and insertion of marginal glosses, these are found to be more particularly (1) mechanical omissions of short words, initial or final syllables, occasionally of letters in the middle of a word; (2) misinterpretation of contractions in the archetype, similar to those employed in the papyrus of the 'Aθ. Πολ.; here the scribe of that otherwise badly copied MS, M^s, becomes an invaluable detective, reproducing the contractions which he failed to decipher, as shown in the critical notes of Susemihl's editions e.g. 1337 a 28, 1283 b 9, 1335 a 27. All this is familiar, but Mr. Newman calls special attention to an additional cause of error, (3) the tendency, of Π¹ more especially, 'to introduce a word into the text which they repeat from a neighbouring line, often the preceding or following line, the word thus repeated sometimes extruding another word from the text and sometimes not doing so.' Thus in 1255 a 24 ἄμα is displaced by ὅλως, probably repeated from a 21;

in 1266 a 37 ἀναγκαῖον is added after εἶναι, being repeated from ἀναγκαῖον in the preceding line. With this weapon the editor attacks twelve out of sixty-two variations of reading of a less minute kind, tabulated in vol. iii. p. xiii. sqq. Obviously this consideration must be applied with all due caution, although no one will find fault with the suggestion that this may be the source of error in three difficult passages, 1267 a 8 ἐπιθυμοῖεν (? ἀδοικοῖεν); 1268 b 1 γεωργήσει; 1329 a 14 πολιτείαν (? λειτουργίαν). His conclusion is that these sources of error affect both recensions alike, but that Π¹ are more likely to err than Π²,² and the cumulative effect of the evidence is strengthened by comparison of the two recensions when they present the same words in a different order, vol. iii. p. 581 sqq. The peculiar inversions which are sometimes classed with hyperbaton are found more frequently in Π², the inference being that the variations, which return to the *simplex ordo*, are due to arbitrary change. And this agrees with other traces of variations due to grammarian revisers exhibited in vol. iii. p. xix. sq. Thus while a firm but temperate champion of Π², the editor is not precluded from admitting the superior claims of numerous readings of Π¹.

If these volumes had been published in the life time of the late Professor Susemihl, to whose memory Mr. Newman pays a graceful tribute in the preface of vol. iii., I have reason to believe that he would have been gratified by what seems to be the closer approximation of the results of divergent critical methods, especially in the later books.³ He would have been glad to see

² It seems to me that a re-arrangement of MSS. is desirable. The agreement of P² and P³ should be indicated by a special symbol—say Π⁴. It would immensely simplify matters if Π³ were consigned to the rubbish heap, and if, while P¹, P², P³, M^s and the Vatican Palimpsest, which have been carefully collated, were retained in the *apparatus criticus*, occasional variants of the inferior MSS., and renderings of Moerbeke and Aretinus, were cited only when they are really helpful.

³ Susemihl made some 945 innovations in Bekker's original text. Of these Mr. Newman has adopted some 304, if my calculations are correct. Taking the books as numbered by Mr. Newman, the figures are: Book I., Susemihl 70, Newman 14; Book II., Susemihl 162, Newman 33; Book III., Susemihl 137, Newman 35; Book IV., Susemihl 184, Newman 62; Book V., Susemihl 72, Newman 27; Book VI., Susemihl 124, Newman 53; Book VII., Susemihl 128, Newman 56; Book VIII., Susemihl 68, Newman 24. It will be noticed that the proportion is highest in the last three Books, and lowest in Books I and II. I have included proposals for transposition and the bracketing of words amongst the innovations I have counted, but not changes of punctuation generally.

¹ The following is a list of emendations introduced by Bekker² in Books III—V: 1282 a 11 οὐ τοι Coraes; 1286 a 32 <γὰρ> Bk²; 1330 b 5 εὐρήσθαι Lambinus; b 7 ἐπιλείπειν Coraes; 1333 b 31 τῷ Scaliger; 1333 b 38 [ταῦτα] Bk²; 1334 b 1 γίνεσθαι Schneider; b 11 [καὶ] Coraes; 1335 a 38 συνουσίαν Zwinger; 1336 b 4 εἴπερ Lambinus; b 17 τούτους Reizius; 1340 a 27 αὐτοῦ Ar. Lambinus, Scaliger; ib. ἐκεῖνον Lambinus, Scaliger; 1340 b 8 [τὰ] Bk². In all of these Mr. Newman following Susemihl returns to the text of the MSS. and of Bekker.¹ Space forbids me to quote thirty similar instances in the last three books. To these must be added four instances in Books I and II.

that at 1287a 29, the reading τὸν νοῦν μόνους is adopted with the Vossian MS. of Julian where all our other authorities and all other MSS. of Julian give τοὺς νόμους; a correction which, if right, is calculated to arouse misgivings as to many other passages where the traditional text runs with at least equal smoothness. With his fondness for transposition, he would have welcomed the occasional adoption by Mr. Newman of this device; 1335 a 29 ἡ μικρόν transferred to the previous line a 28, at 1292 b 32 διὰ πᾶσι τοῖς κτησαμένοις ἔξεστι μετέχειν to follow δημοκρατικὸν b 32, and at 1317 b 30 ἡ τῶν μεγίστων to the preceding line as suggested by Götting, Rassow, and the third Basel edition respectively; and still more readily would he have welcomed the shifting of 1303 b 3-7 στασιάζουσι . . . ὄντες and of 1312 a 17 μάλιστα . . . ἐπιθέσεις from their position in the text, although the place to which Mr. Newman transfers the two passages is not precisely that which he himself assigned to them. He would have approved the adoption of a few conjectures

at 1325 b 7, 1333 b 37, 1299 b 14, 1290 b 15, 1302 a 14 of Thurot and Bojesen, whose critical studies he was one of the first to appreciate. Of the many longer passages condemned by him as spurious just one is enclosed in square brackets in the present volumes, but here there is not as much difference as at first sight appears, for no one has presented the case against the suspected chapters more skilfully or fully than Mr. Newman; only when it comes to execution he stays his hand, and for my part I fail to see why he should have summed up courage to condemn on internal grounds the single passage in question, 1315 b 11-39, when so many worse offenders escape. On the whole I venture to believe that the more valuable and enduring results of Susemihl's pioneer labours are enshrined in these volumes. Mr. Newman may be congratulated on having achieved a work which will long be a landmark for students of the *Politics*.

R. D. HICKS.

ADAM'S REPUBLIC OF PLATO.

The Republic of Plato. Edited with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Appendices, by JAMES ADAM, M.A., Hon. LL.D. of Aberdeen University. 2 vols. Pp. xvi, 364; 532. Cambridge University Press. 1902. 33s. net.

THE present edition, full as it is, is so far incomplete that the editor looks forward to the publication of 'an introductory volume, to which occasional reference is made throughout the notes.' This volume, we are told, 'will deal *inter alia* with the MSS. and date of composition of the dialogue, and will also include an essay on the style of Plato, together with essays on various subjects connected with the doctrine of *The Republic*.' In judging the work before us we have then to remember that a good many points are reserved. But the most cursory acquaintance with these two volumes is sufficient to convince the reader of the great stride towards the better understanding and appreciation of *The Republic* which they represent. Dr. Adam shows his qualifications for the work he has undertaken by the admission in his Preface that 'in one sense of the term there can never be a definitive or final interpretation of *The Republic*.' It

is partly by his apprehension of this truth that he has produced what must be regarded as the characteristic and adequate interpretation of the work for at least the present generation. One source of strength in the edition is the definiteness and strict limitation of its scope. It is not, in its attitude to the doctrines conveyed, either largely critical or historical, but in the main purely expository. 'Any systematic attempt,' we are told in the Preface, 'to trace the connexion between Platonism and modern political, religious, or philosophical theory is foreign to the scope of this edition.' But it would be a great mistake to infer from this that the editor's attitude is a dry scholastic one. The spirit and secret of the book is that the editor looks at Plato's work *from the inside*; he speaks as a disciple, not to say a prophet, of Plato. 'We can only rejoice,' we read, 'that Platonism is still a living force in both philosophy and in religion; ἔτι ἥλιος ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ οὐπω δέδυκεν.' Thus the commentary not only exhibits a rich acquaintance with modern thought and literature, but may be said to be permeated with the modern spirit, in that at every turn it brings Platonism into touch

with the needs of our time. A list of the works referred to in illustration would be interesting, perhaps astonishing; possibly we may find this included in the forthcoming volume.

As a discussion of the MSS. of *The Republic* is one of the subjects reserved for the volume referred to, no examination of the critical basis of the text is at present called for. Dr. Adam abides by the principles adopted in his text of *The Republic* published in 1897, but says as to the present edition 'Considerably fewer emendations have been admitted than in my earlier edition, and in this as in other respects the text will be found to be conservative.' (See, for an example of reaction 429 D.). I will cite one or two instances in which some may think that conservatism has been carried too far.

In i. 335 A the MSS. give Κελεύεις δὴ ἡμᾶς προσθεῖναι τῷ δίκαιῳ, ἢ, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέγομεν, λέγοντες δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν μὲν φίλον εὖ ποιεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν κακῶς, νῦν πρὸς τούτῳ ὧδε λέγειν κτέ; This reading Dr. Adam keeps: translating ἢ 'or in other words.' But Dr. Adam himself frankly says (Bk. i, App. iii.) 'It may seem an objection to the view which I take that ἢ in a sentence of this kind would naturally introduce an alternative, whereas πρὸς τούτῳ ὧδε λέγειν only explains προσθεῖναι.... Possibly ἢ should be replaced by καί. . but I am not convinced that ἢ does not sometimes mean "or in other words" even in classical Greek.' Examples however are not forthcoming. His objection to follow several editors by ejecting ἢ, which he admits gives the required sense ('do you bid us add to the view of justice which we first took, namely?') is that it fails to account for the presence of ἢ in the MSS. But apart from such a possibility, (in the case of so small an addition,) as the mere misreading of accidental scratches, ἢ may have been inserted by some scribe who misunderstood the construction and was familiar with the late Greek use of ἢ to introduce a synonym. In any case to hold that a MS. must never be assumed to be corrupt except where the corruption could be accounted for would be too strong doctrine. For instance, the intrusion of the words ὡς οἶεται at 365 D, which Dr. Adam rightly excises, is very hard to account for. At the same time his denunciation of the frequent excisions made by Herwerden and others is wholesome and refreshing; though it must be said that the excisors, even when wrong, often do service by calling attention to difficulties that escape the notice of more easy-going readers.

At the difficult passage 488 D (τοῦ δὲ ἀληθίνου κυβερνήτου πέρι μὴδ' ἐπαίοντες ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆσθαι ἐναντιοῦ κτέ... ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει... μῆτε τέχνην τούτου μῆτε μελέτην οἱ δ' ὁ μὲν οἱ δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν I have thought for some time (*Proc. of Camb. Philol. Soc.* 1888 p. 14) that the true remedy was in cutting out οἰόμενοι, and a perusal of Dr. Adam's note and Appendix on the passage—and of Dr. Campbell's note on p. 79 of this Review—leaves me still impenitent. Οἰόμενοι was inserted by some one who, owing to the length of the sentence, did not see that all after μὴδ' ἐπαίοντες depended on those words. The two truths that the mob do not see are, firstly, that the Steersman must understand his Art, secondly, that it is impossible to combine the mastery of this Art with the mastery of the Art of office-seeking. (Popular rhetoric and philosophy cannot live together.) I agree with Dr. Campbell that, in ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει, ὅπως is final as in ὅπως ἄρξει above. As to ἐπαίοντες, it involves an anacoluthon; for it refers to the same people as ψέγοντας above. Dr. Adam says 'I should adopt the accusative with Stallbaum and others, were it not for οἰόμενοι.' If οἰόμενοι goes, we may be allowed to read ἐπαίοντας.

At 473 C εἰ καὶ μέλλει γέλῳτι τε ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ κῦμα ἐγγελῶν καὶ ἀδοξία κατακλύσειν the word ἐγγελῶν is defended by Dr. Adam, as I now think, quite rightly. It is an exceedingly natural and picturesque word for the 'breaking' of a wave, and the fact that this metaphorical use does not occur elsewhere is not surprising.

Cautious as he is in admitting, and still more in proposing, conjectural emendations, we are prepared to find that those he gives (of which a most useful list is given in Index iii) are all worthy of serious consideration, indeed I should be disposed to say, after such examination as I have been able to make, of acceptance. At 365 D E abandoning the impossible text of the best MSS. Dr. Adam with some inferior MSS. reads οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὲν μὴ εἰσίν, ἢ μὴδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μέλει, τί καὶ ἡμῖν μελιγρόν τοῦ λανθάνειν; and shows that Tucker's objection to καὶ rests on a mistranslation. Kai here, as in a hundred other instances in Plato, simply points the word that follows it: 'If the gods do not care, why should *we* care either—to elude them?'

On the scientific and technical side of *The Republic* it is difficult to overestimate the research exhibited in this edition or the value of the results. There are two large

provinces which exceed the measure of the present notice. One is the 'Nuptial Number' dealt with in Appendix I to Bk. viii (vol. ii. pp. 264-312.) The treatment here is largely based on the pamphlet ('The Number of Plato') published by Dr. Adam in 1891, but with modifications, due partly to further reflection, partly to the criticisms of the Provost of Oriel and others. The other is the astronomical passage 616 B-617 B, dealt with in Appendix VI to that Book, as to which we are told 'This Appendix is the result of prolonged discussions with Professor Cook Wilson, and freely reproduces nearly all his most important arguments.' The view of Boeckh is subjected to severe criticism.

The many musical passages are illustrated in a most interesting manner. We may instance the notes on Bk. iii. 398 c foll., the passage dealing with the admissible modes and rhythms. It is made clear that *παραρμόνιον* is not, (in Plato, at any rate), any more than *πολυχορδία*, the name of a particular musical instrument. To suppose so is a mistake similar to a notion that 'the chromatic' was the name of a kind of instrument to-day. A useful addition to the note on 399 c comes from Mr. Archer-Hind, who suggests that the *παραρμόνιον* was 'a style of composition, in which the Tondichter passed freely from *δωριστί* to *φρυγιστί* and *λυδιστί* and as many others as he chose.' At this point the close connexion between *τὸ πολύχορδον* and *τὸ παραρμόνιον* might be pressed. If a man has a lyre of eight strings he may of course tune them to any *ἁρμονία* he chooses. But if in the course of the same movement he wants to pass to another *ἁρμονία*, assuming that only open strings are used, he can only do it by having extra strings. Hence too the reason why the *αὐλὸς* is *πολύχορδος*. Here, if an extra interval is wanted, all that is necessary is to cut a fresh hole with, possibly, a plug worked by a key to fit it. While not ignoring the difference between modern keys and ancient modes, Plato's purism in objecting to the mixture of *ἁρμονίαι* may be paralleled from the views of some writers on orchestration, who upheld the old French horn, giving little more than the harmonics of its fundamental note, against the chromatic horn used by recent composers.

On 400 A (*ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις τέτταρα, ὅθεν αἱ πᾶσαι ἁρμονίαι*) I think Dr. Adam certainly right in preferring the view put forward by Monro, that they are 'the four ratios which give the primary musical intervals—viz. the ratios 2 : 1, 3 : 2, 4 : 3, and

9 : 8, which give the octave, fifth, fourth, and tone.' It is noticeable that the only factors of these ratios are 2 and 3. The factor 5 appearing in the ratios 5 : 4, and 6 : 5, and 10 : 9 corresponding to the modern major third, minor third, and lower tone is ignored, and in the elaborate scale given in the *Timaeus* 35 B-36 B, the intervals corresponding most nearly to the thirds are given by much more elaborate fractions involving only the factors 2 and 3.

Side by side with this we must place the passage on Plato's ideal Harmonics in Bk. vii. 530, c foll. An excellent interpretation is given of the difficult passage 531 A, where the vagaries of the *μουσικοί* are described, (See App. xi). These disregarded ratios as a basis of music, and 'measured all intervals as multiples or fractions of the Tone' (Monro in *Dict. Ant.* ii. p. 193). This attitude would lead them to regard intervals as multiples of a *minimum audible*, and they naturally busied themselves to identify this *minimum*—an endless and hopeless task, as the smallest perceptible interval would differ with different ears. It is to disclose this secret, I think, that the strings are put upon the rack, while ears are bent down to catch their disclosures; they are thwacked with the plectrum; they suffer brow-beating (*κατηγορία*); they deny and brazen it out (*ἐξάρνησις καὶ ἀλαζονεία*). Dr. Adam shows that this criticism is not only directed against the *μουσικοί*, or practical men, but also against the 'Pythagorean' school, who identified each interval with a ratio, but confined their investigations to the numbers or ratios of *audible* consonances. As to this paradox of the Platonic Education, its Astronomy without observation by eye, its Harmonics without observation by ear, while we are shown its weak side in the notes on 528 E, etc. and in App. ii. to Bk. vii, at the end of this Appendix the really valuable part of Plato's educational views is eloquently expressed. 'But when all is said and done, the abiding value of Plato's theory of Education is not affected by his misconception, if such it be, of the sciences of Astronomy and Harmonics. It may be doubted whether any writer has ever held so inspiring and profound a view of the aim and scope of education . . . Nothing is admitted into his scheme except what tends to keep alive humanity's most precious heritage, the love of truth and knowledge.' If Plato had given us nothing else, how inestimable would be our debt to him for his magnificent hopefulness as to the possi-

bilities of the human soul, as to the power of what man may do for man and man may do for himself!

Naturally there are many passages in the work on which the reader does not feel that the last word has been said, many as to which the editor does not claim this either. I will mention one that appears capable of a simpler treatment than it has received. In ix. 580 A, B if we had nothing but the context to help us to fix the meaning of the words $\delta\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, we should certainly decide that the meaning was 'a judge who had (not merely to award a prize) but to draw up a list of competitors in order of merit.' The phrases $\delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$, $\delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\alpha\sigma\omega\upsilon$, referring to five notes, or all the notes, drawn up in a scale, is analogous to $\delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon$ of all the *candidates* drawn up in a scale. The analogy is sufficient to defend the phrase, though strict parallels are wanting. I hold that there is here no reference to the manner of selecting the judges (as Petersen believes). The phrase $\delta\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\upsilon$ in Cratinus, if correctly explained in Bekker's *Anecdota* as $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, cannot be relevant to the phrase in the *Republic*. In the Inscriptions the phrase seems capable of an interpretation consistent with that of the passage of Cratinus, but also irrelevant to the *Republic*. 'I cannot see,' says Dr. Adam, Bk. ix., App. ii., p. 375, 'that the Inscriptions hitherto discovered give us any real assistance in attempting to elucidate the sentence of Plato, and it should be further remarked that they are all of them as late as the days of the Empire.' We have to make out the place in the *Republic* on its merits, as common sense may best guide us. Darkness is better than a will-o'-the-wisp.

Dr. Adam believes in the unity of the *Republic* as a literary work, and looks with disfavour on the $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. We are referred forward to the 'introductory' volume for arguments that the $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ have hitherto failed to prove their case. In the meantime some points bearing on the matter necessarily arise for treatment. The $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ have made much of supposed allusions in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (produced between B.C. 393 and 390) to the community of wives and children proposed in iv. 423 E and worked out in Bk. v. of the *Republic*. As the whole of the *Republic* cannot have been produced so early, they draw the conclusion that the first five books were produced separately. Dr. Adam (note on 452 B, App. i. to Bk. v.) shows how slight are the grounds for assuming al-

lusions in Aristophanes to any part of the *Republic*. It was indeed absurd to suppose that Aristophanes had to go to Plato for the materials of his burlesque on a subject that was 'doubtless familiar enough as a topic of conversation in the more cultivated circles of Athenian society.' It would be interesting to see what sort of case could be made out that Tennyson's 'Princess' was a reply to Mill's 'Subjection of Women' by some one who did not happen to know that the poem preceded the essay by several years. On the other hand, Dr. Adam is 'strongly inclined to admit the probability that Plato had the *Ecclesiazusae* and its author in his mind when he wrote that part of the fifth book which deals with the subject of women and children.' (There are other references to the $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ in Bk. v., App. 4, 503 A, n.)

The treatment of the doctrine of Ideas is contained mainly in the notes on v. 476 A with App. vii. to that book, App. iii. to Bk. vii. ('On Plato's Dialectic,' and the notes on x. 596, 7.)

Two points stand out for remark in Dr. Adam's treatment. In the first place he holds out strongly for 'the high Platonic view that 'Each Idea is a single independent separate self-existing perfect and eternal essence,' and is impatient (justly, as I think) with the attempts of Letze, Lutoslawski, and others to whittle away the doctrine (vol. ii. pp. 169, 170).

In the second place the doctrine is regarded as something final. It is the doctrine itself, rather than its genesis, that is put forward as interesting and important. On 476 A it is remarked, 'This is the first appearance of the doctrine of Ideas, properly so-called, in the *Republic*. It should be carefully noted that Plato is not attempting to prove the theory: Glauco, in fact, admits it from the first.' Again, at 596 A, the *locus classicus* for the Ideal Theory in its most uncompromising form, Glauco is treated as 'already a loyal Platonist.' That Plato's treatment of the Ideas is different in different places is admitted; but this is merely because these several utterances are merely partial aspects of the whole theory. 'Plato is not bound to give an exhaustive account of the Ideal Theory whenever he has occasion to make use of it.' The emergence of this theory in Plato's works, however, remains an extremely difficult problem.

We shall be prepared to find Dr. Adam sympathising little with the attempt to make a chronological list of Plato's works in which a distinct development of the

Ideal Theory may be traced. Thus, while allowing that the theory of Ideas which the Platonic *Parmenides* criticizes is that which appears in the *Republic* and the *Phaedo*, (ii. p. 173, n.), no explicit inference is made as to the order of these Dialogues. In the *Republic* Plato makes no reference to the difficulties of the immanence of the Ideas, 'whether because he had not yet realized the difficulty, or because he was occupied with other and more fruitful topics. The more poetical and figurative conception of the Idea as a *παράδειγμα* is found in the *Republic*, as in other dialogues, side by side with the doctrine of *παρουσία, μέεξις* or *κοινωνία*.' (See in the same sense Vol. i. p. 364.) In App. iv. to Bk. ix. the priority of *Philebus* or *Republic* is left as a 'disputed question.' There is a certain non-committal tone in the sentence, 'But the full development of this side of Dialectic (*διαίρεσις*) belongs to a later period of Plato's life, if, as is now widely believed, the *Sophist* and *Politicus* are later than the *Republic*,' ii. p. 174, cf. p. 158. This comparative indifference to the problem of the order of the Platonic writings is quite in accord with the editor's main point of view. One who believes that Plato left an immense permanent legacy to the world will be more concerned in estimating the wealth that has come to him than in enquiring curiously how the testator came by it. On the other hand, there are many who feel that, just as

'The greatest gift the hero leaves his race
Is to have been a hero,'

so the greatest legacy of the philosopher is to have philosophized. These will regard Plato's career as simply one of the most sublime and enthralling attempts ever made at the discovery of a visionary Eldorado—attempts all more or less foredoomed to failure: *θεῖον μέντοι ἑξαίρωμεν λόγον*. The attention of these will be centred much more in the incidents of the quest than on the spoils brought home.

I will conclude by briefly referring to the treatment of the crowning point of Plato's metaphysic—the Idea of the Good (notes on

vii. 505, 511, App. iii. p. 170 foll. etc.). 'It is highly characteristic of Plato's whole attitude that he finds the true keystone of the Universe . . . in no cold and colourless ontological abstraction like Being, but in that for which *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συσπενδάξει καὶ συννωδίνει* (Rom. 8. 22.)—viz. τὸ ἀγαθόν' (509 B. n.). But our view of the Good must be made sufficiently large. A quotation from Mr. Shorey's tract 'On the Idea of Good in Plato's *Republic*,' which limits the Idea of Good to *human* happiness, *human* conduct, *human* laws is criticized as being 'scarcely more than half the truth.' The Good is 'the *πρῶτον φίλον* for which the whole of Nature with greater or less degree of consciousness for ever yearns and strives.' But surely the object of *unconscious* tendency is not to be distinguished from Necessity. Thus does the Good as it soars further into the region of the abstract lose the light and warmth that forms for us the chief connotation of the word. It tends more and more to merge in mere Being, or to remove itself still further from our ken by sheltering itself in the region behind and above Being. In conceiving of the Good we can have either something that is Universal, or something that we can grasp and love. But can we have both? To some such question as this Dr. Adam finds for Plato the answer, 'Knowledge is not everything; we have *ἀνάμνησις* also . . . The progress of human knowledge from generation to generation will help to demonstrate the supremacy of the Good, of which by virtue of the *θεῖον τι ἐν ἡμῖν* we are already well assured.' (Vol. ii. p. 177.)

The accuracy of the printing throughout, and the completeness of the indices, are worthy of special mention. I have only come on two misprints. In the note on 372 D, for '543 E' we should apparently read '543 D.' In the note on 596 B 11, the fourth line from the end, there should be a semicolon after 'bed.' The insignificance of these mistakes is itself significant. I suppose there must be others.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

SOME months ago I ventured to criticise in these columns (xvi. 365 ff.) the second edition of Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. My criticism was partly destructive and partly constructive. On the one hand I objected to certain inconsistencies and improbable assumptions, as they then seemed to me, in Dr. Frazer's treatment of the Arician problem: on the other, I argued that the *rex Nemorensis* at Aricia was strictly comparable with the *rex sacrorum* at Rome. Since writing that review I have, at Dr. Frazer's request, reconsidered the whole question, taking into account sundry fresh facts and inferences courteously placed by him at my disposal. I have further collected for myself and sifted much of the evidence available for a broader study of classical oak-cults. And I may say at once that this more thorough investigation has led me to abandon my negative criticism, except such parts of it as related to the aforesaid inconsistencies. It has also induced me to develop my positive contention in a direction that I certainly did not foresee, namely as an argument for, not against, Dr. Frazer's general view. Indeed I now find myself so far in agreement with Dr. Frazer that I should be doing him a gross injustice and occupying a very false position, if I withheld the resultant theory from readers of my former article. This is, moreover, a fitting time for the publication of such views; for, apart from Dr. Frazer and his great work, others have recently called attention to the significance of the oak in Aryan worship. Dr. P. Wagler in 1891 published an excellent monograph entitled *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit*, of which the first half appeared under the auspices of the Royal Gymnasium at Wurzen (Programm 541), the second as one of the *Berliner Studien* (xiii. pt. 2). Inspired by Wagler's example Prof. H. Osthoff among his *Etymologische Parerga* of 1901 included a long chapter (pp. 98-180) on 'Eiche und treue.' And in the same year came Dr. Schrader's invaluable *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde* containing several articles ('Eiche,' 'Tempel,' 'Religion,' etc.) that bear on this topic. To all of these authors I am indebted, as the sequel will show; but my debts are, I hope, fully acknowledged each in its place.

It is now universally admitted that Ζεύς, the Greek form corresponding to an Indo-European *dyēu-s, denoted the 'bright' god who shone forth from the clear sky or veiled his face in the storm-clouds: as the *Iliad* has it (15, 192)

Ζεύς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εἰρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέ-
λησιν.

It is not so widely recognised that Zeus, though primarily a sky-god, discharged on occasion other and very different functions. Where local circumstances suggested it, Zeus was specialised into a water-god or an earth-god: thus there was a cult of Zeus Ὀμβριος on Hymettus and Parnes (Paus. 1. 32. 2), of Zeus Ὑέτιος at Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 8), at Lebadea (Paus. 9. 39. 4), in Cos (Ditt.² 735. 3), on Tmolus (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 48), of Zeus Θαλάσσιος at Sidon (Hesych. s.v. θαλάσσιος Ζεύς); and a cult of Zeus Χθόνιος at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8), at Corinth (Paus. 2. 2. 8), in Myconus (Ditt.² 615. 25). At Corinth Zeus seems to have been worshipped under all three aspects: 'Of the images of Zeus,' says Pausanias (2. 2. 8. Frazer), 'which are also under the open sky, one has no surname; another is called Subterranean; and the third they name Highest.' Greek thinkers naturally arrived at the conclusion that one and the same Zeus was operant in sky and sea and land; e.g. Pausanias elsewhere (2. 24. 4. Frazer) writes—'All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth:—Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine (*Il.* 9. 457). Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called.' Similarly Proclus (in *Plat. Crat.* p. 88 Boiss.) says of the three sons of Cronus: ὁ μὲν πρῶτος . . . καλεῖται μοναδικῶς Ζεύς· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διὰ δικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τριαδικῶς Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἄϊδος, and the *Etym. mag.* 409, 5 ff. extends the name Ζεὺς to cover both τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, ὡς τὸ Ζεὺς δὲ κατὰ θόντον ἐτάραξεν and τὸν καταχθόνιον θεόν, ὡς τὸ Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος. But was this identification of Zeus with Poseidon and Hades

merely a piece of latter-day rationalism, or did it—as the cult-names noted above seem to indicate—go back to a genuine primitive belief? The earliest literary evidence at first seems adverse to such a claim; for the three divinities in question have already their distinctive names: I refer to *Il.* 15. 187 ff., where Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades,

the three sons of Cronus and Rhea, divide the world between them. But on closer inspection it appears that the names of Poseidon and Hades are simply by-forms of Ζεύς. This *saute aux yeux* as soon as we write the names, with their dialect varieties, side by side:

Ζεύς (Δεύς, Δίς, Δάν, acc. Δᾶν, etc.)	= the 'bright' sky-god.
ποσει-δάων (-Δης, -Δᾶς, -Δάν, -Δέων, -Δῶν, etc.)	= Zeus in the water (πότος).
ἀϊ-Δης (-Δας, -Δωνεύς)	= Zeus of the earth (αἶα).

It was H. L. Ahrens who first pointed out (*Philologus* xxiii. 1 ff., 193 ff.) that Ποσειδῶν means the Water-Zeus. But his view did not find general acceptance, partly because his explanation of the length of the second syllable (Ποτιδάν for Πορί-δάν) was unsatisfactory, and partly because 'drink' seemed an unlikely word to be used of a sea-god. But the first objection vanishes, if with Sonne (*Zeitschr. f. vgl. Spr.* x. 183) we regard the ποσει of Ποσειδῶν as a locative case. Only we must derive the word from πότος, not πόσις. As οἶκος has the locatives οἶκε, οἶκοι, so from πότος, 'drink', might be made the locatives πότει, πότοι. The former of these appears in Ποτειδάν, Ποσειδῶν, etc.; the latter in such forms as Ποσειδάν (σ for τ is due to the analogy of Ποσει- for Ποτει-). Thus the name denotes literally 'Zeus in the drink'. The second objection can be disposed of by the not improbable supposition that Poseidon was a god of rivers (ποταμοί) and drinking-water in general (πότος) before he became a sea-god: Mr. Marindin, for example, writes (*Class. Dict.* p. 751)—'Poseidon seems to have been worshipped originally by the oldest branches of the Ionic race in especial. It is possible that when they were an inland people mainly, he was the god of running streams and wells, and that as they occupied more and more sea-coast towns his worship took particularly the form, which eventually everywhere prevailed, appropriate to the god of the sea. In Thessaly, a well-watered country, without many sea-ports, his character was rather that of a god of rivers. Etc.' It is, then, permissible to suppose that, when rain fell, the primitive Greeks believed Zeus to be present in the rain; that, when the rain collected into streams and rivers, they still held Zeus to be in the drinking-water; and that, when the rivers ran into the sea, they looked upon the sea itself as permeated with Zeus. The conception of Zeus in the rain is attested not only by the titles Ζεύς Ὀμβριος,

Ζεὺς Ὑέτιος, and the phrase Ζεὺς ὕει, but by the remarkable term ζήνιον or ζήνιον ὕδωρ used for 'rain-water' in the magical papyri (Wessely *Gr. Zauberpap.* pap. Paris. 225 ἐὰν μὲν τοὺς ἐπουρανίους θεοὺς κλήζῃ ζήνιον sc. βάλε ὕδωρ, Wessely *neue Gr. Zauberpap.* 630 ζηνίον ὕδατος).¹ The transition from sky-god to river-god is best illustrated by the Homeric Διπετέος ποταμοῖο, an expression rightly interpreted by schol. A οἱ γὰρ ὄμβροι ἀπὸ Διὸς and Eustath. 1505, 58 δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὸ ἐκπίπτον ὕδωρ ἐκ Διὸς ὃ ἐστὶν ἄερος ποιεῖ Διπετῇ ποταμόν (cp. *eund.* 1053, 8); for the Zeus Πότευς or Ποτήος of Pamphylia and Phrygia (Collignon in *Bull. corr. hell.* iii. 335, Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* i. 223, Head *hist. num.* 562) seems to have been Dionysiac. Lastly, the fusion of sky-god with sea-god appears in the titles already quoted—Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος, Ζεὺς Θαλάσσιος—and in sundry cult-practices: at Olympia Zeus and Poseidon both bore the title Λαοῖτας and were worshipped at a common altar (Paus. 5. 24. 1, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5. 8); the connecting link is perhaps supplied by the Carian Ζηνο-Ποσειδών (Macho *ap. Athen.* 337 c, *C.I.G.* 2700 add., Roscher *Lex. s.v.* 'Oso-goa'), whose temple stood by a river (Theophrast. *ap. Athen.* 42 a).

Confirmation² of Ποσειδῶν = Zeus in the water (πότος) may be found in the title Ἐννοσίδης given to that divinity by Pindar (*Pyth.* 4. 33, 173). This should, I think, be divided ἐν-νοσί-Δας, i.e. Zeus in the water (νοτίς, ἐννοτος, ἐννότιος). According to Kühner-Blass i. 150, 'Das ursprüngliche τ . . . erweichten die Lesbier, die Arkadier und

¹ Dr. Frazer reminds me of the explicit statement in Verg. *georg.* 2. 325 ff. tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether | coniugis in gremium laetae descendit, et omnis | magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus. Jupiter Pluvialis (*C.I.L.* ix. 324) and Jupiter imbricior (Apol. *de mundo* 37) are strictly parallel to Ζεὺς Ὀμβριος and Ζεὺς Ὑέτιος.

² It is also worthy of mention that among the Aetolians, Lesbians, and Perhaebians the month Ποσιδεών was called Δίος (Bisschoff *de fastis Graecorum antiquioribus*).

Kyprier, die alten und neuen Ionier und die Attiker, insbesondere vor ι , in σ .' The short $\dot{\iota}$ is perhaps due to later confusion with the patronymic $\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$: cp. the Ionic $\Pi\sigma\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ (Herodian π . $\mu\omicron\nu$. $\lambda\epsilon\zeta$. 10, 35 with Ahrens *Philol.* xxiii. 7). Further, since rivers spring from the soil and sometimes disappear into the soil, water as such acquired a chthonian character: hence $\pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota-\Delta\omega\nu$ was the god of earthquakes (Præller-Robert⁴ p. 583 ff.), and $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota-\gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ¹ may be fairly explained as *the earth-god in the water*. These compounds of $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota-$ are commonly held to contain a verbal element: but that is not so likely, because a verbal element would rather have followed than preceded the substantive, e.g. $\gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$. The form of the compound here resembles that of $\epsilon\mu\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\beta\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$. Note that Pollux l. 238, after enumerating $\delta\mu\beta\rho\iota$, $\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\iota$, $\kappa\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$, goes on to mention $\gamma\acute{\eta} \dots \nu\acute{o}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\nu\acute{o}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$, a highly suggestive combination.

That $\dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ similarly denoted the Earth-Zeus has not, I think, been hitherto maintained, though I suspect that this explanation had occurred to Ahrens; for at the close of his second article on the name $\Pi\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\nu$ he writes (*Philologus* xxiii. 211)—'Diese deutung wird noch eine sehr kräftige bestätigung erhalten, wenn es mir gelingen sollte den namen des dritten Zeus $\dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ in ganz analoger weise zu deuten.' The task that Ahrens left unaccomplished G. F. Unger took up and, to my thinking, spoiled. For in *Philologus* xxiv. 385 ff. he argued that $\dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ is the patronymic form of $\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha$, the second element in the word being a mere suffix. The derivation has not found favour with philologists mainly on two grounds: (a) there is no proof that $\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha$ was ever trisyllabic; Unger's suggestion *loc. cit.* p. 387, n. 2 that it stands to $\alpha\dot{\omega}$ as *terra* to *torreo* being certainly wrong: (b) Hoffmann iii. 318 f. has shown that the genuine Ionic, and therefore Pelasgian, form of the name was trisyllabic and had a long initial α (' $\dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ mit langen α war die echt-ionische Form'); this is a fact to be reckoned with. Both objections can be overcome, if we put the case thus: $\ast\alpha\dot{\iota}-\dot{\iota}\Delta\eta\varsigma$, *Zeus of the earth* ($\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha$), normally passes into $\alpha\dot{\iota}-\dot{\iota}\Delta\eta\varsigma$, a trisyllabic form with initial α lengthened to compensate for the loss of ι . That the connective vowel is ι , rather than a or o , may be due to the analogy of Κρονίδης , etc.²

¹ $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\chi\theta\omega\nu$ is perhaps a later form due, like $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, to a misconception.

² Such forms as $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota-\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota-\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, are late and 'missbräuchlich' (Kühner-Blass ii. 328).

My reason for thinking that the termination of $\dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ is not the suffix $-\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ but the substantive $-\Delta\eta\varsigma$ is as follows: we thus obtain for the first time a satisfactory account of the form $\dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, in which $-\Delta\omega\nu-$ gives the name of the god (cp. $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\pi\omicron\tau\iota\Delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$), while $-\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ follows the analogy of Ζεύς . But it would be beside my purpose and beyond my power to trace in detail the Protean changes undergone by the name Ζεύς in the many dialects of Greece. Suffice it to say that known varieties of the name allow of the equations proposed above; and that there is no phonetic difficulty in taking $\dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ to denote an Earth-Zeus, precisely as $\Pi\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\nu$ denoted a Water-Zeus. But, if Hades is none other than Ζεύς Χθόνιος or $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (reff. in Rhode *Psyche*² i. 205 ff.), we have yet to ask how the 'bright' sky-god came to be regarded as dwelling in the dark earth. Here, from the nature of the case, our answer must be more or less speculative. It may be granted that, if the sun was held to be in any sense the especial manifestation of the 'bright' god, his nightly setting might give rise to the belief that his home was under the earth; cp. e.g. *Od.* 10. 191 $\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma \phi\alpha\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma' \epsilon\pi\acute{o} \gamma\alpha\iota\alpha\nu$, *h. Herm.* 68 $\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\Omega\kappa\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu\delta\epsilon$. I incline to think that this is the right explanation; for the sun is described, not only as $\Delta\iota\omega\varsigma \acute{o}\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Hes. *O.D.* 267) or Ζηνός ὄρνις (Aesch. *suppl.* 213), but actually as Ζεύς (*Etym. mag.* 409, 9 s.v. $\text{Ζεύς} \dots \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\nu \eta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu \epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau' \alpha\dot{\iota} \theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \Delta\iota\omega\varsigma \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ = *Il.* 13. 837), and a very early inscription from Amorgos (Röhl² 55 no. 28, Roberts i. 191 no. 160 f.) mentions Ζεύς Ἥλιος . The gates through which he passed at sunset, the Ἡελίοιο πύλαι of *Od.* 24. 12, are probably to be identified with the $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota \dot{\Lambda}\dot{\iota}\delta\alpha\omicron$ of *Il.* 5. 646 *alib.* Pindar's epithet for Hades, $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (*ap.* Paus. 9. 23. 4), if not the Homeric $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\pi\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (*Il.* 5. 654 *alib.*), may be explained as allusions to the sun's chariot;³ and it is noteworthy that on vase-paintings of Hades' palace in the Underworld the walls are often decorated with wheels (Præller-Robert⁴ p. 805 n. 1). But, whatever answer we return to the question—How came Zeus to be regarded as an Earth-Zeus?—, the fact itself can hardly be disputed.

For yet another suggestion I am indebted to Ahrens (*Philologus* xxiii. 207), viz. that in $\Delta\alpha-\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$, $\Delta\eta-\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\rho$, we have a feminine form of the same stem. This enables us to understand why Demeter should have been

³ Proclus *h. in Sol.* 1 actually addresses the sun as $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon \text{Τιτάν}$.

paired sometimes with Zeus—e.g. Ζεὺς Ὀμολώιος and Δημήτηρ Ὀμολωία at Thebes (Suid. s.v. Ὀμολώιος Ζεὺς)—, sometimes with Poseidon—e.g. at Onceum (Paus. 8. 25. 5 ff.), at Thelpusa and Phigalia (Paus. 8. 42. 1), at Troezen (Paus. 2. 32. 8), at Eleusis (Paus. 1. 38. 6), in Myconus (Ditt.² 615)—, sometimes with Hades—e.g. near the Acheron in Elis (Demetrius of Scepsis *ap.* Strab. 344) and not far from Pylos (Strab. 344).

Maximilian Mayer has gone far towards proving that the name Ζεὺς sometimes developed a prothetic *ä*—. He plausibly compares the forms Ἀξεύς, Ἀζάν, with Ζεὺς, Ζάν (*Giganten und Titanen* pp. 84, 154). Azeus, the youngest son of Clymenus, was a local hero at Orchomenus in Boeotia, where his eldest brother Erginus was reputed to be the father of Trophonius (Paus. 9. 37). Now Τροφώνιος was a by-name of Zeus at Lebadea (Frazer *Paus.* v. 200): Κλύμενος was killed by Perieres at Onchestus in the precinct of Poseidon (Apollodor. 2. 4. 11): and Κλύμενος was also a well-known title of Hades, e.g. at Hermione, where the temple of Demeter was founded by Clymenus and Chthonia (Paus. 2. 35. 4: see Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1228, 43 ff.). If Azeus was in reality the Orchomenian Zeus, this association with Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, and Demeter becomes intelligible.¹ Azan, the eponymous head of the Azanes (Hdt. 6. 127, *alib.*), was similarly an Arcadian form of Zeus (schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 292 unde vulgo in sacris Deae magnae dicitur *Azan*, on which see Mayer *op. cit.* p. 154, n. 225). Other cognates are the Attic deme Ἀζηνιεύς (Töpffer *Att. Genealogie* p. 102 f.) and Ἀζησία, a title borne by Demeter (Soph. *frag.* 809 Dind., Hesych. s.v.) and by Kore at Troezen² (Suid. s.v., *alib.*), where the saying ἡ Ἀμαία τὴν Ἀζησίαν μετῆλθεν may have meant: 'The Mother (ä-Maia) sought the Zeus-maiden (ä-Zησία).' In N. Greece the prothetic *a* was apparently prefixed to forms of Ζεὺς beginning with a Δ. For Hesychius's gloss ἀδῆ· οὐρανός. Μακεδόνες can hardly be dissociated from Ζεὺς as the sky-god. This, if I am not mistaken, points the way to the meaning of the name Ἀδων, Ἀδωνις. Dümmler, after a careful discussion of the Adonis-cult, comes to the conclusion that the common derivation of Ἀδωνις from the Hebrew *Adon*, 'Lord,' is wrong, and

that we must assume a Greek rather than a Semitic origin for the name (Pauly-Wissowa i. 393, 39 ff.). What that origin was, he does not attempt to determine; but in view of ἀδῆ· οὐρανός it is not hard to conjecture. If Adonis was related to Zeus = Poseidon = Hades, we obtain an explanation for the three-fold character of the Adonia, at which the god was represented (1) as ascending to the upper air, (2) as committed to the waves of the sea, (3) as descending to the world below (details and reff. in *G.B.*² ii. 115 ff.). Possibly Philostephanus was not far wrong, when he described Adonis as the son of Zeus and Zeus alone (Prob. in Verg. *ecl.* 10. 18).

Mayer's further conjecture (*Giganten und Titanen* p. 81) that Τῖτάν is a reduplicated form of * Τάν (cp. Σίσυφος, κύκνος, πῖφαυσκω), another variety of Ζεὺς (Cretan Τανός, Τάν, Τάνα, etc.—see Herwerden *Lex. suppl.* s.v. Ζεὺς, Boisacq *Les dialectes Dorien* p. 152 f.), is in itself not impossible and is supported by a wealth of ingenious argumentation. If true, it throws—as we shall see—some light on the mythology of various Titans.

But the group of related deities is not, even so, exhausted. Corresponding to the male series sky-god, water-god, earth-god, was a whole female series sky-goddess, water-goddess, earth-goddess, who derived their names more immediately from the Indo-European root *div*, 'bright,' a root ultimately common to both series:

Δία = sky-goddess.

ἄφρο-Δίτη = water-goddess.

Διώνη = earth-goddess.

Between the divinities denoted by these names there was a certain potential equivalence or actual interchange, which tends to confirm my theory that they are at bottom only diverse manifestations of a single conception—the 'bright' wife of the 'bright' sky-god Zeus. Thus Dia, when identified with Hebe as at Phlius and Sicyon (Strab. 382) or when united with Zeus as the parent of Peirithous (*Il.* 14. 317 f., Pherecyd. *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 62. schol. *Od.* 11. 631 ὁ δὲ Δίας καὶ Διός), was presumably conceived as a sky-goddess. But, when identified with Eurytia or Eidothea as the second wife of Phineus (J. De Witte in *Arch. Zeit.* xxxix. 164, n. 1), she was a water-goddess (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1218). And, when the Samothracian Caelus and Terra (Pav. 5). Wissowa iii. 1277, 38 ff.) are replaced, well Caelus and Dia (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 2. *quibus* when *dia* is cited as meaning γῆ (*Etym. n.* 60, 8 οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσι καὶ ἐν δίαν), we are bound to regard Dia as an

¹ *Il.* 2. 513 speaks of Ἀκτωρ Ἀξείδαο. Does Ἀκτωρ the son of Ζεὺς afford any clue to the difficult epithet Δι-ἄκτωρ?

² Possibly the same root recurs in the name of the town itself, Τροί-ζήν, Τροί-ζήνη.

earth-goddess: cp. the Dea Dia of the Romans. Again, Aphrodite, though commonly a water-goddess (Εὐπλοία, Λιμενία, Ποντία, etc.) was also a sky-goddess (Οὐρανία) and an earth-goddess (Ἐπιτυμβιδία, Τυμβόρυχος): she thus made a fitting consort for Adonis, with whom her connexion was constant and apparently original (Dümmler in Pauly-Wissowa i. 393, 50 ff.). Finally Dione, who at Dodona was an earth-goddess (see below), was sometimes identified with her daughter the Cyprian Aphrodite (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1028, 46 ff.) or described as the child of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. *theog.* 353), i.e. as a water-goddess, while others equated her with Hera presumably as a sky-goddess (schol. *Od.* 3. 91 ὥς καὶ ἡ Ἥρα Διώνη παρὰ Δωδωναίοις, ὥς Ἀπολλόδωρος: where Διώνη is Buttmann's cj. for διώνη M. δαίην H.Q.). These variations show how readily sky-goddess, sea-goddess, and earth-goddess might pass from one province into another. Surely the riddle τί ταῦτον ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ; (Athen. 453 A) admitted of a serious theological answer.

Thus far, then, we have seen that various Greek deities are etymologically connected with Zeus. I propose to show next that in the case of every such deity, traces of the oak-cult can be detected.

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα. The Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona uttered his oracles by means of a sacred oak (*Il.* 16. 233 ff., *Od.* 14. 327 f., 19. 296 f.) growing in a sacred forest of oak (Aesch. *P.v.* 832, Serv. *georg.* 1. 149 and *Aen.* 3. 466, schol. Lucan. *Phars.* 3. 179). This, the most famous oak-cult of antiquity, has already a literature of its own (bibliography in P. Wagler *die Eiche* ii. 5, Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 353, etc.) and I do not mean to discuss it in detail. At the same time it will be well to insist on certain aspects of the cult which have not hitherto received the attention that they deserve. I shall have something to say on the subject (1) of Zeus himself, (2) of Dione his consort, (3, 4) of their attendant priests and priestesses.

(1) At Dodona the conception of Zeus as a sky-god is barely traceable. For if ^{co} Nāios be interpreted as 'Zeus of the ^{ma} raining water' (schol. *Il.* 16. 233 ὁ δὲ ἀναῖος καὶ νῆιος ἰδρῆλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ ρία), the reference is not to the drenching hunderstorms of the district, but to the numerous streams that furrow the side of

Mt. Tomarus (Plin. *n.h.* 4. praef. 2 Tomarus mons centum fontibus circa radices Theopompo celebratus) or more probably to the ἵδωρ ἀναπανόμενον (Plin. *n.h.* 2. 228), as is evident when the epithet is compared with its supposed cognates Νάια (a spring in Laconia, Paus. 3. 25. 4), Ναιᾶς, νῆω, νῆμα, etc.: these all refer to running or standing water, not to a down-pour from above. But it is not quite certain that Νάιος refers to water at all. In ancient times rival derivations were current: (a) from ναῖς, 'the god of ships' (Bekk. *anecd.* 283, 22); (b) from ναός, 'the god of the temple' (Bekk. *anecd.* 283, 13); (c) from ναίω, 'the god who dwells' in the oak (cp. φηγωναίε the reading of Zenodotus in *Il.* 16. 233 with Hes. *frag.* 80, 7 Flach ναῖον δ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγού). Of modern derivations the most persuasive is that of Schrader (*Reallex.* s.v. 'Tempel,' p. 861) who, holding that the words ναῖς and ναός are descended from a common parent denoting 'tree,' interprets Ζεὺς Νάιος as 'der im Baumstamme gefasste.' But, however that may be, the title Νάιος furnishes no direct proof of the celestial character of Zeus. It is indeed strange that such proof is not forthcoming at Dodona, perhaps the stormiest spot in Europe (with *Il.* 16. 234 Δωδώνης... δυσχειμέρου cp. A. Mommsen *Delphika* p. 5 'Im Juni 1868 hat es bei Janina an 23 Tagen gedonnert und geblitzt' quoted by Wagler *die Eiche* ii. 2). Possibly a reminiscence of the bright sky-god is to be found in the Hesychian gloss Δωδωνεύς Ζεὺς. ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Δῖος, and of the rain-storms in the Dodonaean nymphs whom Pherecydes identified with the Ὑάδες (schol. *Il.* 18. 486). These latter were regarded by Pherecydes as the nurses of Dionysus (ib. τὰς Ὑάδας Δωδωνίδας νύμφας φησὶν εἶναι καὶ Διονύσου τροφούς, ὡς παρακαταθέσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον Ἴνοι διὰ τὸν Ἥρα φάβον), but by others as the nurses of Zeus himself (Hyg. 182 Iovis nutrices quae nymphae Dodonides dicuntur)—a point to which I must return. It should be added that certain bronze fragments found at Dodona probably belonged to a statue of Zeus hurling the thunderbolt (Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* i. 104, ii. pl. lx, 11), that a bronze statuette of the god in that attitude was discovered whole (ib. i. 32, ii. pl. xii. 4), and that the thunderbolt occurs as a decorative relief on pieces of bronze armour from the same site (ib. i. 101, 103, ii. pll. lv. 3, lix, 1, 2). The well-known Vienna bronze, which shows Zeus with a crown of oak-leaves and

of acorns and a winged thunderbolt (Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2132 fig. 2389 cp. the cameo in Overbeck *Gemmentaf.* iii. 2), perhaps points in the same direction. Still, it must be admitted that the conception of Zeus as a sky-god, if present at all, was very much in the background at Dodona.

His connexion with water was more *en évidence*. An oracular spring burst from the very roots of the famous oak (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466). This was probably the ἀναπαυόμενον ἕδωρ, an intermittent spring, which ceased to flow at midday (Plin. *n.h.* 2. 228, cp. *Etym. mag.* 98, 22). A river in the same locality was called Δῶδων (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη, Eustath. 335, 45). The oracle at Dodona enjoined sacrifice to Achelōis in all its responses (schol. *Il.* 21. 194 καὶ τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ δὲ μαντεῖον ἅπασιν τοῖς χρησμοῖς κελεύει θύειν Ἀχελῷῳ, schol. *Il.* 24. 615, Ephor. *frag.* 27 Müller *ap.* Macrobian. 5. 18). Mythology too connected the Dodonaean Zeus with ships, both stern and prow: on the one hand, Πέριμος γὰρ ὁ Ἰκάστων¹ τοῦ Αἰόλου ναυαγῆσας διεσώθη ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης καὶ ἰδρύσατο ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὸς Ναῖον ἱερόν (Bekk *anecd.* 283. 22); on the other, Argos Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποθεμένης πεντηκόντορον ναὺν κατεσκεύασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Ἀργῶ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πῶραν ἐνῆρμοσεν Ἀθηνᾶ φωνῆν φηγοῦ τῆς Δωδωνίδος ἑύλον (Apollodor. 1. 9. 16). Probably special virtues were ascribed to ship timber, δόρυ νήον, of Dodonaean oak: cp. Plin. *n.h.* 13. 119 Alexander Cornelius arborem leonem (so MD: eonem *rv*) appellavit ex qua facta esset Argo, similem robori viscum ferenti, quae neque aqua neque igni possit corrumpi, sicuti nec viscum, nulli alii cognitam, quod equidem sciam. Again, the nymph Δωδώνη was an Oceanid (Eustath. 335, 46. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη, *alib.*), as was Dione according to some (Hes. *theog.* 353, cp. Apollodor. 1. 2. 7). And there was the legend that the oracle had been founded or consulted by Deucalion and Pyrrha after the flood (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 1, *Etym. mag.* 293, 5 ff.). All this is suggestive of a Water-Zeus or Poseidon: cp. the beautiful bronze statuette of Zeus in the attitude of Poseidon found at Dodona and now in the British Museum (*Cat. Bronzes* 274, pl. vi. 2) and a similar statue from the same place, now at Constantinople *Bull. de corr. hell.* ix. 42, pl. xiv.

But, after all, the really prominent feature of the Zeus-cult at Dodona was its oracle. And the giving of oracles was a chthonian prerogative. An oracular Zeus (Farnell

Cults i. 39 f.) may indeed always be taken to imply a chthonian Zeus (Rhode *Psyche*,² i. 207). Hence Creuzer was substantially correct when he wrote (*Symbolik*³ iii. 85): 'ganz auffallend zeigt sich in diesem Dodonäischen Dienste ein gewisser tellurischer Charakter. Dieser Jupiter war auch mit Aidoneus oder mit dem König der Unterwelt ein und derselbe.' This 'telluric character' comes out with equal clearness in the consort of Zeus at Dodona.

(2) Pausanias 10. 12. 10. records the old chant of the Dodonaean priestesses—
Zeὺς ἦν, Zeὺς ἔστι, Zeὺς ἔσσεται ὁ μέγας Zeῦ.
Γὰ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε ματέρα Gaίαν.
It would seem, then, that at Dodona there was the same primeval association between Sky-father and Earth-mother, which meets us elsewhere in a hundred different forms. The name Δωδώνη itself bears witness to the cult of the earth-goddess. A comparison of

Blandona	Ἀμυδών
Bωδώνη	Ἀνθηδών
Δωδώνη	Ἀσπληδών
Κελαδώνη	Βωδών
	Καλυδών
	Φαρκαδών
	Χαλκηδών

all names of places in N. Greece, seems to indicate that -δών was a suffix (cp. Celtic *-dūnum*, Old Irish *dún*, 'town') and that the import of the name depended on its first element.² On this showing Δωδώνη means 'the town of Δῶ.' Now the Aeolic name for Demeter was Δω-μάτηρ, and Hoffmann ii. 374 f. argues that the N. Achaeans in general originally worshipped the goddess under that title. Bechtel (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1890 p. 29) had already compared the clipped form Δωῖς (MSS. Δῶς) in *h. Cer.* 122; and Meister i. 75 had brought into the same connexion the place-names Δωδώνη, Δώτιον. Thus the name Δωδώνη informs us that from time immemorial that had been a local cult of the earth-goddess, the goddess whom the dramatists called Δᾷ (Herwerden *lex. suppl. s.v.* δᾷ), better known as Δη-μήτηρ, a feminine form from the same root as Zeús.

But if the consort of Zeus at Dodona was Demeter, what becomes of Dione who is regularly paired with him in literature and art (evidence in Roscher *lex.* i. 1028, 61 f. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 354, n. 1, etc.)? St², 5).
S well

² Kretschmer *Einleitung* p. 256 f. holds that the suffix of these place-names is rather -ών, -ονα. In that case the first element of Δωδώνη would be a reduplicated Δῶ, cp. Δωδῶ (Simmias Rhod. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη).

¹ The names are usually corrected to Περίηρης and Ἰοκάστων.

329 states that the worship of Dione was introduced at a later date than that of Zeus. His statement is often discredited (e.g. by Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 354, n. 1); but it may well be true. Δῶ, the old earth-goddess, was in time supplanted by Διώνη, both of them being feminine congeners of Ζεύς (Curtius *Grundzüge*⁵ 236, Meister *Sitzungsb. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1894 p. 200 ff.). An inkling of the truth appears in *Etym. mag.* 280, 41 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς Διώνη . . . ἡ αὐτὴ γάρ ἐστι τῇ γῇ.

Oaks were associated with Demeter and perhaps with Dione also. The cave of the Phigaleian Demeter was surrounded by a grove of oaks (Paus. 8. 42. 12). On the road from Tegea to Argos the temple of Demeter ἐν Κορυθεῦσι stood in another oak-grove (Paus. 8. 54. 5). The tree cut down in Demeter's grove by the sacrilegious Erysichthon was, according to Ovid, an 'ingens annoſo robore quercus' (*met.* 8. 743), a 'Deoia quercus' (*ib.* 758): cp. Callim. *h. Cer.* 60 ἐν δρυσί. Finally, Virgil connects the oak with Ceres: *georg.* 1. 347 ff. neque ante | falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis, | quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu | det motus inconpositos et carmina dicat. The evidence with regard to Dione is as follows. Nicander *ther.* 461 f. mentions Ζωναία τ' ὄρη χιόνεσσι φάληρα | καὶ δρύνες Οἰαγρίδαο τό τε Ζηρύνθιον ἄντρον. The schol. *ad loc.* cites also Nicand. *frag.* 36 καὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ζωναίων ὄρος δρύνες ἀμφί τε φηγοί | ῥιζόθι δινήθησαν ἀνέστησάν τε χορείαν | οἷά τε παρθενικαί. It appears that in Thrace there was a town called Δρῦς (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), where Orpheus had made the oaks to dance, and that in its immediate neighbourhood was another town called Ζώνη (Scylax *peripl.* 67 Σαμοθράκι νῆσος καὶ λιμὴν. κατὰ ταύτην ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐμπορία Δρῦς, Ζώνη). Have we not in Δρῦς—Ζώνη the Thracian counterpart of the Dodonaean δρῦς—Διώνη?

It may be surmised that the famous gong at Dodona was connected with the goddess rather than with the god. For the nearest parallel to it on Greek soil was the gong sounded by the hierophant at Athens (i.e. at Eleusis) when Kore cried aloud (Apollodor. *ap. schol. vet. Theocr.* 2. 36): besides, Pindar speaks of Demeter herself αἰχλοκοκρότου . . . Δαμάτερος (*Isth.* 7. 3 f.); her title 'Αχαία, 'the noisy,' is susceptible of the same explanation (*J.H.S.* i. 15).

(3) This brings us to a consideration of the priests at Dodona, whom Callimachus calls γηλεχέες θεράποντες ἀσιγήτοιο λέβητος

(*h. Del.* 286). If Dione was an earth-goddess, we can understand why they were γηλεχέες. They lay on the ground to be in close contact with Mother Earth. The Homeric χαμαιεῖναι (*Il.* 16. 235) possibly echoes Χαμύνη, a title borne by Demeter in Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 9, 6. 21. 1) and denoting the earth-goddess (Kretschmer *Einl.* 83). But they were ἀνιπτόποδες as well as χαμαιεῖναι. Does this taboo imply the same contact? Unlike other men they did not wash from their feet the dust and mud that to them were holy ground. A third of the Dodonaean rules may perhaps be recovered from a parody of them by the comedian Eubulus (*ap. Athen.* 113 v, cp. Eustath. 1058, 12), who spoke of the Cynics as ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιενάδες, ἀερίοικοι. If so, the third rule may refer to Zeus as a sky-god: his priests remained *sub divo*. The epithets taken together would thus give the twofold aspect of the priesthood, in its relation on the one hand to Dione and on the other to Zeus.

The priests were called Ἐλλοί and traced their descent from an eponymous ancestor Ἐλλός. He was a woodcutter, to whom the dove had first shown the oracular seat (schol. *Il.* 16. 234 Πίνδαρος Ἐλλοὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ ἀπὸ Ἐλλοῦ τοῦ δρυτόμου, ᾧ φασὶ τὴν περιστερὰν πρώτην καταδείξαι τὸ μαντεῖον, cp. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466 of the dove at Dodona 'praecepitque ei qui tum eam succidebat, ut ab sacrata quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret: ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est,' etc.). Almost the only other substantial piece of information that we have with regard to the Ἐλλοί is that they were called τόμουροι, a name popularly connected with Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος (Strab. 328). But it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the τόμουροι of a sacred oak-grove should claim descent from a δρυ-τόμος. I would submit that τόμουροι means 'cutters,' i.e. woodcutters, being a word derived from the root of τέμνω, cp. τόμος τομός τομεύς etc., with a termination like that of ἄρουρα or σταυρός. Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος might well be the mountain where timber was 'felled' (cp. Orph. *Arg.* 1153 ff. ἐκ δ' ἄρα κοίλης | νηὸς ἐριβρομέουσα Τομαριάς ἔκλαγε φηγὸς | ἦν ποθ' ὑπ' Ἀργῆσι τομαῖς ἡρμόσαστο Παλλάς). It seems, then, that those who felled timber in the sacred wood of Dodona were a clan tracing their pedigree back to a common ancestor. A parallel to this state of affairs can be produced from another Pelasgian town, namely Athens. Hesychius has fortunately saved the gloss Αἰγειροτόμοι ἰθαγενεῖς τινες Ἀθήνησιν. There was, as he

tells us, at Athens a family of 'poplar-cutters,' which prided itself on the purity of its blood. Probably in the far past they and they alone had been privileged to cut poplars: according to Callim. *h. Cer.* 24 ff. the wrath of Demeter fell upon Erysichthon because, though warned by her priestess, he cut down a poplar in her grove at Dotion. At Olympia too the wood of the white poplar, which alone was used for the sacrifices, was supplied by a servant of Zeus called the ξυλεύς (Paus. 5. 13. 2-3, 5. 15. 10). Again, at Phlius in the grove of Hebe, who was here identified with Dia (Strab. 382), a yearly festival was held called the κισσοτόμοι (Paus. 2. 13. 4). It is clear, therefore, that the felling of timber in a sacred grove might be regarded as a solemn religious function; and it may be plausibly maintained that the τόμοι of Dodona were the clan privileged to cut the sacred oaks.¹

Can we go further and form a conjecture as to the reasons for which they felled the trees? Doubtless it may have been for purely secular purposes, house-building or what not? But the sanctity of the oaks and the priestly character of the τόμοι tempt us to go further afield. Now the legend related by the scholiast on *Il.* 16. 234 spoke of Hellus the δρντόμος as guided by a dove to the oracular seat. And this suggests comparison with the Little Daedala in Boeotia. At that festival the people of Plataea followed a raven till it settled on an oak, which they then cut down and treated as a bride of Zeus (reff. in *G.B.*² i. 225 f.). The common features are the wood-cutting and the bird alighting on the oak sacred to Zeus. A further point of resemblance is the prominence accorded to the river-god in both localities. Of the Achelōiis as worshipped at Dodona I have already spoken. At Plataea during the Little Daedala the oak-bride 'seems . . . to have been drawn to the banks of the river Asopus and back to the town, attended by a piping and dancing crowd'; and once in sixty years, at the Great Daedala, the fourteen oak-brides kept from the lesser celebrations 'were dragged on wains in procession to the river Asopus, and then to the top of Mount Cithaeron,' where they were burnt (*G.B.*² *loc. cit.*). If Schrader was right in understanding Νάϊος to mean 'of the tree-trunk,' the name of the local festival at Dodona, the Νάϊα (Ditt.² 700) or Νᾶα (*C.I.G.* 2908), might afford a parallel to that of the Δαίδαλα, i.e. 'carved

trunks' (Paus. 9. 3. 2), at Plataea. The bride of Zeus at Dodona seems to have been originally a *xoanon* of wood and to have been transformed into a chryselephantine statue by the Athenians; this supposition at least fits the language of Hypereides *pro Eux.* col. xxxv. 24 ff. ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Δωδωναῖος προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Διώνης ἐπικοσμήσαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς πρόσωπόν τε ποιησάμενοι ὡς οἶόν τε κάλλιστον καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ κόσμον πολὺν καὶ πολυτελῆ τῇ θεῷ παρασκευάσαντες καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ θυσίαν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστεύσαντες ἐπικοσμήσατε τὸ ἔδος τῆς Διώνης ἀξίως καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς θεοῦ. Among the débris in the sacred precinct at Dodona, Carapanos found 'deux yeux en pierre calcaire ayant appartenu à une grande statue en bois' (*op. cit.* i. 23, ii. pl. lx, 6); though it would be rash to assert that these came from a statue of Dione. If Zeus at Dodona like Zeus at Plataea had a wooden bride, it is possible that the Dodonaean had some periodical holocaust analogous to the pyre on Mt. Cithaeron. A trace of this persists, I believe, in a passage of Strabo. Strab. 401 f. quotes from Ephorus an account of certain Boeotians who killed a priestess by casting her upon a pyre (πύρα) in consequence of which, whenever Boeotians consulted the oracle at Dodona, the divine response was delivered to them by the mouth of men, not of women as in the case of other tribes, and the Boeotians had to send to Dodona every year a tripod under cover of night and wrapped up in garments. Variants of this tale are given in Zenob. 2. 84 s.v. Βουωτοῖς μαντεύσαιο: I have discussed them in *J.H.S.* xxii. 21 f.

Some further facts are known about the Νάϊα. Part of the festival took the form of a dramatic exhibition, presumably in the local theatre. An inscription found at Tegea (Ditt.² 700) records among the performances of an unknown tragedian—[Ν]άϊα [ἐν] Δωδώνῃ Ἀχελ[ώφ] Εὐριπίδου, Ἀχιλλεῖ Χαιρήμωνος (*sic*). Both plays were well chosen: the association between the Achelōiis and Dodona was of the closest; and in *Il.* 16. 233 it is Achilles who appeals to the Dodonaean Zeus—indeed Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 71 connects Ἀχιλλεύς with Ἀχελώϊος. Comedies may have been played as well as tragedies; for the bronze statuette of a comic actor was found in the precinct (Carapanos i. 32, ii. pl. xiii, 5). But the festival involved athletic as well as dramatic contests. Lebas *Attiques* 595 cites an inscription, which mentions among other victories—Νᾶα τὰ ἐν Δω[δώνῃ] ἀνδρας πάλην. Another inscription

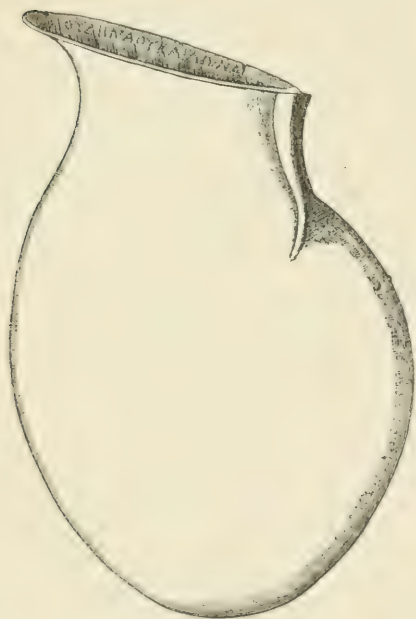
¹ cf. Hesych. δρυμῖνος· τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κακοποιούντας, 'forsan ob successionem quercuum s. arborum' (Steph. *Thes.* s.v.).

found at Priene (*C.I.G.* 2908) runs—*δῆμος Φύλιον Θρασυβούλου νικήσαντα παῖδας παγκράτιον Νῆα τὰ ἐν Δωδώνῃ*. Again, Callixenus of Rhodes in describing a procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus writes (*ap. Athen.* 203 A): *ἑστεφανώθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς εἴκοσι Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ Βερενίκη εἴκοσι τρισὶν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ*. The meaning of the last sentence has been much discussed (see Schweighäuser *ad loc.*); but it should probably be rendered—‘Ptolemy I and Berenice were honoured with twenty-three (golden crowns borne along) on golden chariots and with (? models of) sacred precincts at Dodona.’ Whatever the full meaning of this may be, it certainly implies that Ptolemy I and Berenice had won prizes in the Dodonaean games. If *στέφανοι* were awarded for victories at the *Náia*, it may

fairly be conjectured that the wreath was of oak. The conjecture is confirmed by sundry objects of art found in the *temenos*—a portion of a bronze wreath of oak (Carapanos i. 91, ii. pl. xlix, 8), a dozen detached bronze leaves of oak and laurel (*ib.* i. 91, ii. pl. xlix, 6, 12), an acorn of silver in a shell of bronze (*ib.* i. 92, ii. pl. xlix, 10). Among the vase-fragments found in the lower stratum of the precinct was one which represents a nude man carrying a (? palm) branch: this again may have reference to success in the games (*ib.* i. 112, ii. pl. lxi, 5). Less dubious and more interesting are two large bronze jugs inscribed—

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίου Διὶ Νάου (*sic*)
καὶ Δίωνα (*sic*).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίου Διὶ Νάου (*sic*)¹
καὶ Δίωνα.



These jugs appear to have been presented to the victors, and are therefore comparable with the better-known Panathenaic amphoras. Now the latter were filled with the sacred oil (*Simonides frag.* 155 = *Anth. Pal.* 13. 19, *Pind. Nem.* 10. 35 with *schol. ad loc.*), which was burnt also in the perpetual lamp of the Erechtheum (*Paus.* 1. 26. 6, *Plut. v. Sull.* 13). Is it over-bold to conjecture that the Dodona jugs were similarly filled with sacred oil? Strongly in favour of the suggestion is the fact that they are supported

on two bronze stands shaped like lighted lamps (*Carapanos* i. 45, ii. pl. xxv from which my illustrations are taken). This peculiar feature can be adequately explained only on the assumption that the jugs contained oil meant to kindle or at least to symbolise a perpetual flame.

It would seem, then, that the form of the prize-jar awarded to the victor points to the

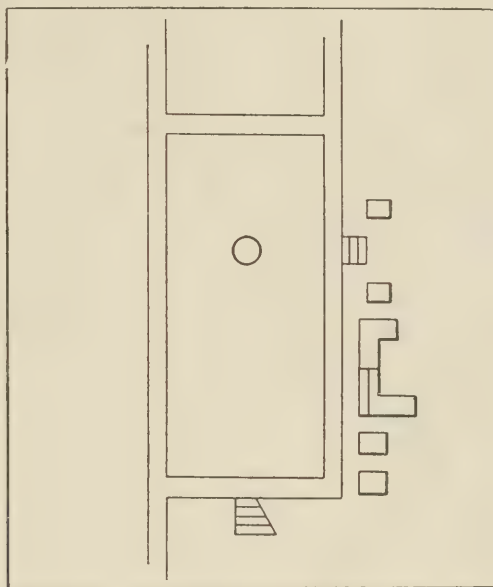
¹ The engraving has ΝΑΟΥ by mistake for ΝΑΟΙ (*Carapanos* i. 46).

maintenance of a sacred fire at Dodona. This is the more credible, as there is some reason to believe that the precinct had a sacred hearth. Sophocles in his *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ* (*frag.* 401 Dind. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη) describes the Dodonaean Zeus thus:

Δωδῶνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁ μέστιος βροτῶν.

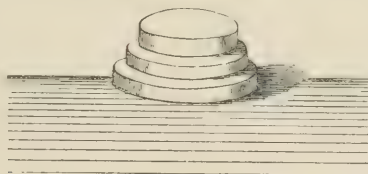
The reading *ὁ μέστιος*, though accepted by all,

does not seem to be absolutely certain; G. Dindorf in the preface to his edition of Steph. Byz. says: 'Ζεὺς ὁ μέστιος βροτῶν legit Tennulius: in MS. autem ad extremam lineam ὁ-j in sequenti vero linea adustis litteris superest os.' Fortunately we are not dependent on the reading for our knowledge of the *ἑστία*, since the *ἑστία* itself is still in existence. I quote from Murray's *Handbook to Greece*⁷ 790: 'The lower or



S.E. portion of the precinct measures 120 yds. by 114, and is connected by three flights of steps with the upper terrace.

Here were discovered the foundations of three buildings, of which the most interesting was a small oblong edifice, 28 yds. by



11. Nearly in the middle was a small circular altar with three steps. From the dedicatory inscription on a bronze wheel found here, this was evidently a sanctuary of Aphrodite.¹ The writer of the *Handbook* has followed Carapanos, who identified the edifice as 'le sanctuaire d'Aphrodite' and the altar as 'l'autel d'Aphrodite' (i. 23) on the ground of this inscription. But the inscrip-

¹ The illustrations in the text are from Carapanos ii. pl. iii. 7 and pl. vii. 17.

tion on a moveable object proves little or nothing as to the nature of the building in which the object was found. Besides, a 'circular altar with three steps' in the middle of an oblong structure is clearly a *ἑστία* in a *μέγαρον*, an arrangement familiar to us from the Pelasgian palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, etc. In all probability, therefore, this was not the sanctuary of Aphrodite at all, but the Prytaneum or primitive palace of the Dodonaean king containing his sacred

hearth. That it immediately adjoined the grove may perhaps be inferred from the fact that 'a quantity of charred wood has been found in the vegetable soil all over the lower part of the sacred precinct' (Murray *op. cit.* 791, cp. Carapanos i. 27): the grove had been burnt by Dorimachus and his Aetolians in 219 B.C. (Polyb. 4. 67. 3).

One of the inscriptions found by Carapanos (i. 55 no. 8) records the purchase of a slave—

[ἐ]πὶ ναῖάρχῳ Μενεχάρ-
[μου], ἐπὶ προστάτῃ Μολ-
[λοσσ]οῦ Ἀγέλλυος.

From this it appears that there was at Dodona an eponymous magistrate called the ναῖάρχος, who—to judge from his name¹—superintended the Νᾱῖα. He would thus correspond to the eponymous ἄρχων at Athens, who conducted the great Dionysia, the Thargelia, etc. (Gilbert *Constit. Antiqq. of Sparta and Athens*, p. 252). Now at Athens the eponymous ἄρχων had his official residence in the Prytaneum (Aristot. 'Αθ. πολ. 3. 5.), where was the public hearth with its perpetual fire (Poll. 1. 7.). May we not suppose that the ναῖάρχος likewise kept the fire burning on the Dodonaean hearth, being in fact the descendant of the Dodonaean kings?

Further information with regard to this royal line can be derived from the legend of the Argonauts. It will be remembered that a bough of the Dodonaean oak fixed in the prow of the good ship Argo guided the heroes of Hellas to the land of the Colchians, where in a grove sacred to Ares the golden fleece hung on another oak-tree (Apollodor. 1. 9. 6). The golden fleece was the fleece of the ram, which had carried through the air Phrixus and Helle, the two children of Athamas by Nephele. Helle, who fell from the sky into the Hellespont,² was a female counterpart of Phaethon, who fell from the sky into the Eridanus. Kuhn (*Abh. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1873, p. 138), Mannhardt (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, 1875, p. 243 ff.) and others have, therefore, rightly regarded Helle as a solar heroine, the golden ram as the sun.³

A partial parallel to the golden fleece may be found in a Samian myth. At Samos a sheep had discovered some gold stolen from

the temple of Hera; hence a certain Mandrobulus hung up the animal as a votive offering to the goddess (Ael. *n.a.* 12.40). But the nearest parallel, as Dr. Frazer reminds me, is furnished by the story of the golden lamb (Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 659 n.4). The scholiast on *Il.* 2. 106 (codd. A.D.) tells it thus: 'Atreus, son of Pelops and king of the Peloponnese, once vowed that he would sacrifice to Artemis the fairest offspring of his flocks. But when a golden lamb was born to him, he repented of his vow and kept the lamb shut up in a chest. Proud of his treasure he used boastful language in the market-place. Thyestes, vexed at this, made love to Aërope and induced her to give him the treasure. Having secured it he told his brother that he had no right to boast in that way, and declared in the hearing of the multitude that the man who had the golden lamb ought to have the kingdom. When Atreus had agreed to this, Zeus sent Hermes and bade him make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. Hence, inasmuch as heaven had borne witness to the avarice of Thyestes, Atreus received the kingdom and drove Thyestes into banishment.' In this tale possession of the golden lamb and control of the sun's course are alike proofs of fitness to reign. It seems probable, then, that the golden lamb, like the golden ram, was the sun itself. The same conception occurs in the great Dorian cult of Apollo Καρνείος, sun-god and ram-god. Further, if the lamb symbolising the sun was possessed by the king, it is implied that the king controlled the sunshine—an implication quite in accordance with primitive thought (*G.B.*² i. 160).

Returning now to Dodona we note that Ἑλλη, the solar heroine, corresponds in name to Ἑλλός, the eponymous founder of the Dodonaean Ἑλλοί. Another slight indication that we are on the right track is the reappearance of the Prytaneum in connexion with the family of Helle. For at Halus or Alus in Thessaly lived a clan which claimed descent from Athamas, the father of Helle; and the eldest son was forbidden to enter the Prytaneum on pain of being decked with garlands and led out as a sacrifice (Hdt. 7. 197) to Zeus Λαφύστιος (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 653). We are not without justification, therefore, in attempting to ascertain the prerogatives of the Dodonaean king by the

¹ Cp. the Λαμπάδαρχος at Ceos (*C.I.G.* ii. p. 288, 31).

² Phrixus got safe to Colchis, where he sacrificed the ram to Zeus Φόξιος and gave its fleece to Aeetes, son of Helios and Perseis (Apollodor. 1. 9. 6).

³ Cp. *Myth. Vat.* 1. 24. pellem auream, in qua Juppiter in caelum escendit.

aïd of Helle and the golden fleece. But, it will be asked, is there any definite proof that a lamb or ram was connected with the oak-cult at Dodona, or that the sun stood in any special relation to the king who reigned there? As to the lamb, let us hear the scholiast on *Od.* 14. 327 (codd. Q.V.): 'A shepherd feeding his sheep in the marshes of Dodona stole the finest of his neighbour's flocks and kept it penned in his own fold. The story goes that the owner sought among the shepherds for the stolen sheep, and, when he could not find them, asked the god who the thief was. They say that the oak then for the first time uttered a voice and said—"The youngest of thy followers." He put the oracle to the proof, and found them with the shepherd who had but recently begun to feed his flock in that district. Shepherds go by the name of followers. The thief was called Mandulas.¹ It is said that he, angered against the oak, wished to cut it down by night; but that a dove showed itself from the trunk and bade him desist from so doing. He in fear gave up the attempt and no longer laid hands on this sacred tree.' In this myth, which the scholiast gives on the authority of Proxenus, the man who kept the sheep was also the man who was about to fell the oak when he was warned by the dove. But this latter, as we have already seen, was none other than Hellus. Hellus, then, the founder of the Dodonaean priesthood, possessed the finest sheep of the neighbourhood. Is not this the connexion between sheep and oak-cult of which we were in search? Again, that the sun stood in a special relation not only to Aetes king of Colchis, who was the son of Helios, but also to the king of Dodona is even clearer. For the first king of the district after the flood was Phaethon himself (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 1).

There are thus some grounds for supposing that the early kings of Dodona were thought to control the sun.² If the earliest of them was identified with Phaethon, it may be surmised that his successors too were regarded as embodiments of the sun-god or sky-god. This I shall hope to prove further on. Meantime note that it would add fresh meaning to Sophocles' line—*Δωδῶνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁμέστιος βροτῶν*. It would also explain the remarkable title *ὁ τοῦ Διός*, 'the

representative of Zeus,' borne by the chief priest of Dodona (Dem. *c. Mid.* 53 *bis*). Moreover, it would provide us at last with an adequate reason for the maintenance of the perpetual fire. For the priestly-king, the human embodiment of the sun-god, by keeping up the fire on his earthly *ἑστία* would *ipso facto* be replenishing the solar flame—a sun-charm of the simplest kind. And, as often as he piled up the fuel—billets of oak, doubtless, cut by the *τόμουροι*—he would be helping Zeus to subsist upon his own all-nutrient tree.

Finally, the sacred spring of Zeus was imbued with the solar powers of the god himself: for unlighted torches when brought near to it burst into flame (Pomp. *Mel.* 2. 3. 43, Plin. *n.h.* 2. 228); and at midday, when the sun was blazing in the zenith, the water ceased altogether, while at midnight, when the sun was deep beneath the earth, the water was at its fullest (Plin. *loc. cit.*). If, as is quite possible, Zeus *Naios* means 'Zeus of the stream,' I should identify the 'stream' with this *ἀναπνόμενον ὕδωρ*; it was in fact the liquid bond between Zeus the sky-god and Zeus the earth-god.

(4) It remains to speak of the Dodonaean doves. Philostratus Major *imag.* 33. 1 begins his description of Dodona thus: *ἡ μὲν χρυσὴ πέλεια ἔτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἡ σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοί, οὓς ἐκ Διὸς ἀναφθέγγεται*. The exact wording is, as the editors of the Teubner text admit, 'dubia.' But it is at least clear that in Philostratus' picture a golden dove was perched on the sacred oak and served as the oracular mouthpiece of Zeus. Now the name *Χρυσοπέλεια* (= *χρυσὴ πέλεια*) was that of an oak nymph befriended by Arcas at a time when her tree was in danger (Eumelus *ap.* Apollodor. 3. 9. 1 and *ap.* Tzetz. in *Lyc.* 480). The coincidence points to a belief that the spirit immanent in the oak might take the form of a golden dove. The same connexion of ideas may have been present to the mind of Virgil, when he described Aeneas as guided to the golden bough by a couple of doves (*Aen.* 6. 190 ff.). Possibly too it underlies a curious passage of the *Iliad-II.* 5. 778, where Hera and Athena, the wife and the daughter of Zeus, are said to step like a pair of *πελειάδες*:—

*τὼ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοίαι.*³

Dr. Leaf and Mr. Bayfield hold that this is

¹ *Μανδύλας* Q. *Μαρδύλας* V. Cp. *Μανδρόβουλος* in the Samian story.

² Creuzer *Symbolik* iv. 280, long since suggested that *Ἑλλη*, *Ἕλλη* (Σελλοί), *Ἕλληνες*, etc., are etymologically connected with *ἥλιος*, *σελήνη*, etc.

³ The same phrase is used of Iris and Eileithyia in *h. Apoll.* 114, *βὰν δὲ ποσσὶ τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοίαι*. But this appears to be a mere imitation of the line in the *Iliad*.

'a distinct touch of humour.' Aristotle took it more seriously: καλῶς τῶν βαλομένων λαθεῖν τὰ ἵχνη περιστοραῖς εἰκασεν ἀφαρῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἵχνη, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης (*frag.* 149. 1503 b 1). To me it seems that the explanation of the dove-like gait lies rather in the relation of the goddesses to Zeus. For we find doves in attendance upon Zeus elsewhere. In *Od.* 12. 62 f. it is πέλειαί τρήρωνες that bring him ambrosia. And Moero of Byzantium (*ap.* Athen. 491 b) told how, when hidden in Crete from his father Cronus, he had been fed by doves in a cave; wherefore—

τρήρῳσι πελειάσιν ὥπασε τιμὴν,
αἱ δὲ τοι θέρεος καὶ χερίματος ἄγγελοι εἰσίν.

Indeed Zeus himself had taken the form of a dove (περιστερά) when enamoured of the maiden Phthia, who lived at Aegium in Achaea (Autocrates *ap.* Athen. 395 A, Ael. *v.l.* 1. 15). A coin of that town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gk. Coins*, Peloponnesus p. 18 'Aegium,' No. 3) shows Phthia following the dove. Other coins of Aegium represent Zeus as an infant suckled by a goat between two tree-stumps, while an eagle hovers above him (M. W. de Visser *de Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* § 190): and these tree-stumps are probably oaks, for the name Αἴγιον can be connected with αἰγίλωψ, αἰγίς, etc. (Schrader *Reallex.* p. 164). At Aegium too, then, we seem to have an oak-spirit embodied in a dove. But, however that may be, it is tolerably certain that at Dodona Zeus was regarded as giving oracles by means of a dove or doves (for their number see Jebb on *Soph. Trach.* 1166 Appendix). The birds would be appropriate to Dione also as the mother of Aphrodite (Pauly-Wissowa i. 2767, 23 ff.), who had a cult in the precinct.

(To be continued.)

In fact, just as the sacred oak formed the vegetable medium of both the sky-father and the earth-mother, so the doves formed their animal medium.

The cult of Zeus Ναῖος appears in sundry places besides Dodona. A small altar found on the acropolis at Athens to the west of the Erechtheum, *i.e.* near the altar of Zeus Ἐρκειος and the ἀστὴ ἐλαία, is inscribed Διὶ Ναίῳ κ.τ.λ. (*Δελτ.* 1890, p. 145); and a dedication τῇ Διώνῃ comes from the same place (*C.I.A.* iv. 2, 1550 c). There was also a cult of Zeus Ναῖος in Delos (Bekk. *anecd.* p. 283, 13 Ναίου Διός· ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διός, ὃς ἐν Δήλῳ, Ναίου Διὸς καλεῖται). Athens and Delos were both important Ionian, *i.e.* Pelasgian, centres; so that the worship of Zeus Ναῖος may have been in both cases indigenous. Antiphanes in his comedy *Δωδώνη* seems to have had a chorus of Ἰώνων τρυφεραμπεχόνων (*ap.* Athen. 526 d). Still, it is equally possible, if not more probable, that both at Athens and in Delos the cult was a comparatively late importation from Dodona. One peculiar feature of the Dodonaean cult occurs yet further east. An inscription found at Tralles mentions a certain Δ. Αἰρηλία Αἰμιλία ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων (*Bull. corr. hell.* 1883, vii. 276). Mr. H. R. Hall (*The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 101) compared these ἀνιπτοπόδες in Lydia with the ἀνιπτοπόδες of Dodona. It may be added that the most important cult of Tralles was the ancient worship of Zeus Λαρίσιος (Strab. 440, 649), whose head occurs frequently on Trallian coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gk. Coins*, Lydia, p. cxxxiv.); Busolt i.² 166 remarks that the name Larisa spells Pelasgian.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xxviii. No. 56. 1903.

Oxford MSS. of the 'Opuscula' of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, A. B. Poynton. *Platonica*, Henry Jackson. *The Homily of Pseudo-Clement*, C. Taylor. *On the Hispanica Famina*, Robinson Ellis. *On the Geometrical Problem in Plato's Meno* 86 E sqq., with a note on a passage in the treatise de lineis insecabilibus (970^a 5), J. Cook Wilson. *Aristotelica IV.*, I. Bywater. *The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Abbreviations*, C. D. Ginsburg. *Controversies in Armenian Topography II.*, Bernard W. Henderson. *Note on Proverbs vii. 22*, A. A. Bevan. *Darkness the Privation of Light, Night the Absence of Day*, John E. B. Mayor.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiii. No. 4. 1902.

The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia, II., K. B. Smith. *The Literary Form of Horace Serm. I.* (ad Maccenatem de vita sua), G. L. Hendrickson. *On the date of Pliny's Prefecture of the Treasury of Saturn*, E. T. Merrill. *The Ablative Absolute in Livy*, II. R. B. Steele. *Beginning of the Greek Day*, G. M. Bolling. *Notes on the Cato Maior*, F. G. Moore. *Pierre d'Urte and the Bask Language*, E. S. Dodgson (corrections). Review: *Cesarco's I due simposi in rapporto all' arte moderna* (B. L. G.). Reports. Brief Mention (includes a criticism of Bevan's Translation of the *Prometheus Vinculus* of Aeschylus). Recent Publications, &c. Index to Vol. xxiii.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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- Aristotle*. *Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, with a critical text and translation of the Poetics by S. H. Butcher. 3rd edition. 8vo. London, 1902. xxi, 419 pp. 12s. 6d. net.
- Aristoxenus*. *The Harmonics*, edited with translation, notes, introduction, and index of words by H. S. Macran. Cr. 8vo. 302 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1902. 10s. 6d. net.
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- Beresford* (R. A. A.) and R. N. Douglas. *A first Greek reader*, with fifty-four illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 134 pp. London, Blackie, 1902. 2s.
- Besnier* (M.). *De regione Paelignorum*. Demy 8vo. 129 pp. Map. Paris, Fontemoing, 1902.
- *L'île Tibérine dans l'antiquité*. 8vo. iv. 357 pp. Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1902.
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- Caesar*. *Gallie War*, Book VII. Edited by J. Brown. With illustrations. Cr. 8vo. xlv, 128 pp. London, Blackie, 1903. 2s. 6d.
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- Cicero*. *Epistulae*. Vol. III. rec. brevi. adnot. crit. inst. L. C. Purser. Cr. 8vo. Oxford, Clarendon Press. n.d. 6s.
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- Curtius*. Book VIII. (ch. 9-14). Edited for the use of Schools, with introduction, notes, vocabulary, by C. J. Phillips. 16mo. xxiv, 79 pp. London, Macmillan, 1903. 1s. 6d.
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- * * *Meisterwerke der Griechen und Römer in Kommentierten Ausgaben*. No. II.
- Journal of Philology*. Edited by W. Aldis Wright, J. Bywater, and H. Jackson. Vol. 27. No. 56. London, 1903.
- Livy*. *Römische Geschichte im Auszuge herausg. von F. Fügner*. *Auswahl aus der ersten und dritten Dekade*. Cr. 8vo. viii, 272 pp. 6 maps. Leipzig, Teubner. 1902. Boards. Mk. 2.
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- * * Meisterwerke der Griechen und Römer in Kommentierten Ausgaben. No. IV.
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The Classical Review

MAY 1903.

ADVERSARIA UPON THE FRAGMENTS OF SOPHOCLES.

(The numeration is Nauck's 1889.)

Fr. 22 :

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν φύλλοισιν αἰγείρου μακρᾶς,
κἄν ἄλλο μηδέν, ἀλλὰ ἴτοῦκείνης κάρᾳ
κινήσης αὔραις ἀνακουφίζει πτερόν.

Dind. κινεῖ τις αὔρα κἀνακουφίζει rightly.
Critics attack πτερόν, but this is sound.
Read

ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕν κείνης κάρᾳ
κινεῖ τις αὔρα κἀνακουφίζει πτερόν.

With the assistance of Dindorf's correction
here (ΤΙΣ for ΗΣ) we may emend also
Fr. 792.

ἔως ὅτου ἴκριθώσης ὄνου

Buttmann's οἶνου is there correct. For the
rest read

ἔως ὅτου
κριθῶ τις οἶνου

i.e. 'until one became full of wine and
wantiness.' The gen. of fulness may be
kept, since κριθιῶν (says Pollux) = ὑπερεμπε-
πλησθαι. For the (frequentative) opt. form
instead of κριθῶν, see my note on Aesch. *Cho.*
278.

Fr. 35 :

καὶ βωμιαῖον ἐσχάρας λαβὼν <~ ~>

The easiest word to supply is βᾶθρον

Fr. 85 6-8 :

δαινὸς γὰρ ἔρπειν πλοῦτος ἐς τετάρτα
καὶ πρὸς τὰ βατά, χῶπόθεν πένης ἀνὴρ
μηδ' ἴέντυχὼν δύναται ἂν ὦν ἐρᾷ τυχεῖν.
NO. CL. VOL. XVII.

I have no remedy for v. 7, but in v. 8 would
suggest

μηδ' ἐν γ' ὕπνω

comparing Dem. *F. L.* 275 ἀ μηδ' ὄναρ
ἤλπισαν πώποτε and Solon *ap. Ar.* 'Αθ. Πολ.
p. 48 (Sandys) ἀ νῦν ἔχουσιν οὐ ποτ' ὀφθαλμοῖ-
σιν ἂν | εὐδοντες εἶδον.

Fr. 101 :

ἀλλ' ἀξίως ἔλεξας τοῦδ' ἐν μὲν πικρῶς κ.τ.λ.

(οὐδὲν μὲν A.). οὐδὲ μὴν (Brunck) does not
strike one as right. Read

ἀλλ' ἀξίως ἔλεξας οὐδ' ἐν ἐμπικρῶν

i.e. 'embittering nothing' cf. ἔμπικρος,
ἐμπικραίνομαι.

Fr. 111 :

ἔτ' αὖ... ὥσπερ ἀλιεὺς πληγείς... <φρ> ἐνῶν
διδάσκαλος.

'The fisherman' in question is proverbial
(see Nauck). Sense will be made by e.g.

ἔτ' αὖθις, ὥσπερ ἀλιεὺς, πληγείς <ἔσῃ>
<τοῖς πλησίοισι τῶν> φρενῶν
διδάσκαλος,

where αὖθις = 'hereafter.'

Fr. 122 :

ἡμίονον κόριον ἡρέθη πόλει·
νόμος γάρ ἐστι τοῖς βαρβάροις θυηπολεῖν
βρότειον ἄρχῃθεν γέρας τῷ Κρόνῳ.

(κούρειον Musurus, γέρας Buttmann)

Articles are often foisted in by those who
quote the fragments. Read

δημιόθυτον κούρειον ἡρέθη πόλει·
νόμος γάρ ἐστι βαρβάροις θυηπολεῖν
<θύος> βρότειον, αἶρεθ' ἐν γέρας
Κρόνῳ.

The repetition in αἶρεθ' ἐν ἡρέθη will offend no observant reader of Greek tragedy; here it is moreover intentional. The missing word is of course uncertain. It might perhaps even be βτόν.

Fr. 139 :

οὔτοι γένειον ὦδε χρὴ διηλιφές
φοροῦντα †κάντιπαιδα καὶ γένει μέγαν,
μητρὸς καλεῖσθαι παῖδα, τοῦ πατρὸς παρόν.

Unless I quite misunderstand the passage, the words should be κἀν δρ ό παιδα.

Fr. 141 :

ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς Ἐκτωρ ἐστίν· †οὐ μένιν καλόν.

Variants are θυμαίνειν, θυκαίνειν, οὐ καίνειν. Read—ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς Ἐκτωρ ἐστί· σὺμβαίνειν καλόν. Palaeographically συμβαίνειν satisfies all the conditions, since σ = ο = θ, β ± μ = κ, ε = αι.

Fr. 144 :

σὺ δ' ἐν θρόνοισι γραμμάτων πτυχὰς ἔχων
†ἀπόνειμον νέμει τίς οὐ πάρεστι τίς ξυνώκοσε.

Read

ἀπόνειμε, τίς πάρεστι; τίς ξυνώκοσε;

Schol. Pind. had explained ἀπόνειμον by ἀνάγνωθι. He quotes in support his ἀπόνειμε (= ἀναγίνωσκε). A copyist of the schol. naturally, or not unnaturally, wrote the selfsame tense, ἀπόνειμον. This was afterwards corrected ἀπόνειμε, and hence the double reading ἀπόνειμον νέμει.

In point of sense it is a reasonable proceeding to read and find out 'who are present' and 'do they correspond to the list of those who swore?'

Fr. 174 :

πόθεν ποτ' ἄλνπον ὦδε
ἡῦρον †άνθος ἀνίας;

The sense (Nauck) requires e.g. ἄκος. Read ἄλθος (See, *si tanti est*, my note on Plat. Rep. 333 E)

Fr. 187 :

κάκιον ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ἔσται ποτὲ
γυναικός, †ἢ εἴ τι πῆμα γίγνεται βροτοῖς.

The usual correction εἴ τι appears flat and insufficient for the error. Read

ἢ πὶ πῆμα γίγνεται βροτοῖς

i.e. 'she is born to be a plague.'

(The error arose from ΗΙΤΙ for ΗΠΙ)

Fr. 219 :

πρόποδα μέλεα †τάδ' ὅσα κλαίμεν
τρόχιμα βάσιμα χέρεσι πόδεσι

(al. τάδε σε, κλύομεν, κλαίομαι)

Read

τάδε σε κλέομεν

i.e. 'we honour thee with these.'

Fr. 226 :

σοφὸς γὰρ οὐδείς πλὴν ὃν ἂν τιμᾷ θεός.
ἀλλ' εἰς θεοὺς †δρῶντα, κὰν ἔξω δίκης
χωρεῖν κελεύῃ, κείσ' ὁδοιορεῖν χρεῶν.

Read

θεοὺς σ' ὁρῶντα and treat κελεύῃ as 2nd pers. passive.

Fr. 262 :

πατὴρ δὲ ποταμὸς Ἰναχὸς
τὸν ἀντίπλαστον †ἔχει γόμον κεκμηκότων.

Porson gave νόμον ἔχει, which I cannot interpret. Read

τόδ' ἀντίπλαστον ὃν οὐ μ' ἔχει κεκμηκότων, i.e. 'has this name (peculiarly) constructed to signify weariness.' The etymology (from ἴνες and ἄχος) is no more far-fetched than many others given by poets, Plato, or scholiasts (see Appendix to Aesch. Cho. 35).

Fr. 265 :

ἐπίκρουμα χθονὸς Ἀργείας

Here correct Hesych. ἐπίκρουμα· ἐπίπληγμα ἢ ἐπιχάραγμα διὰ τὸ παρωνομάσθαι τῷ †ἔργῳ. Read τῷ ἀργῷ. The reproach is in the supposed derivation from ἀργός ('idle'). I fancy the same thought is played upon in Euripides' Ἀργείος, οὐκ Ἀργείος.

Fr. 272 :

In Hesych. for †κεκωλυμένα read ἐσκολυμένα (cf. fr. 390.)

Fr. 308 :

†ὅτι ἂν τι γίγνηται, τὰ †πάντ' ὄνου σκιά.

The sense required seems to be 'all his arguing to the contrary will be but ὄνου σκιά?' Read therefore

ὅσ' ἀντιτείνῃ, ταῦτα πάντ' ὄνου σκιά.

The indefinite subjunctive is slightly nearer than ὅσ' ἀντιτείνει.

Fr. 329 :

κάλλιστόν ἐστι τοῦνδικον πεφυκέναι,
λῶστον †δὲ ζῆν ἄνοσον, κ.τ.λ.

δὲ τὸ ζῆν β is an attempt at correction. Probably λῶστον διὰ ζῆν ἄνοσον κ.τ.λ.

Fr. 342 :

πόσειδον, ὃς Αἰγαίου †μέδεις
 πρῶνας ἢ γλαυκάς μέδεις
 εὐαίμονι λίμνας ἐφ' ὑψηλαῖς σπιλάδεσσιν
 †στομάτων.

The schol. on Ar. Ran. 665 is plainly wrong in thus inserting the first μέδεις. In any case πρῶνας has no construction. We should, I think, read <περὶ> πρῶνας. The

error arose from the compendium πρῶνας. [a similar correction may be applied to fr. 393 ἀλλ' ἀσπιδίτην ὄντα πεφραγμένον, where metre requires περὶ πεφραγμένον, i.e.

†πεφραγμένον].
 For στομάτων I am inclined to suggest Σποράδων.

Fr. 345 :

†πόνου μεταλλαχθέντος οἱ πόνοι γλυκεῖς

Read πνόου.

Fr. 530 :

ἄνους ἐκείνος· αἱ δ' ἀνουςτέρως ἔτι
 ἐκείνον ἡμύναντο †καρτερόν <ν>·
 ὅστις γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσι θυμωθεὶς βροτῶν
 μείζον προσάπτει τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον,
 ἱατρός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐπιστήμων κακῶν.

The sense requires

ἄνους ἐκείνος· αἱ δ' ἀνουςτέρως ἔτι.
 ἐκείνον ἡμύναντο καρτερεῖν δέον·

Fr. 532 :

- 1 ἐν φῖλον ἀνθρώπων μί' ἔδειξε πατρός
- 2 καὶ ματρός †ἡμᾶς ἀμέρα τοὺς †πάντας·
οὐδεὶς
- 3 ἔξοχος ἄλλος ἔβλασται ἄλλου.
- 4 βόσκει δὲ τοὺς μὲν μοῖρα δυσμερίας,
- 5 τοὺς δ' ὄλβος ἡμῶν, τοὺς δὲ δουλείας ζυγὸν
- 6 ἔσχειν ἀνάγκης.

First eject the prosaic ἡμᾶς and τοὺς. The passage can then be easily be made antistrophic. ἀμέρα is obviously impossible in sense. The word is ἀρμᾶ (ἀρμή = 'union'). Read vv. 2-3 thus

καὶ ματρός ἀρμᾶ πάντας· ἄλλος ἔξοχος
 οὐκ ἔβλασται ἄλλου

and v. 6 as ἔσχειν <ἐξ> ἀνάγκας.

Fr. 534, 2 :

εἰ κακόβουλος
 φροντὶς †ἐκτρέφει τὸν εὐαῖωνα πλοῦτον.

Read ἐκ τριψεί, as required also by the metre.

Fr. 620 :

†τὸ δ' εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἀριθμῆσαι βροτῶν
 οὐκ ἔστιν †οὗτος ὄντιν' εὐρήσεις ἔνα,

Grotius πάντ' ἀριθμῆσαι.

Read

τὰ δ' εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἀριθμήσας,
 βροτῶν
 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐ πρὸς ὄντ' ἐνευρήσεις
 ἔνα

('when you have counted all prosperous things, nowhere will you find among them the addition of a single mortal.')

Fr. 655 :

κυνῆδον †ἐξέπραξαν κυζούμενον

Read

κυνῆδον ἐξέπραξά νιν κυζούμενον
 i.e. 'I despatched him while he whimpered like a dog.'

Fr. 703 :

πρὸς δ' τοῖον ἦεις δαίμον' ὥς Ἔρωτα, †
 ὃς οὔτε τοῦπικεῖς οὔτε τὴν χάριν
 οἶδεν, μόνην δ' ἔστερξε τὴν ἀπλῶς δίκην.

Plutarch in the words μόνην θέων δ' Ἄιδης Ἔρωτι ποιεῖ τὸ προσταττόμενον, καίτοι πρὸς γε τοὺς ἄλλους. οὔτε τοῦπικεῖς κ.τ.λ., clearly points to

πρὸς δ' οἶον ἐξείδαιμόνων Ἐρωτά τι
 i.e. 'toward Eros alone of the gods will he make some concession.'

Fr. 801 :

Ζεὺς †νόστον ἄγοι τὸν νικομάχαν
 καὶ παυσανίαν καὶ ἀπρεῖδαν.

al. ἄνοτος ἄγοι

Read εὐνοστον ἄγοι. The word Ζεὺς may belong to another line or may be an error for ευ- itself.

Fr. 808 :

ὀργὴ γέροντος ὥστε μαλθακὴ κοπὶς
 †ἐν χειρὶ θήγει, ἐν τάχει δ' ἀμβλύνεται

I suggest καὶ ν χειρὶ θήγοιτ' i.e. 'might be whetted even with the hand' (easily, the edge being fine : cf. ἀκράχολος). It is still common to see workmen strop fine tools upon the flat of the hand.

Fr. 849 :

κλήθρον γὰρ οὐδὲν ᾧδ' ἂν εὔστεγες λάβοις
 γλώσσης κρυφαῖον †οὐδὲν οὐ διέρχεται.

Hermann εὔστεγες. Provisionally accepting this, read and punctuate

κλήθρον γὰρ οὐδὲν ᾧδ' ἂν εὔστεγες λάβοις
 γλώσσης, κρυφαῖον οὐ δ' ἴ' οὐδὲν ἐρχεται.

T. G. TUCKER.

ON EURIPIDES, *BACCHAE*, 837.

ἀλλ' αἶμα θήσεις ξυμβαλὼν βάκχαις μάχην.

MR. HOUSMAN has, I think, conclusively shown that *θήσεις* is corrupt, and that even if we can suppose the phrase *αἶμα θήσεις* to mean, 'You will shed blood,' such a translation is quite meaningless in the present context. For the same reason, we must rule out all such proposed emendations as *δέσεις* (Wecklein), or *θύσεις* (Sandys). But Mr. Housman's most penetrating analysis of the meaning of the passage only serves to convince me of the weakness of his own emendation, ἀλλ' εὐμαθὲς εἰ. 'If,' says Mr. Housman, 'we were shown this snatch of dialogue—

Π. I could not bear to put on women's clothes.

Δ.

Π. Well said: we must first go and spy them out,

and were asked to give the sense of the missing verse, I think we should do so without much trouble: "if you are recognised you will be in jeopardy," or the like.' Our natural impulse then is to suggest a phrase at least as strong as—in the light of the whole passage I should have said even stronger than—"you will be in jeopardy." But Mr. Housman's emendation gives us only the unemphatic answer: 'But you will be recognised if you go and join battle with them.' This he tries to remedy by an unjustifiably emphatic English rendering: 'What! will you go and be recognised and join battle with them?' and by explaining it as a reminder of the danger already pointed out in 823, *μή σε κτάνωσιν ἢν ἀνὴρ ὀφθῇς ἐκεῖ*.

Now, waiving for a moment the fact that *εὐμαθὲς εἰ* can give no probable account of itself, this last line, 823, seems to me to prove that Euripides must in 837 have put into the mouth of Dionysus a strong picturesque phrase, and that *αἶμα* in the text is sound. Nothing so weak as a mere reminder of 823 would now induce Pentheus to put on woman's dress. Notice, too, the increasing clearness of the warnings of Dionysus of the danger of a fatal issue:

ἄ σοι πικρά, 815; ἀλλ' ἐξιχνεύσουσίν σε, 817; and *μή σε κτάνωσιν*, 823. The bluntness of this warning makes Pentheus for the first time pause. He admits the wisdom of Dionysus in pointing out that the man who falls into the hands of the women will be slain. But he will not yet entertain for a moment the undignified proposal that he should dress as a woman. Nevertheless, the strong delusion that drives him to be *θεατῆς μαινάδων* (829) will by no means leave him. It is at this psychological moment of uncertainty that Dionysus persuades him once and for all to take the fatal step by pointing out in the shortest, simplest, and at the same time most strikingly picturesque manner that, since go he will, there is only one possible alternative to his going in woman's dress. And I think the line ran thus:

ἀλλ' αἶμα τίσεις ξυμβαλὼν βάκχαις μάχην.

'Thou shalt pay forfeit of thy life's blood, if—!'

Even if Mr. Housman's phrase were strong and natural, it is not easy to see how *εὐμαθὲς εἰ* could become corrupted into *αἶμα θήσεις*. I cannot suppose that the word *αἶμα* is an accident, due to corruption. The bald *κτάνωσιν* in 823 has failed to impress Pentheus sufficiently. In this line a phrase is used which makes a much stronger impression; and *αἶμα*, which we find in the text, is just the word to figure in such a phrase. Any criticism which begins by arbitrarily suspecting or deleting *αἶμα* seems almost foredoomed to failure. The change from *τίσεις* to *θήσεις* is not hard to understand. A similar case of the confusion of *τ* with *θ* occurs within the next forty lines, in line 876. In an age of decadence, such a phrase as *αἶμα θήσεις* would seem far more natural than the classically constructed and more genuinely poetic *αἶμα τίσεις*; and to a mechanical and sleepy copyist most probably the only impression present was the general one that Pentheus was eager for the blood of the Maenads.

W. A. MOORE.

ADNOTAMENTA IN PAPYROS MUSEI BRITANNICI GRAECAS MAXIMAM PARTEM LEXICOGRAPHICA.

II.¹

I 135₆₂ αρρεκικωι και προς βορρωι ζωδιω[ι] K., leg. προσβόρρωι.

137₁₅₅ λαμπρον αστερος | απεχουσα σεληνια[κ]|α μεγεθη δυο K. Syllabarum iusta diremptio cum ceteroquin anxie sit observata, scribendum σεληνια[ε]|α.

Amplissima illa papyrus nr. CXXXI² Didymi vilici rationes exhibens quamquam peculiarem potius desiderat commentationem, tamen intra artiores me continebo fines, cum neque de re rustica Aegyptiorum satis sim edoctus neque alterius provinciam temere usurpare velim. Praemonenda vero nonnulla de nominibus quibusdam propriis adhuc in compendiis latentibus.

172₈₀ ηδύλ κ' δρυκο(ποῦσιν) καὶ θρυσίλ(λουσιν) ἐργ(άταις) η, leg. Ἡδύλ(ου) κλη(ήρου), ac similiter 177₂₄₁ al. Hedyli qui vocatur ager, totius praedii primum locum occupare videtur.

172₉₁ χωφορο(ῦσιν) ὁμοίως εἰς τὸν γὺν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου(ου) α τρυχ^λ ἐργ(άταις) η, leg. (πρότερον) Τρυχ(άτος) i.e. 'Apollonii agri qui olim Trychatis erat,' cf. etiam, εἰς τὴν λιβι-κὴν ἀναβολ(ήν) τῶν (πρότερον) Τρυχάτος 174₁₅₇, dein 152, 176₂₂₂ etc. A sive Ἀ compendium est vocis πρότερον, cf. Wilcken Ostr. I 392, Arch. f. Pap. I 154. Nomen graecum a pleniori forma Τρύχαμβος³ provenit, cf. Σαραπίωνος Τρυχάμβου. C.I.G. 471₆₂ (tit. Tentyrit.), Τρύχαμβον τὸν παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου ἀπεσταλμένον P. Tebt. I 39₁₁ (114 a. Chr.), iuvatque meminisse cuiusdam Euboeae urbis, quam et Τρύχαι et Τρύχας appellatam esse docet Steph. Byz. s. Τρύχαι.

173₁₃₁ ἀναμετρήσαντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ σατυρου περὶ Πιενταλ(), leg. Σατύρου. Et agri nomen et regionis indicatur.

174₁₄₅ χωφορο(ῦσιν) εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἀναβολ(ήν) ἱπποστρ^λ κλ' ἐργ(άταις) δ, leg. Ἴπποστρ(άτου) κλη(ήρου); similiter ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλη(ήρω) Ἴπποστρ(άτου) 177₂₄₄, cf. 176₂₂₃, 178₂₉₀ al.

174₁₆₂ μισθ(ὸς) ἐργ(άτου) ὄντο(ς) ἐν τ' τωμει αυ... πρὸς τὸ κατακλυσ(θῆναι) ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατο(ς), leg. ἐν τῇ(ι) Τώμει,⁴ sicut etiam 175₁₉₈;

¹ Cf. supra pg. 26-27.

² I 166-191, a. 78-79 p. C. Multo etiam celebratior adversa huius papyri pars, quippe quae Aristotelis de re publica Athenarum servarit reliquias.

³ Componi debet cum Τέραμβος, Σήραμβος, Λυκάμβος.

⁴ Loci nomen; etiam in his Σααβένιο(ς) απο πακῆ 170₉ latere videtur regionis significatio.

deinde 181₂₉₁ ὁλοτίλ(λουσι) καλάμο(ς) Τώμews, cf. 182₃₀₇, 183₄₃₄. Τώλμεω(ς) scribitur 181₃₇₆.

178₂₈₂ θρυσίλ(λουσι) σκα]φείοι(ς) ἐν ταῖς ἄουλημιος, leg. (πρότερον) Οὐλήμιος, ac similiter 178₂₉₈, 181₃₆₆. Nomen est Aegyptiacum. Ager ille alibi brevius 'Ulemis' dicitur, cf. εἰς τὸ(ν) Οὐλήμιος(ς) 184₄₇₅.

179₃₂₈ Ἀμβρύνον κ(αὶ) Φίβις κοβαλ(εύοντες) ἀπὸ τοῦ ονατορι^δ ἡλιοτρο(πίου) ξύλα, leg. Ὀνατοριδ(ος). Solarium a femina quadam nomen acceperat.

181₃₇₆ εἰς τὸ ευρυ^λ ἡλιαστῆριον, leg. velut Εὐρυ(μέδοντος), cf. χ[ι]λίαςρχος τῶν Εὐρυμέδοντος P. Petrie I 45₂ (s. III a. Chr.).

Hise expositis quae lexicis accedunt vocabula recensebo vel quae aliam ob causam memoria digna existimaverim.

170₂₄ Σαρᾶτι κονί(α τ ῆ ι) recte Kenyon, cf. κονιαταῖς Ostr. 1485₈ κονιαταί₁₆ (s. III-IV p. Chr.).

171₃₀ μισθ(ὸς) *κ ο π ρ η γ ῶ(ν) δύο scil. ἀρμάτων, cf. ἐπ<ε>ι *κ ο π ρ η γ εἰν μέλλ<ε>ι τὰ κτήνη εἰς Ψεννώιφριν P. Fay. 118₁₉ (110 p. Chr.), πέμσις τὰ κτήνη, κοπρηγεῖν εἰς τὸ λάχανον τῆς Ψινάχεως, καὶ τὰ κοπρηγά 119₃₃ (c. 110 p. C.); verum πλοίου κοπρηγοῦ P. Lond. II 209₈ (156 p. Chr.).

171₂₈ Φίβις ἀκολ(ουθῶν) τῷ ὄργ(άνω) σὺν τῷ(ι) μηχ(αναρῖω), ³² Δημητρίω Παχράτο(ς) μισθ(ὸς) κυκλευτοῦ, 184₄₉₅ κυκλευτή(ι) κυκλεύοντι σὺν τῷ(ι) μηχ(αναρῖω), 185₅₀₄ κυκλευτή(ι) κυκλεύοντι τὸ ὄργ(ανον). Verbi *κυκλεῖν prima significatio est 'axonem rotare,' cf. de axone κελεύσαι μοι τὸν αὐτὸν αὔξονα (sic) παρασχεθῆναι P. Oxy. I 137₁₆ (584^p), altera 'terram axonis rotatione irrigare', cf. κυκλεύσαι τὸ αὐτὸ γεώργιον ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς τῶν καὶ τρεφομένων παρ' ἐμοῦ P. Grenf. I 58₇ (s. VI p. Chr.). Illa Londinensi papyro vindicanda est. Non vero voce *μηχανάριος sicuti Wilckeni est opinio (Arch. f. Pap. I 131), sed opifex ille, cui cura indita est rotae fabricandae atque adaptandae. Quod munus a multis olim exercebatur, siquidem saepe mechanarii nomen traditur, velut Ἀπλωνοῦς Σαραπίωνος μηχανάριος BU 213₅ (113 p. Chr.) Πᾶσις Βελλέου μηχανάρις P. Schow 8₁₀ Πλουτίων μηχανάρις 5₂₀ (191 p. Chr.) al. Verum ille *κυκλεῖν τῆς machinam movit ipsius mechanarii sine dubio opera adiutus aquamque in agros

immittit ac dividit.¹ Itaque irrigandi opus a duobus hominibus faciendum fuisse contendo.

171³⁶ χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς τὸ χῶμα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰνδίου, 182⁴⁰² μισθὸς ἐργάτου χωφορο(ῶντος) εἰς ὑδραγωγόν: *χωφορέω 'aggeris terram apportare, extruere', cf. etiam 174¹³⁸ εἰς χωφορί⁴ καὶ ὑδροφυλ(ακίαν) τῶν αὐτῶ(ν) ἀρουρῶ(ν), ubi *χωφορίαν potius quam χωφόριον (sic Kenyon) scribendum.

171³⁷ θρυοτίλ(λουσιν) σκαφεῖοις) . . ἐργάταις s, 176³²² θρυοτίλ(λουσιν) σκαφεῖοις al., 172⁸⁰ = 173¹⁰⁵ etc. θρυοκο(ποῦσιν) καὶ θρυοτίλ(λουσιν): *θρυοτιλλεῖν (ni mavis θρυοτιλεῖν, ut cf. ὀλοτίλλουσιν) 181³⁹¹ σκαφεῖοις 'iuncum ligonibus effodere', *θρυοκοπεῖν 'iuncum praecidere', cf. etiam τὰ πλοῖα τῶν *θρυοτίλων Journ. of Hell. Stud. XXI 253 in tabula Aegyptiaca tachygraphice scripta saec. I a. Chr. ut vid.

171⁴⁴ ἐπασφαλ(ίζουσιν) τὸ χῶμα Ἰνδίου . . ἐργ(άταις) β. 172⁸⁷ μισθ(ὸς) ἐργάτων δ ἐπασφαλ(ίζόντων) ὁμοίω(ς) τὸ χῶμα al.: *ἐπασφαλίεῖν 'fulcire, partes libentes substruere et firmare'.

171⁴⁵ ἀναλαμβ(άνουσιν) τὸ ῥῆγμα Ἰνδίου) . . καὶ χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς αὐτό, 172⁶⁰ ἐπασφαλ(ίζουσιν) καὶ ὑδροφυλ(ακοῦσιν) ὁμοίω(ς) τὸ ῥῆγμα καὶ τὸ χῶμα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰνδίου . . ἐργ(άταις) ε: *ῥῆγμα 'ostium aggeris' pro quo saepius *ἔκρηγμα dicitur (de hoc vocabulo verba feci Wochenschr. f. Klass. Phil. 1903 nr. 15); ἀναλαμβάνουσιν τὸ ῥῆγμα 'qui ostii structuram resarciunt'. Deinde *ὑδροφυλακεῖν 'aquarum profluvium custodire, observare', cf. etiam ἐργάτη . . ὑδροφυλακοῦντι 171⁵⁰, πρὸς χωφορί(αν) καὶ *ὑδροφυλ(ακίαν) 174¹³⁸ (cf. 174¹⁵³), ὑδροφύλακι τοῦ διαζεύγματος 176²⁰⁵ (cf. 177²⁴³).

172⁸² χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς τὸν γύν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, 173¹⁰⁹ χωφορο(ῶσιν) καὶ ἀναβάλ(λουσιν) εἰς τὸν γύν, 176³³⁰ σκά(πτουσιν) καὶ χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς τὸν γύν, 175¹⁹⁰ = 177²⁵² χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς τὸν νότινον γύν, 176²³¹ βωλοκο(ποῦσιν) ὁμοίω(ς) τὸ χῶμα τοῦ γνόου τῶν αὐτῶ(ν) ἀρουρῶν. Quid sit ὁ γύης (nam γύν pro γύν scriptum est et γνόου pro γνίου) quaeritur.² Vim atque usum huius vocis melius perspicimus ceteris papyrorum testimoniis in iudicium vocatis: γείτονες . . νότου καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ λιβδὸς γύης P. Tebt. I 105¹⁵ λιβδὸς γύης (scil. γείτων) 17 (n. 103 a. Chr.), γείτονες . . νότου Μεττασύμιος βασιλικὴ γῆ ἀνὰ μέσον ὄντος [γν]ου 106¹⁰ (cf. ἀνὰ μέσον ὄντος ὑδραγωγῶ 11), γείτονες . . βορρᾶ Πολέμωνος νεωτέρου κλήρος, λιβδὸς γύης 13

(101 a. Chr.), ἐμβρό(χου) ἐν | μισθώσει ἦν (scil. γῆν) γεγονέαι γύν 152 (c. 120 a. Chr.), γν(ου) β 62²⁴, γνόν βορρᾶ 144¹⁴⁶ etc. (119 a. Chr.), ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γν(ου) χέ(ρσου) 82⁶ ἐπισ(κέψεως) δ γν(ου) 10 etc. (115 a. Chr.) ac similiter quoque 83², 4 etc., γύης . . . κὸς (χωματικός?) καὶ ὑδραγωγός 240 (s. I a. Chr. init.); ἀρουραι ἐξ, ἀρχο(μναι) νό(του) γν(ου) μετὰ σχοι(νία) δέκα P. Amh. II. 68²⁶, μετὰ σχοι(νία) ἀπὸ νό(του) γν(ου) 27, νό(του) γν(ου) 29, ἀρχο(μναι) ἀπὸ νό(του) γν(ου) 30 (I p. Chr. init.), γείτονες . . βορρᾶ γύης P. Oxy. II 373 (79 p. Chr.). γείτονες . . νότου γύης OPR I 10, 13 (321 p. Chr.). Quibus e locis haec fere discimus:

(a) ὁ γύης in explicandis agrorum finibus adhibetur, pariter atque ὑδραγωγός, ὁδός, νομαί, etc., et quidem inde a saeculo II. a. Chr. usque ad Constantini fere aetatem. Sic etiam in papyro illa Amherstiana agri mensura inde a loco γύης initium capit.

(b) Papyrus Londinensis similis generis esse docet vocabula ὁ γύης et τὸ χῶμα, cf. χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς τὸ χῶμα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰνδίου 171³⁶ et χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς τὸν γύν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, sed maxime βωλοκο(ποῦσιν) ὁμοίω(ς) τὸ χῶμα τοῦ γνόου τῶν αὐτῶ(ν) ἀρουρῶν 176²³¹.

(c) Nusquam indicatur ad cuiusnam praedium spectet ὁ γύης, quare publicae eum potestatis fuisse suspicor quemadmodum viae aggeres aquarum cursus.

Unde apparet vocabulo ὁ γύης certum aggerum genus significari, quo arva circumdabantur, ne aquarum fluctu damnum acciperent. Peculiaris vero illius vocabuli usus in papyris Tebtyniticis nr. 82 et 83 conspicitur, in quibus πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος κτλ. γύης memoratur. His ergo locis ὁ γύης certum agrorum partem significare videtur, quae aggeribus proprie nomine γύης appellatis saepia vel certe ab aliis partibus divisa erat. Et haec omnino prior huius vocabuli notio fuisse debet (vulgo γύης 'arva' e tragicis innotuit; grammatici veteres etiam γύης ἐστὶ μέτρον γῆς tradunt, cf. Thes. II 800^d),⁴ quamquam altera in Aegypto

³ In propinquo etiam vocabulum ἀναβολή 'terrae exaggeratio', cf. χωφορο(ῶσιν) εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἀναβολ(ήν) 173⁹⁴ (cf. νότινον γύν 175¹⁹⁰), εἰς τὴν λιβυκὴν ἀναβολήν 174¹⁵² etc.; ἀναβολὰς διωρύγω(ν) P. Amh. II 91¹¹ (159 p. Chr.). Opus ipsum ἀναβολάδιον significatum esse videtur, cf. ἀναβολάδια P. Oxy. I 109⁹ (s. III-IV). Quidnam sit ἀναβολίον [τιμῆς ἀναβολ(ω)ν] ε (ἔτους) (δραχμας) 17 P. Fay. pg. 322 anni 19 p. Chr.] nescimus.

⁴ Cf. e tabulis Heracleae repertis συνεμετρήσαμεν . . καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ τῶ ἀντόμου ποτὶ τὰν βουθῆτην τὰν διὰ τῶν γυῶν ἐκ πόλιος βέσσαν ἐπτά γυῖαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς βουθῆτης ἐπὶ τὰν τριακοντάπεδον τρεῖς καὶ δέκα γυῖαι II 10 sqq. Ibidem etiam voces τριμήμιον (14, 19, 29), πενημήμιον (20, 30), τρίμιον (21, 37) recurring.

¹ Παῖσι κη(ουρῶ) τεμο() κοτ() κυκλ() (δραχμαί) ξ P. Amh. II 137³⁴ (s. II p. Chr.), ubi supplendum videtur βοτ(ανίζοντι) κυκλ(εύοντι).

² Cf. The Tebtunis papyri I pg. 461.

magis in usu fuit. His forte erit qui obloqui velit, neque ipse quam lubrica huius vocis sit explicatio ignoro. Certiora docebunt novarum papyrorum testimonia, e quibus nostra nunc pendet expectatio.

172⁸⁸ μισθ(ος) ἐργ(άτων) δ' ἐπασφαλιζ(όντων) τὸ χῶμα . . . πη[. . .]¹ πλάσταις κ(αί) καλα² σὺν ὑδροφυλακούντι : legendumne sit καλάμ(ωι) an καλαμ(ουργοῦντων) nescio. Multoque etiam obscuriora quae antecedunt. Ceterum pro ἐπὶ λογ³ leg. ἐπὶ λόγου, cf. Wilcken Ostr. I 323.

173¹¹¹ *κάρτρα πόκων 'tonsurae premium'.

173¹¹⁸ ἀνεέγκαντο(ς) εἰς Ἑρμούπολιν Ἐπιμάχ(ον) ἄρτους κ(αί) ὀπων^δ : sic dilucide legitur. Vocem ὀπωρικά subesse credat quispiam, sed obstat proba librarii indoles. An latet ὀπωρίδι(α)?

176²⁰⁵ ὑδροφύλακι τοῦ διαζεύγματος : τὸ *διάζευγμα 'locus ubi canalıs aqua in duos rivos dividitur' ? Sane ἐπάνω διαζεύξει in papyris Petrie ineditis idem est ac 'pontem supra construere', cf. P. Petr.² 120²³, 121³⁵ etc.

176²²⁵ βοῶν ζε(ύγει) α χερσοκοπο(ύντι) ἐν τῷ ἀναπαύματι) : *χερσοκοπέω 'terram incultam arare', cf. χερσοκοπήσει ὅλην τὴν γῆν P. Tebt. I 105²⁷ κλήρον κεχερσοκοπημένον⁵⁹ al., εἰς τὴν *χερσοκοπίαν^{20, 33} al. (103 a. Chr.) ; ἀνάπαυμα 'terra requiescens', de qua nunc v. pap. Tebtyn.

176²²⁵ . . . ροτομ³ πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἀρούρας ποτισθῆν(αι) nondum plane intellexi. Temptaverim [χλω]ροτόμω(ι) herbamque viridem eam ob causam caesam esse dixerim, ut aqua in agros liberos immitti possit.

178²⁴³ μισθ(ος) ἐργάτο(ν) ὄντο(ς) ἐπὶ το(ῦ) χώμα(τος) Ἰπποστράτου scil. κλήρου) κατὰ νύκτα) σὺν τοῖς Ἡφαιστί(ως) ὑδροφύλαξιν) μήπω σχασ¹, i.e. σχασθῆι, 'ne agger (aquarium vi) rumpatur'.

178²⁶⁹ εὐ^κ ν^ν = εὐώδη κεράμια ν, cf. ἡγοράκαμέν σοι εὐώδη κεράμια ἑκατόν P. Amh. II 133, (s. II p. Chr.), οἶνον κεράμια) β εὐώδη P. Tebt. I 120⁶² (s. I a. Chr.).

178²⁸⁵ Ἐροβο¹ ἐν Ἡδύλ(ου κλήρω) ἤ β d ζε(ύγεισιν) β, i.e. πυρβολοῦσιν . . . πυροῦ scil. ἀρτάβας) (δύο) (τέταρτον) ζε(ύγεισιν) (δυσίν). Compendio ἤ cum vocabulum πυρός reddatur, illud verbum *πυρβολεῖν esse debet ('triticum serere'), cf. εἰς *σπερμολεῖν P. Oxy. I 133¹³ (550 p. Chr.) 'ad sementem'.

178²⁹⁰ μ¹ονοβο¹ τῇ¹ ἐν τῷ(ι) Ἰπποστράτου) κ(λήρωι) τῇ¹ ν¹ ζ¹ α, 179³¹² Δημητρίω Παχράτου μισθ(ωτῇ) τόπον μονοβο¹ ἐν τῷ(ι) Ἰπποστράτου) κ(λήρωι) τῇ¹ λ¹ : verbum *μονοβόλεῖν i.e. ac, 'singillatim serere.' Seminis genus est faenum graecum (ῆ τῆ λ ις) ex

ordine leguminum, cf. etiam Θ[α]λλούση τῆλ(ως) (δωδέκατον, scil. ἀρτάβης) 291, μισθ(ος) ὁμοίω(ς) δέκα (scil. ὄνων) ἀλο[ώντων(ν)] εἰς τὸ(ν) αὐτὸ(ν) χορτότηλ(ιν) ἕως ὀψί(ας) 188⁶⁰⁶. Haec planta, de qua multis locis agitur in Geoponicis, et fruticis et seminis causa colebatur. De illo usu cf. e.g. τὸν περὶ τοὺς τραχήλους τῶν πίθων ῥύπον καὶ ἀφρόν ἀπομάττειν χόρτῳ τῆλεως Geop. iii. 15², quo loco simul vocabulum *χορτότηλ ις optime illustratur.¹ In faeni graeci semente adhibitum esse videtur mulorum² iugum : ὑποζυγίων ζε(ύγει) (ἐνί). Hoc factum die xxi. mensis Athys. Sequuntur menses Tybi et Mechir ; interim faenum graecum gignitur, crescit, maturescit, metitur. Tum die viii. mensis Pachons decem asini ad fructus exterendos mittuntur.

178²⁹⁶ μισθ(ος) Εὐχαρίστον κοβαλεύοντο(ς) θρύα εἰς οἶκ(ον), 181³³³ κοβαλεύοντο(ς) ἄχυρο(ν) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως εἰς οἶκον εἰς τὸ βαλ(ανείον) etc. Verbi κοβαλεῖν notionem recte interpretatus est, ut iam Wilamowitz monuit Gött. Gel. Anz. 1898⁶⁸⁹, Etymologici Magni auctor 524²³ : τὸ μεταφέρειν τὰ ἀλλότρια μισθοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον, cf. etiam κοβαλεῦσαι χόρτ(ον) καὶ ἄχυρον ἀπὸ γεουχικ(ῆς) χορτοθήκης ἕως τοῦ στάβλου P. Oxy. I. 146² (a. 555, p. Chr.) quaeque Wilamowitz de origine verbi disputavit.

178²⁹⁴ *ἐ¹ παρότα ις ('aratoribus') cf. etiam 177²⁶².

178²⁸⁷ . . . ωρογ¹ ἐν ταῖς (πρότερον) Τρυχάτο(ς) ἐργ(άταις), 179³⁰⁷ . . . ωρογ¹ ὑδραγωγὸ(ν) ἐν Ἡδύλ(ου κλήρου) ἐργ(άταις) β, 317 . . . ωρογ¹ ὑδραγωγὸ(ν) ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς β : χλωροτομεῖν sive potius *χλωρολογεῖν subesse arbitror (χλωρολογεῖν ὑδραγωγόν 'herbam viridem fossae aquariae metere'). Ceterum cf. quae dixi ad 176²²⁸.

179³²¹ ἀρχονηλ(άτη) add. lex.

179³³⁴ Ἡδύλ(ου scil. κλήρου) υποσ¹ ζε(ύγει) α, i.e. ὑποσχι(ζόντι). Actio verbi ὑποσχέζειν 'terram findere' (cf. etiam τὰ ἀναπαύματα ὑπόσχεισον καὶ διβόλησον P. Fay. 112⁵, a. 99 p. Chr.) voce ὑποσχισμός significatur, cf. τοὺς ὑποσχ[ε]ισμοὺς καὶ διβολήτροὺς τῶν ἐλαιῶνων (sic) P. Fay. 112³ (99 p. Chr.).

¹ Et sic meae quidem sententia his locis : μισθ(ος) βοῶν ζε(ύγει) α ἀλοῶντος εἰς τὸν χορτ^ο 188⁶²⁹, μισθ(ος) βοῶν δέκα ἀλοουστ(ών) [εἰς τὸν χορτ^ο 625 scrib. χορτότηλ ις, quamquam vulgo ῆ τῆ λ ις dicitur. Nam faenum vulgare cur a bobus sit tritratum non video.

² Cf. ὑποζυγίοις ὁ τοῖς λειτουργοῖσιν καὶ βοῶν ζεύγειν ἐξ Arch. f. Pap. I 174¹⁰ (s. III a. C.), βοὺς ῆ ὑποζύγιον ῆ πρόβατον P. Petr.² 56⁵ (s. III a. C.), quibus locis de mulis rem esse statim suspiceris, cf. etiam ὑποζυγία ἡμίονοι Eust. 1625⁴². Nam vox ἡμίονος in Aegyptiorum actis perraro adhibetur (εἰς ἡμίονους P. Petr. II 78 h. 6, s. III a. C.), cum ὄρεὺς plane deesse videatur.

χωματισμοὺς) ποτισμοὺς ὁποσ[ι]σμοὺς(ς) δι-
βολητο(ύς) P. Amh. II 91₁₁ (152 p. Chr.).

180₃₄₈ τιμὴ χάρτον εἰς τὸ *ἐπιδόσιμον
'ad relationem' fortasse de rebus vectigali-
bus, cf. solitam clausulam declarationum διὸ
ἐπιδίδωμι.

181₃₇₅ παιδίωι προτέμνοντι πρὸ τῶ(ν) ἀμπελο-
τεμ(νόντων), 375 ἐργάτη(ι) μισθ(ὸς) ἡμερ(ῶν)
δύο ἀμπελοτέμ(νοντι), Πεμουῖτι . . . ἀμπελοτέ-
μνοντι 182₄₂₂ etc. De notione verbi προτέμ-
νειν cf. Geop. V. 23₄ διὸ κάλλιον ἐν τοῖς
ψυχροτέροις τόποις προτέμνειν μάλλον, καὶ
μὴ τελείως κλαδεύειν, τούτεστι φανεροὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ κλήματα ἂν πάλιν τῶι ἔαρι
κλαδεύειν ἀναγκαῖον, Pro *ἀμπελοτέμ-
νειν potius ἀμπελοτομῆν dicendum erat.

181₃₇₀₋₃₈₃ ἄλλωι παιδίωι προτέμ(νοντι) σὺν
Φίβει κ(αὶ) τῶι ἀνδ⁷, 182₃₉₄ ἐκφέρο(υσιν)
ἀμπέλινα ξύλα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδ⁷(ρων) παιδ(ίοις) δ,
182₄₂₅₋₄₂₉ ἐκφέρο(υσιν) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδ⁷(ρων)
ἀμπέλ(ινα), 184₄₉₃ ἐκφέρο(υσιν) ἀμπέλ(ινα) ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀνδ⁷(ρων): τὰ ἀνδ⁷ρα possunt idem
valere ac fossarum ripae, sed etiam de terra
cultā cogitari debet (cf. Thes. I. 2, 638^b).
Illa notio haud scio an in ostracis qui-
busdam Thebaicis recurat, cf. ἀπαι(ηται)
μερισμοῦ) αν⁸ Ostr. 559 (113 p. Chr.), 603
(142 p. Chr.), 604 (141 p. Chr.) etc. Vectigal
secundum arurum numerum penditur;
explicationem non tentaverat Wilcken (Ostr.
I 152). Fossarum ripae opera publica ex-
struebantur et restaurabantur, pro quo
possessoribus terrarum adiacentium tri-
butum est impositum ad agrorum magni-
tudinē computatum (ἐπιμερισμός). Conferri
debent vectigalia μερισμοῦ) διόρυγος βασιλ(ι-
κῆς) Ostr. 577, τὸ χωματικόν (P. Oxy. II.
288₂₀, 289 etc.), ὑπ(έρ) μερισμοῦ) ἀνακ(αθά-
σεως) Ostr. 579 (137 p. Chr.) et alibi. Sic
enim ἀνακαθάσεως scribendum censeo,
cf. ἀνακαθῆραι τὴν ὑδρορρόην Pollux 1₂₂₄, τὰς
ὁδοὺς ἀνακαθαίρειν Hippias ap. Ath. VI. 259^d.
Illo loco 181₃₇₉ fortasse τῶι ἀνδ⁷(ροκόπωι)
sive τῶι ἀνδ⁷(ρουρῶι) scribendum, verum haec
incertissima.

181₃₈₅ σαρωννύο(υσιν) φύλλα παιδ(ίοις) δ,
190₄₆ σαρωννύο(ντος) φύλλα] κ(αὶ) αἶρο(ντος)
ἔξω etc.: *σαρωννύειν 'verrere,' ut iam
Kenyon recte suspicatus est.

181₃₉₁ *ὁλοσιλλο(υσιν) κάλαμο(ν)
τόμως . . . παιδ(ίοις) δ, cf. 182₃₉₇: 'iuncum
funditus vellere.' Vide sis θρυσίλλειν (ad
171₃₇).

182₄₀₈ σκά(πτοντι) καὶ κοσκινέ(ύοντι)
κόπρο(ν) ἐν τῶ(ι) κωμαστη(ρίωι): vox κωμα-
στήριον cuius sensum non attingo in
memoriam revocat locum Synesii 73^a: καὶ
ἔστιν αὐτοῖς (scil. τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων)
κωμαστήρια, τὰ κιβώτια κρύπτοντα φασὶ ταύτας
τὰς σφαίρας, ὡς ὁ δῆμος ἐὰν ἴδῃ χαλεπανεῖ, ubi

nunc Wesselingi auctore πωμαστήρια scrib-
itur (v. Thes. IV 2192^a). Verum papyri
vocabulum cum ἡλιαστήριον, καταβόλαιον,
χορτοθήκη alii componendum.

182₄₂₆ ἐργάτη δεσμεύοντι ἀ γκάλας,
188₆₂₈ κοβαλεύνων τὰς ἐπιλο(ίπους) ἀγκάλας
etc., tum etiam ὄνπερ χόρτον . . . ἐν ἀγγάλαις
(sic) ὁμολογοῦμεν παρσχεῖν P. Amh. II.
150₂₅ (592 p. Chr.).

183₄₆₇ ἀπὸ τῶν παραιοῦ* απο Ἰβωνι τε*, leg.
παρὰ Ἰούτο(ς) ἀπὸ Ἰβωνιτέω(ν), sicut 184₄₈₂
μισθ(ὸς) ὄνω(ν) γ' ἀπενεγκάντω(ν) εἰς Ἰβ(ῶνα)
Ἰούτι οἶνο(ν) κε(ράμια) ἰβ; cf. etiam 186₅₅₃.

184₄₉₁ Ἀμβρύων τέμ(νων) τεγκοσ^x: signa
obscura, in quibus loci forsā latet notio.
Nam vocis κόσκινον importuna est recordatio.

185₅₂₂ μισθ(ὸς) βοῶ(ν) γ προπατούντω(ν) ἐπὶ
τῆ(ς) [ἀλω, 187₅₈₂ βοῶ(ν) γ προπατούντω(ν) ἐπὶ
τῆς (αὐτῆς) ἄλω etc.: *προπατεῖν de
prima boum opera in seminibus exculcandis
dictum.

185₅₂₅ Δημητρεῖ(ωι) ἐπιδιδόν(τι) δράγμ(ατα)
ταῖς απ . . . , leg. ἀμ[άξα(ς)], cf. 187₅₇₂.

187₅₉₆ μανδ(ίβ, 604 μανδ() [λ, 188₆₂₈
μανδ()ε: in his recte vocem μανδᾶκης
agnovit Kenyon, cf. Eustath. ad Il. 813₂₃
μανδᾶκης κυρίως, ὥς φησι καὶ ὁ Χοιροβοσκός
Γεώργιος, δεσμὸν χόρτον δηλοῖ, dein μάνδακ(ας)
τέσσερ(ας) Wien. Denkschr. 1889, 243 s. VII
p. Chr. Verum utrobique etiam forma μάν-
δακον subesse potest, quam praebet alia
papyrus: χόρτον . . . μάνδακα δύο Rev. Eg. IV
64₂₁ (593 p. Chr.). Et haud scio an etiam
vox μανδᾶκιον sit tradita, cf. μανδᾶκιν
(sic) Wien. Denkschr. 1889, 255 s. VII
p. Chr.

188₆₂₁ Ἀμβρύων ἐστὶ περὶ τὰς φ . . . ὡς εἰς
ἀναψήσμων τοῦ λάκκο(ν), 631 ἀναψώντε(ς)
τὸ ἐντὸς φρέαρ, 633-636 ἀναψώντε(ς) . . . τὸ . . .
διωρύγι(ον): cf. de voce ἀνακαθάρσις
supra ad 181₃₇₉. Scribendum fortasse περὶ
τὰς φιμώσ[εις] εἰς ἀναψήσμων(ν).

188₆₀₉ Κάστορι . . . τιμὴ τριχ(ίων) σεβενίνω(ν)
δύο εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανήν), 189₁ σεβενίνω(ν) ὁμοίω(ς)
εἰς τριχ(ίας) ἐργ(άτη) α, 2 σεβενίω(ν) ὁμοίω(ς)
εἰς τὰς (αὐτὰς) τριχ(ίας) ἐργ(άταις) s, (cf. 5, 8),
10 Ἐρμίου(ν) ὄντος περὶ τὰς τριχ(ίας), 12 Ἀμ[β]ρύων
κ(αὶ) Φίβις περὶ τὸ ὄργ(ανον) scil. εἰσὶ χαλῶντες
τὰς τριχ(ίας): quomodo foramina machinae
aquariae sint reata describitur. Qua in re
adhibiti est materies pilosa e palmulae
cortico (τὸ σεβένιον, unde adi. σεβέν-
ινος) petita. Haec opera τριχίασις
appellata esse videtur. Nam sic sine dubio
scribendum (eis τὰς τριχιάσεις), cum vocis ἡ
τριχία explicatio multo sit difficilior. Alii
capillis caprinis sunt usi, cf. Geopon. XVIII
9₃ ἡ δὲ θριξ (τῶν αἰγῶν) ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τε
σχοίνους καὶ σάκκους . . . καὶ εἰς ναυτικὰς ὑπη-
ρεσίας.

221₂ τοῖς χαλκοῖς (), leg. χαλκωματουργοῖς, cf. παρέρχες τοῖς χαλκομα(τουργοῖς) Wien. Denkschr. 1889, 182, παρ(έρ)χ(ες) τοῖς χαλκομ(α)τ(ουργοῖς) 194 (s. VII p. Chr.). Ille *χαλκωματουργός 'faber aerarius' (cf. χαλκώματα καὶ ἀργυρώματα P. Leid. X 7₂₉ s. IV, ἐν τε χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ἐσθήσεσι καὶ χαλκώμασι P. Lond. I 233₂₀ s. VII) alias χαλκουργός appellatur, cf. μισθὸς χαλκουργῷ B.U. 362, 7₁₆, 10₁₇ (215 p. Chr.), τοῖς χαλκουργ(οῖς) Wien. Denkschr. 1889, 169 s. VII.

II. 2₁ περὶ δειπνον Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἐπιμάχου, I. περὶ ἰδεῖν πνον 'convivium,' sicut nunc saepius scriptum legitur in papyris Tebtyniticis (vs. 3 ἰβωβοσκῶ?).

11₁₇ ταγείδιον πυρρόν, I. *ταπίδιον, cf. ταπίδιον α CPR I pg. 125 (s. II.-III. p. Chr.).

28₂₆₉ Πειού[ι]δος Kenyon, qui ἴδιος pro ιδιώτης scriptum esse affirmat; sed vide ne leg. sit [γέρ]διος.

50₁₁₀ αἴκ' ἀ(ν)ικό(νιστοι) esse videtur, cf. etiam αἴεκ' 56₉₀. Vocī ἀνείκόνιστος ('cuius εἰκὼν i.e. imago sive descriptio¹ non est in ordinem relatus') opponitur ὁ εἰκονισθεῖς, cf. μετὰ τοὺς ὕστερον εἰκονισθέντας) τῷ θ(έτῃ) 55₄₁ etc. Non recte credo legitur β[ι]κ' 50₈₆, ubi διετικοί Kenyonis est coniectura valde improbabilis.

97₉ πυρ[οῦ] καθαρ[οῦ] πρώτου.

116₁ leg. εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀνταναιρ[εῖσθ(αι)] ὑπαρχῶν γεννηματογρ(αφουμένων).

144₈₇ Γεμῖνος εὐθη(νιάρχης).

145₁₃₆ λευκοπυργός: latet *λευκοπυργός, cf. Διονύσιος λευκοργός (sic) Heberdey-Wilhelm. Inschr. aus Kilikien 31₇₀ (s. III.^p). Nomine λευκοργός est significatur, qui opera marmoris (λευκοῦ λίθου) conficit.

157₆₁ Ἀφροδείσης βακχίω: non est patris nomen, sed domicilii (Βακχιώτης ethnicum a vici nomine Βακχιάς).

162₂₁ μέλλω [γ]ὰρ περὶ τούτων ενεχειν, leg. ἐν[τ]υχέιν. Quae antecedunt ἰκανὰ [σύν]γγραφα a Wilckenio recte in ἰκ. [ἔ]νγγραφα correctae sunt (Arch. f. Pap. I. 154), cf. ἔνγγραφα ἐπιδέδωκεν κατ' ἐσοῦ 284₁₆. Similiter μένοντός μου τοῦ λόγου περὶ ὧν ἔχω πρό[ς] αὐτοῦ] ὡς ἐν[γρ]άπτων δικαίων πάντων 172₂₁ (ἐν[γρ]άπτων Kenyon).

169₂₆ ὦν ἐνευεργημέν[ος], pro quo legendum sine dubio ἵν' ὦμεν εὐεργημένοι.

172₁₁ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς θυγατρὸς Σώτου Σατυριάνης ἢν κατορινη, I. ἡνίκα περιῆν.

181₁₇ leg. ἀ]πὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πάση]ς ἔμπο[ι]σσεως, sicut sine lacuna legitur CPR I 1₁₇ (83 p. Chr.).

¹ ὑποτετάχαμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ ὄνομα· ἐστὶν δὲ ὡς ἐτῶν κβ βακχίς μελίχρως κλαστός etc. P. Tebt. I 32₂₁ (s. II a. C.).

182₄ suppl. ὁ μὲν Δίδυμος | [παρεκεχωρη-
κέναι τῷ Μικκάλῳ ὥστε καὶ] ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ
τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς μετεπτυγρήν, e quo cer-
tissimo supplemento simul versus ambitus
cognoscitur, cf. ὁμολογεῖ . . . Πτολεμαῖς παρα-
κεχωρηκέναι τῷ Μάρωνι ὥστε καὶ ἐγγόνοις αὐτὰ
κτλ. CPR I 1₅ (83 p. Chr.).

183₁₇ ἀμπελ[ι]κῶν [κ]αρπῶ[ν] καὶ [.]
καὶ συνκίνων καὶ αφρ[ο]δι[σι]ων πάντω[ν], ubi
ἀργ(εῖν) ῥ[ο]διων leg. esse statuit Wilcken
(Arch. I. 156). Sed me quidem iudice scrib.
ἀκροδρῶν πάντων.

187₉₀ ἐπιφανῶνι τας μισθώσει[s] ἐπὶ τοῖς
προκ[ειμένοις]. Librarii mendum sic corri-
gendum: ἐὰν φαίνηται μισθῶσαι, cf. ἐὰ[ν]
φαί[νητ]αι μισθῶσε ἐπὶ τ. πρ. 190₁₄.

209₉ πλοῖον κοπρηγοῦ ληνναίου? Nonne
Λιμναῖον, nam Λιμναῖος nomen est
Macedonicum in Aegypto saepius con-
spicuum? Certe το(ῦ) Λιμ[αί]ου scrib.
231₁₇.

215₆ Πτολεμαῖω τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ τῶν
ἱερονίκων καὶ ἐτελων, leg. ἀτελων.

245₆ [κ]ρηλι() ἂ, cf. κόμισαι τὰ κλάλια
τὰ β P. Oxy. I. 114₁₁ (s. II.-III.^p).
Utrobique de rebus equestribus agitur.
Illa vero papyrus negligetissime est
scripta, e.g. saepe λ et ρ a librario con-
funduntur, sicut etiam χαρκά 245₁₁, 246_{18, 24}
pro χαλκά scriptum ('instrumenta aenea').

246₁₉ σφ(υρίον) [ἀμ]αξι[τ]ικό(ν)? Dein 24
ἐλα[βε] τὸ σφυλίν (= σφυρίον).

254₁₄ leg. ἐξ ὅτου ἐκομισάμην τὴν ἐπιστολήν,
24 κατέ[σ]πα<ρ>καν.

278₁₂ leg. vid. καὶ ἀπέβαλα [ἐμα]τὴν
ἀπάνωθεν.

279₈ leg. τὸ χρεωστὶ μου χρέως, sicut 278₇
τὸ χρέως, τὸ χρεωστὶ μου. Pro διχα τον τον
χρεος τον με λαβιν εἰς αυτον τον κληρον αμ-
ματον εκατον πεντε (sic Wessely) Wien.
Denkschr. 1889, 148₉ (s. VI.-VII) scriba
exarare debuit δίχα τῶν χρεωστοῦμαι λαβεῖν—
ἀμμάτων ε. π. ('quae mihi debentur,' cf.
Thes. VIII 1642^b).

289₂₀ αἰετὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ χάρειν ἔχω φιλιασειν πᾶσι,
I. φιλείας εἶν (i.e. ἐν) πᾶσι.

292 verso I. *μετα[ν]τι]κα ἀπόστιλον,
quod i. e. a. παραντίκα sive πᾶντα.

299₉ ἐπειδὴ ἀσχολῶ ἄθλιν πρό[ς] σὲν αὐτὴ
ἡμέρῃ (i.e. αὐτὰ ἡμέραι 'his diebus').

301₂₂ ἐὰν ἔλ[θ]ουσιν πρὸς σὲ οἱ ἀδελφοί,
ποιήσης αὐτοῖς τὸ ζῆ[μ]μα (= σμήγμα) γενέσθαι.

307₂ στιχ[αρ]ίων β.

310₅ Πῶλ λιθι(ουργός) 'operis mu-
sivi artifex'?

313₂ ματ·δ = μάτ(ια) δ et sit deinceps, cf.
Wilck. Ostr. I. 751.

314₁₂ κ(αὶ) σακκου δια, leg. *σακκούδια.

315₁₇ ζευ[γ]η . .] κα(θαρών), scil. ἄρτων.

320₂₃ περὶ τῶν πεγχυτων: περιχυτῶν

(‘balneatorum’)? Nam sic saepius legitur, cf. Δυρήλ. Γερόντιος περιχύτης δημο(σίον) βαλανίον P. Lond. I 214₁₂ (a. 633 p. Chr.), Ίούστω περιχύτη γεονχικοῦ λουτροῦ P. Oxy. I 148₁ (a. 556 p. Chr.).

322₁₃ κάρκας· σῦκα: κάρκας = κάρικας = caricas. *Carica* est ficus celeberrima ex Caria advecta.

329₂ περὶ τοῦ πιλῶνος (= πύλ.) καὶ τοῦ βελίσκου (= ὀβελίσκου), ac 330₁₂ ἐνὸς πύλων(ος) leg.

333₂ εἰσβατικοῦ, quod fort. idem est ac εἰσκριτικοῦ, de quo tributo cf. Wilck. Ostr. I. 185.

GUILELMUS CRÖNERT.

SCRIPTI BONNAE.

EMENDATIONS OF CICERO'S VERRINES.

Div. in Caec. § 3 (Müller, p. 101, 7). *Sese iam ne deos quidem in suis urbibus ad quos confugerent habere, quod eorum simulacra sanctissima C. Verres ex delubris religiosissimis sustulisset.* It is perhaps a small matter, but greater emphasis might be secured in the above passage by reading *quod deorum* instead of *quod eorum*. Harl. 2687 actually has *quo deorum*.

ibid. § 25 (p. 107, 8). *Huic ego homini iam ante denuntio . . . rationem illi defendendi totam esse mutandam, et ita mutandam ut, &c.* If *et ita mutandam* were the reading of all or most codd., it might be allowed to pass, though somewhat otiose: cp. ii. 2, § 53 (p. 219, 3). But, in the first place, these words do not occur at all in D (i.e. Par. 7823), which I can now affirm stands next in direct succession to the mutilated archetype Par. 7775: see *Class. Rev.* vol. xvi. p. 406.¹ They come from the second hand in Par. 7776, which is reproduced in Lg. 29 and also in Harl. 2687. These MSS. agree, however, not in *et ita mutandam*, but in *et ita tamen mutandam*: a variant in G¹ and the dett. is *et ita causam* (cām) *mutandam*. As *tamen* is obviously impossible, Richter suggested *totam*. But the whole clause should probably go out. It may have resulted from an attempted inversion, *esse totam* for *totam esse*, and from dittography—to which latter cause

we may with great probability ascribe at least the appearance of *tamen* after *ita*.

ibid. § 26 (p. 107, 16). *Ego in hoc iudicio mihi Siculorum causam receptam, populi Romani susceptam esse arbitror, ut mihi non unus homo improbus opprimendus sit . . . sed omnino omnis improbitus . . . extinguenda.* In this passage *non unus* is guaranteed by Par. 7776 (eleventh cent.), and also by the lemma of Pseudo-Asconius: cp. Caecin, § 81, *placet causam . . . non nostrae possessionis . . . sed omnino possessionum omnium constituere in verbo?* It is noticeable, however, that Pseudo-Asconius omits *homo*, and this suggests that the true reading may be *non unus modo improbus*: cp. § 5 (p. 101, 37). That something may have stood in the original text to strengthen the antithesis (and at the same time to emphasise the differentiation between *receptam* and *susceptam*) would seem to be indicated by the variants *non tantum unus* G² Ld., and *non nisi (!) unus* D G¹ Harl. 4105, 4852. If *nisi* arose through mistaking a compendium, we might suggest *non modo unus homo improbus*. The nearest parallel would then be Legg. i. § 44, *nec solum ius et iniuria natura diiudicatur, sed omnino omnia honesta et turpia. Omnino omnis* is certainly right, though it is said to occur only in one MS. of Garatoni. All other codd. have *omnino* by itself (and so most edd.), but on the other hand Pseudo-Asconius has *omnis*, omitting *omnino*.

ibid. § 31 (p. 109, 4). *Sin praetermitteres, qualis erit tua ista accusatio, quae domestici periculi metu certissimi et maximi criminis non modo suspicionem verum etiam mentionem ipsam pertimescat.*

Cicero is here arguing that as Caecilius was himself implicated in the misdeeds of Verres he will be no fit accuser. Verres had assessed the *aratores* at the rate of twelve sesterces per bushel, when the market price was only two sesterces, and his conviction on this count could not be secured without

¹ I hope soon to deal with the MSS. of the earlier books of the Verrines. Meanwhile I need only state here that the remaining folios of this portion of Par. 7775 (i.e. from *Dolabellae occiso* ii. 1, § 90 to *singu.* for *singulari*, § 111) are accurately reproduced in Par. 7823. The two traditions agree *verbatim et litteratim*: they agree also in the division of sentences. This fact should be enough to elevate the authority of Par. 7823 above G¹ G² and Ld. At the foot of the folio which as I have already reported, the copyist completed with the letters *singu.* Claudius Puteanus has written *Plurima hic desunt*. Thereafter follow two blank pages, and then the text of Books IV, V. It is important to note that Par. 7823 or D, which is derived from what I take to have been the archetype, is known to have had affinity to the *Codex Stephani* (Zumpt, Praef. p. xii).

condemning at the same time the man who had been his quaestor, and who now wanted to prosecute. If on the other hand, from fear of imperilling himself, Caecilius should wish to give the go-by to this 'certissimum et maximum crimen,' his prosecution would become a farce.

Some editors explain *suspicionem* as meaning that Caecilius would not only shrink from showing that Verres was 'suspect' (and probably guilty) under this head (cp. Actio Prima § 52 ad fin.): he would not dare to say a single word about the matter. But the antithesis *suspicionem...mentionem* is intolerably weak: the words would stand better in inverted order (pro Planc. § 30).

Madvig proposed to read *subscriptionem*, quoting the passage from Asconius in Milonianam which runs *Repetitus deinde...est lege Plautia de vi, subscriptione ea quod loca publica occupasset*. For the use of *scriptio* of a special charge preferred we may compare Cic. de Inv. 2, 19, 58 *cum veneficii cuiusdam nomen esset delatum et quia parricidii causa subscripta esset, extra ordinem esset acceptum*. The word is used also in the more general meaning of *accusatio*: Ulpian 48, 2, 7 pr. *si cui crimen obiciatur, praecedere debet crimen scriptio*. The same may be said of *inscriptio*, which might also be conjectured here: C. Th. 9, 3, 4 *in codice publico sollemnia inscriptionis implere*, and Cod. 9, 1, 3 *qui crimen publicum instituere properant, non aliter ad hoc admittantur nisi prius inscriptionum pagina processerit et fideiussor de exercenda lite adhibitus fuerit*.

Can the word wanted here be *sponsio*? Obviously we must have something stronger than *suspicionem*, which Müller wrongly retains; and between *sponsio* and *suspicionem*, in their contracted forms, there would be palaeographically little to choose. It may be said that *sponsio de crimine* (cp. ii. 3, § 144) would be more usual than *sponsio criminis*. But the genitive seems to be motivated by the subsequent *mentionem*, and the phrase *voti sponsio* may be cited as analogous. From Mommsen's *Römisches Strafrecht* pp. 385-6 I take another citation which would illustrate such a use of *sponsio*: Dig. 48, 2, 7, 1 *cauent singuli, quod crimen obiciant et praeterea perseveraturos se in crimine usque ad sententiam*. Caecilius would be barred, Cicero means to say, not only from making any affidavit on the subject, but even from referring to it.

ibid. § 53 (p. 115, 5). *et hoc te praeterit, non id solum spectari solere, qui debeat, sed etiam illud, qui possit ulcisci; in quo utrumque sit, eum superiorem esse, in quo*

alterum, in eo non quid is velit, sed quid facere possit, quaeri solere. Editors agree in accepting *alterum* on the doubtful authority of G¹ (so also Harl. 2687 and 4852). But *alterutrum* occurs in D Ld. Par. 7776, Lg. 29, and Harl. 4105, and should be restored to the text, not only on the ground of overwhelming MS. authority, but also as the 'lectio difficilior': G² has *alterum utrum*. The correction was made by some one who took *qui possit ulcisci* and *quid facere possit* to be equivalent terms. But this is not the case. Cicero says that the best prosecutor of Verres will be the man (viz. himself) who not only has a duty to discharge towards his clients, the Sicilians, (*qui debeat*), but who is also unhampered by complicity in the acts of Verres (*qui possit*): a candidate who had only one of these two qualifications, however excellent his intentions might be, would have to show evidence of forensic ability as well (*quid facere possit*).

Actio Prima, § 1 (Müller, p. 122, 7). *opinio perniciosa rei publicae vobisque periculosa, quae non modo apud exteras nationes omnium sermone percrebruit*. This is the reading of the codd., and emendation began early. In Harl. 5428 (A.D. 1470) I find *non modo apud nos sed apud ext. nat.* Harl. 2687 and Burn. 158 agree in *non modo apud ext. nat. sed omnium s.p.* The vulgate gives *non modo Romae sed etiam apud ext. nat.*, where *etiam* is perhaps superfluous (cp. iii. § 1, p. 271, 2: *ibid.* § 23, p. 278, 23: iv. § 58, p. 387, 35). The Juntine ed. has *non modo apud ext. nat. sed apud populum Romanum omnium s.p.*, and similarly Baiter, Kayser, and Müller, *non modo apud pop. Rom. sed etiam apud ext. nat.* This reading derives support from *redire in gratiam cum populo Romano, satisfacere exteris nationibus* almost immediately below, § 2 (p. 123, 6): but in the passage before us, after the words *perniciosa rei publicae*, the antithesis (if there was one in the original text) is just as likely to have been *non modo in provinciis populi Romani sed etiam apud exteras nationes*: cp. ii. 1, § 78 (p. 169, 17). Another line of emendation would be to drop the *non* and read *quae modo apud exteras nationes omnium sermone percrebruit*. Cp. De Off. ii. § 75, *modo hoc malum in rem publicam invasit*.

ibid. § 2 ad fin. (p. 123, 8). The reading of what have hitherto been considered the best MSS. is here *praedonem iuris*. As this can hardly stand, recent editors have accepted from the dett. *praedonem iuris urbani*,—a reading which occurs in Pseudo-Asconius, and which I have found also in

the Parisinus 7776 (11th cent.). The difficulty is that if we take over *urbani* from such a source, there are other important passages where what have hitherto been rejected as interpolations might just as well be received into the text: e.g. *opportunissimum with tempus* at § 43 (p. 136, 7): *post me quaestorem* Div. § 4 (p. 161, 22): *propter iudicium* A.P. § 24 (p. 130, 5).

W. Paul conjectured *praedonem urbis*: for which compare, (again intermediate between references to Asia and Pamphylia on the one hand, and Sicily on the other) § 12 *cuius praetura urbana aedium sacrarum fuit publicorumque operum depeculatio*. This excellent conjecture would be greatly improved, in my judgment, if we were to read *praedonem huius urbis*,—a reading which would also help to account for the depraved *praedonem iuris urb.* (sc. *urbis, urbani*).

ibid. § 4 (p. 123, 25) *insidiarum nefariae quas uno tempore mihi, vobis, Mⁱ Glabrioni praetori, sociis, exteris nationibus*. The well-known confusion between *pr.* and *p.r.* has given rise to variants. But surely before *sociis, ext. nat.* the words *populo Romano* are quite indispensable. I find that these words occur in the Parisinus 7776, and also (as was to be expected) in Lg. 29. They should therefore be restored to the text, whether *praetori* be retained or no. Cp. ii, 1 § 96, where the variants may be explained by reading *Cn. Dolabellae praetori populi Romani*.

ibid. § 26 (p. 130, 28). The depravation of the text may be well illustrated in this passage, where the vulgate gives *deinde Hortensium consulem non solum sed etiam*. I have already referred to Parisinus 7776, known as p, and can now report that it gives this reading in a contracted form *deinde Hortensiū cōf. n̄ solū sed etiā*. In the first Wolfenbüttel codex (G¹) this becomes *deinde Hortensium consules eosque non solum sed etiam*. The citation given above from p confirms Jordan's explanation: 'eos ortum est ex cos: inde turbae ortae.' It may be interesting to note that the reading of p recurs in Par. 7823 (known as D), which is, as stated above, a careful and accurate transcript of Par. 7775—the common parent of all the members of this family. If any change on the vulgate is desiderated I would suggest *deinde Hortensium consulem, neque Hortensium solum sed etiam, &c.*

ibid. § 32 (p. 132, 26) *industriarum diligenter capiam fructum, et ex accusatione perficiam ut...* I can report *et ex accusatione* from p D: G² omits *et*. Kayser de-

leted *ex accusatione*, and is followed by Müller: while *et ea accusatione, et accusatione, et mea accusatione* have been variously conjectured. Perhaps *et hac accusatione*.

ibid. § 38 (p. 134, 20). Here it seems to me that (assuming Zumpt's insertion of *in* to be justified) the intolerable *in nullo iudice equite Romano iudicante* may be cured by reading *in nullo, iudices, equite Romano iudicante* (p. ii. 2, 13, p. 204, 11).

ibid. § 39 (p. 134 ll. 33 sqq.). How is it that, whereas the codd. give *factum est... inventi sunt... inventus est* in this period, editors unanimously read *factum sit... inventi sint... inventus sit?* Cicero has suffered much from German punctuation: and something also from attempts to correct his grammar. The text may be restored by reading *Quid quod in C. Herennio* at the commencement of the section, and retaining the indicatives throughout. If it be objected that this breaks up the period, we may point to *Iam vero* in § 40 as introducing a new item. For a similar transition cp. ii, 1, § 20, and *ibid.* 2, § 32.

ibid. § 48 (p. 137, 19). *Ita res a me agetur ut in eorum consiliis omnibus non modo aures hominum sed etiam oculi populi Romani interesse videantur*. This is the reading of the dett., and it is found also in p and Harl. 2687. Instead of *oculi populi Romani* DG¹G² and the two codd. at the British Museum give *populus Romanus*. Müller adopts Koch's conjecture *sed etiam oculi et manus interesse videantur*. But it is difficult to see where the hands come in. This is a case where p (as also Par. 7786) is found to reinforce the common tradition: if any change is needed, I might suggest *sed etiam oculi populi Romani animique*, comparing ii, 2, § 150 (p. 254, 14).

ibid. § 55 (p. 139, 20). *nunc id quod facinus* ea ratione facimus ut malitiae illorum consilio nostro occurramus necessario fieri intellegat: ea p D: om. G¹: oratione G²*. Here editors either omit the second *facinus* (Lambinus, Schuelz) or emend *ea ratione*. Müller reads *si ea ratione*, and is followed by Brugnola. It would be much better to read *quia ea ratione*.¹

But a comparison of ii. i. § 12 (p. 145, 13) may well suggest another line of emendation. There the text runs *surum putat esse iudicium, et recte putat*. But for *recte* G¹

¹ For the confusion of *si, quia* cp. Div. in Caec. § 5 (p. 101, 36) *si mihi unus p.* Harl. 2687: *quia mihi unus* G²sa: *cum mihi unus* Ld. If the variation has resulted from the misinterpretation of a

wrongly gives *ratione*: the contraction was the same for both (*rē*). So at iii. § 82 (p. 303, 10) Lg. 42 makes a similar substitution (Muell. on p. 67, 24). If we may suppose that in the passage before us some copyist misinterpreted a compendium, and wrote *ratione* for *recte*, *ea* would soon follow, instead of *et*: as a matter of fact *ea* is omitted by G¹ and Par. 7822, while G² has *oratione*. The true reading may be *nunc id quod facimus et recte facimus ut*, etc. Cp. iii. § 168 (p. 338, 21) *ferendum non putant et recte non putant*.

Act. ii. Lib. i. § 4 (p. 142, 20). *Neque tanta fortunae omnium perniciēs ulla potest accidere quam*, etc. I find *ulla* in *p*: till now it has been cited only from the Scholiast. The codd. all give *accedere*, *accidere* being an emendation of Manutius. It may be for consideration whether *accedere* should not be retained in this passage: cp. the variant *huic . . . nihil possit offensiois accedere*. Cluent. § 10, with note ad. loc.

ibid. § 5 (p. 142, 36 sqq.). *Accessi enim ad invidiam...tollendam ut, cum haec res pro voluntate populi Romani esset iudicata, aliqua ex parte mea diligentia constituta auctoritas iudiciorum videretur, postremo ut esset hoc iudicatum, ut finis aliquando iudiciariae controversiae constitueretur*.

In this sentence *postremo ut* is hopeless, and has been rightly obelized by Müller. But the sequel points the way to a restoration of the true text. Cicero goes on to say that if Verres is convicted, the senatorial jury-courts will be vindicated, whereas if he is acquitted there will be no more to be said for them. Similarly in the sentence above quoted, he begins with *cum haec res pro voluntate populi Romani esset iudicata*, i.e. by a conviction; and an antithesis is obviously required, to correspond with *sin absoluitur, desinemus nos de iudiciis transferendis recusare* in what follows. The next limb of the period under consideration must evidently have contained an anticipation of a contrary issue.

The remedy is less drastic than it looks at first sight. For *postremo ut* read *perperam si*: *postremo* may easily have arisen out of a contracted *perperam*, (*ppā*) and then *si* would very readily pass into *ut*. It may be significant that in Par. 7776 *postremo* is written 'plenis litteris,' i.e. as though it

compendium, it might be allowable to suggest *quoniam*. Similarly at ii, 1, § 54 *p* and Harl. 2687 support the vulgate with *si in eas*. D at first wrote *quin ea*, and then corrected to *si in eas*. The cod. Ld. has *quam*, and Harl. 4105 *quā*.

were the result of interpretation. *Recte* and *perperam iudicare* is a constant antithesis: *pro Caecina* § 69. For *perperam iudicare* cp. also in Verr. ii, 2, §§ 33, 34: *ibid.* § 57: *pro Caecina* § 71.

ibid. § 7 (p. 143, 10). *Rapiunt eum ad supplicium di patrii, quod iste unus inventus est qui*, etc. Here *eum* is omitted by *p* and by the first hand in Lg. 29. The passage would be improved by leaving it out: the previous sentence begins with *Agunt eum praecipitem*. Moreover, *unus* occurs in no MS.: it is due to Priscian. That it is by no means indispensable may be seen from a comparison of ii. 3, § 21 (p. 277, 34): Cluent. § 32.

ibid. § 10 (p. 144, 11), *ne actor quidem est is cui reus tam nocens, tam perditus, tam convictus aut occulte subripi aut impune eripi possit*. All codd. give *victus*, but that Halm was right in reading *convictus* may be conclusively proved by a comparison of the parallel passage at ii. 2, § 27 (p. 208, 31), with which I have dealt in my *Anecdoton*, pp. xxvii.—xxviii. There the words *tam convictus* do not belong to the text, and were in all probability borrowed from the passage before us.

ibid. § 41 (p. 156, 1). This vexed passage may possibly be cured by reading *Ipse* (for *ille*) *miser cum esset Cn. Dolabella, tum proditione...tum improbo...tum multo ex maxima parte* etc. Dolabella was in sore straits anyway (for *Ille miser* cp. § 74, p. 167, 33): but his association with Verres was more fatal to him than even the open hostility of his former quaestor.

ibid. § 54 (p. 160, 6). *Quas enim...urbes adisti...cum in eas vi cum exercitu imperioque invasisses, tamen opinor* etc. *Cum in* is the reading given by Klotz, Kayser, and Müller: and it might be defended palaeographically as the origin of the MS, *quin* G^{12s} et al., for *qui* sometimes usurps the place of *cum* (cp. ii, 2, § 159 ad init.). But I find that *p* has quite distinctly *si in*, and is followed by Harl. 2687: so also D, corrected. This supports Jordan and the vulgate, unless it should be proposed to read *etsi in*.

ibid. § 57 (p. 161, 5). *ea . . . in tabulas publicas ad aerarium perscribenda curavit*. This is the reading of most codd., but Müller rightly doubts the Latinity of *in tabulas perscribere*. The codex of Cuiacius is said to have given in *tabulis publicis*. In *p* I find *in tabula pub.*, and so Lg. 29. This may be right.

ibid. § 60 (p. 162, 9). *Habeo et istius et patris eius accepti tabulas omnes*. How are

we to explain the redundancy *habeo* . . . *accepi*? *Habeo* occurs in *p* and also in Pseudo-Asconius, who, however, gives *accepti* (= *accepti et expensi*?) instead of *accepi*. Editors generally retain *Habeo* and bracket *accepi*. It is noticeable, however, that some codd. (e.g. Lg. 6) have *ab eo* for *Habeo*, and unless we are to suppose that *Habeo* passed into the text from a marginal note (taken perhaps from the phraseology of l. 23), it might be allowable to suggest that it is the mistake of a copyist for *Age vero* (*ū*). *Agere* and *habere* are frequently interchanged: e.g. p. 133, 36.

ibid. § 75 (p. 168, 15) *qui in illa re quid facere potuerit non habebat*. This is the reading of the codd., and is accepted by Müller. But *potuerit* seems impossible. The passage has been variously emended—e.g. *quid facere statueret* Kayser. I propose to read *quid facere oporteret*. In § 103 (p. 178, 37) *G*¹ and other MSS. have *poterat* for *oporteat*. And again at iii. § 113 (p. 314, 20) Lg. 42 alone gives *oportebat* in place of the vulgar *poterit*. For the use of an impersonal verb after *non habeo quid* cp. pro Caec. § 31 *cum quid liqueret non habuistis*.

ibid. § 83 (p. 171, 22) *docebo te . . . transtulisse, neque in eos quos tu insimularis esse animadversum*. Editors take *insimularis* from Pseudo-Asconius (*insimularis* *G*¹²). But the reading of *p* and Par. 7775, as well as of Lg. 29 and Harl. 2687, is *insimularas*, and there seems no sufficient reason why this should not be retained: for other undoubted exx. of the indicative in dependent clauses of indirect speech, cp. § 59 (p. 161, 37) *fecerant . . . solebant*.

ibid. § 93 (p. 175, 10). *Homines, posteaquam reus factus est, alii redditi, alii etiam nunc retinentur*. This is the vulgate: all the best codd., however, omit the first *alii*, and we should therefore read *redditi alii alii etiam nunc retinentur*.

ibid. § 104 (p. 179, 8). Here the generally accepted reading is *quod natura hortabatur lex nulla prohibebat, fecit ut etc.* But there is a remarkable unanimity about the MS. tradition *quod cum natura*. Both families agree, except Lg. 29, which gives *quod cum natura*. Possibly this is the key to the true reading. It is an easy step to insert *tum* (following *hortabatur*) and to read *quod cum natura hort. tum lex nulla prohibebat*.

ibid. § 111 (p. 181, 20). Editors now follow here the *Vaticanus* from which they have taken *multi in isdem causis fuerunt*:

(*causis* is, however, reported by Halm as *causam sis*, p. 449 of the Zürich edition.) This is a striking departure from the unanimous tradition of the other codd., *multi testamenta eodem modo fecerunt*; to the testimony of the MSS. already cited by editors I can now add *p*. and Par. 7775. If the reading of the *Vaticanus* is not merely a marginal note which has crept into the text, we might conjoin both traditions by reading *multi isdem de causis testamenta eodem modo fecerunt*. When the three words *testamenta eodem modo* fell out, as they may conceivably have done if in a contracted form, it would be natural to change *fecerunt* to *fuerunt*.

ibid. § 130 (p. 188, 31) *Qua potestate iste permissa ut ex Cn. Fannio et ex Q. Tadio cognovistis verum tamen etc.* Editors have rightly suspected something wrong here. Madvig supposed a lacuna after *cognovistis* (Opusc. Acad. 1887: p. 260 note). Müller leaves a blank in his text after *permissa*. Müller is undoubtedly right, and what I have to offer here is not an emendation, but a recovery of the genuine text. In Harl. 2687 (which seems to be only in part a duplicate of Lg. 29) I found the words *sic abusus est* following *permissa*. They heal the passage; but as Harl. 2687 is a late MS. (15th cent.), it may be well to report at the same time that in the course of a subsequent collation of *p*. (Par. 7776), which is of the 11th cent., I came again upon the missing words. They must therefore now be restored to the text. 'Est nova lectio,' as editors say: *qua potestate iste permissa sic abusus est ut ex Cn. Fannio et ex Q. Tadio cognovistis: verum tamen etc.*

It is a curious incident in Ciceronian tradition that as these words happened to be missing in the MSS. from which the earliest texts were printed they have remained away till now. It is allowable to suppose that in some lost archetype they may have stood in the margin, and were omitted by the copyist of the deteriores: they certainly do not occur in any of the late MSS. I have tested, nor are they reported from Lg. 29.

ibid. § 143 (p. 192, 36). Here again the *Vaticanus* is at variance with all other MSS. It gives *Quid enim multis*, from which Halm conjectured *quid est in multis*: rather *quid enim? est in multis*. All other codd. have *Quid enim video (uedeo p¹) in multis*, which may be right.

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(To be continued.)

NOTE ON HORACE, *Ep.* I. 2. 31.

It will be found convenient perhaps, if I set down the context of this line first.

Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,
 sponsi Penelopae nebulones Alcinoique
 in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuuentus,
 cui pulcrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
 ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere
 { curam.
 { somnum.

In considering this passage we should of course first try to account for the dittography *curam*. Unless we suppose Horace wrote *somnum*.

both in different editions, we must say that either *curam* is a gloss on *somnum* or *somnum* on *curam*. That *curam* is a gloss on *somnum* is incredible, except as a practical joke played on posterity just as some folk invent conundrums that have no answer. But that *somnum* is a gloss on *curam* is explicable; thus:—‘What is *curam*?’ ‘The business of the Phaeacians.’ ‘What is their business?’ ‘Somnus.’ This is in fact, I think, an answer on the right lines; for their ‘*cura*’ was really ‘*curare cutem*’ *i.e.* indolence and self-indulgence which they made a business of, as Horace says in v. 29 ‘in cute curanda...operata; sleep was of course a part of this but not the chief or essential part of this ‘*cura*’; they slept till noon, ‘then hastened to be drunk, the business of the day’ to use Dryden’s phrase. ‘*Curam*’ however is generally, I believe, rendered ‘anxiety’; but in the first place is Horace likely to have echoed ‘*curanda*’ with ‘*cura*’ in this sense? secondly, what anxiety had the Phaeacians? obviously none.

Assuming then that ‘*curam*’ means ‘their business’, we have still to account for *cessatum*. The explanation usually offered is that it is a supine; and the translation given ‘to induce anxiety to cease’ involves an extremely unlikely use of the supine and

necessitates the taking of *curam* in a sense which, as we have seen, is at least improbable. A simple change will, I believe, put all right. Read *cessatam ducere curam*.

Palaeographically this of course presents no difficulty; and *somnum* if it did not cause the error would help to perpetuate it. Nor grammatically does the passive *cessatam* present a difficulty: Ovid writes (*Fasti* 4. 617.) ‘largaque provenit *cessatis* messis in arvis,’ ‘fields that have lain fallow,’ and also (*Met.* 10. 6. 69) ‘illa moram celeri *cessataque tempora* cursu corrigit,’ ‘makes up lost time’; and the author of *Aetna* has two instances vv. 69 and 389, the former being ‘*cessata uenit per sidera*’ where *cessata* is explained as *quiescentia*. Horace himself is rather free with strange passives *e.g.* (especially) triumphatus (*Od.* 3. 3. 43), and might well have used the passive ‘*cessatam*’ here exactly in the sense that Ovid used it in the *Atalanta* passage.¹

The Phaeacians’ idea of correct conduct in life was to sleep to midday and then to have a long spell of the other forms of indulgence, their real business, that sleep had interrupted: with the passage thus interpreted, *ducere* too has a natural and in the context an expected sense, and there is the required balance to ‘*in medios dormire dies*’: a long spell of sleep, then a long spell of the day’s chief business, sensuous enjoyments.

Another interpretation possible for my ‘*cessatam curam*’ would be ‘idled business,’ *i.e.* they idle through the business of the day; but the run of the passage and Ovid’s ‘*cessata tempora*’ favour more the sense of ‘interrupted.’

I am also inclined to think ‘*somno*’ was the original form of the gloss.

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March 1, 1903.

¹ *Cessatum* as a passive but in agreement with *somnum* is, I find, favoured by Kiessling.

THE DOUBLE RECENSION IN THE POEMS OF PRUDENTIUS.

FROM the point of view of textual criticism the late Latin Christian authors have enjoyed far better fortune than their great classical forerunners. But in this

respect few of them can compare with Rome’s earliest and greatest Christian poet, Prudentius. Dr. Kenyon has recently pointed out how Virgil, richly represented

by early MSS as he is, has not fared so well as the New Testament, but so far as the shortness of the interval between the composition and the earliest extant MS. is concerned, the New Testament itself has not fared so well as Prudentius. The MSS.-tradition of the New Testament begins some two hundred and fifty years after its composition; Prudentius was born in 348 A.D., and published, as we learn from his preface, a collected edition of his poems in 405 A.D., and yet we have a MS. written most probably in the first half of the sixth century, written, that is, little more than a hundred years after the publication of the poems. Apart from the MS. Prudentius would still be fortunate. We possess a considerable portion of another MS. of the seventh century, and from the ninth century onward there is a host of MSS. scattered throughout the monastic world. No other book except the Bible can boast of so many MSS. containing German glosses; some six MSS. contain Old English glosses; and perhaps no other author can show an equal number of early illuminated MSS.

Yet in spite of—or perhaps I should rather say because of—its exceptionally good tradition, the text of Prudentius, though it offers no scope for the ingenuities of emendation, is not altogether lacking in problems to puzzle the critic.

As in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, so here there are clear and unmistakable traces of a double recension of the poems. Take for example the following passages:—

Cath. iii. 100: flauit et indidit ore animam]. Dressel and most MSS. ore animam dedit ex proprio. Put. o. P⁵ and as a variant a. P⁶.

Cath. vi. 6: uis una, lumen unum]. uis ac potestas una Put. P⁵. 2A. 2R. and as a variant a. a. sched. graev.

¹ The following abbreviations of the titles of MSS. will be found—some from Dressel's edition, some from my own collations:—

Put. = Paris Lat. 8688; a = Vat. 3859; o = Alex. 58 A = Guelferbytt; R = Rottendorp; i = Alex. 348; p = Alex. 74; Prag. = Pragensis; q = Alex. 1702; u = Urbin 666; m = Vat. 5321; P² = Paris Lat. 8085; P⁵ = Par. Lat. 8086; P⁶ = Par. Lat. 8088; P⁷ = Par. Lat. 8305; P⁹ = Par. Lat. 8307; K = Köln Dom-bibl. 81; Stutt. = Stuttgart poet in 4^{to}, 6; B² = Bern. 394; Duss. = Düsseldorf F. I; O = Bodleian Auct. F. 3, 6; N = Nomsianus; Laur. = Laurentianus; Ang = Angelicus; H = Heilsbronnensis (now Bodleian Auct. T. 2, 22); Om = St Omer; W = Viennensis; Boh. I = Boheri I (now at Montpellier); T = Thuanus (now Paris Lat. 8087); P¹ = Paris Lat. 8318.

Cath. ix. 58–60:

quinque panibus peresis et gemellis piscibus
adfatum refecta iam sunt adcubantum milia,
fertque qualus ter quaternus ferculorum
fragmina].

Dressel from R. Prag. a. i. p.

ferre qualis ter quaternis ferculorum
fragmina,
adfatum refecta iam sunt adcubantum milia
quinque panibus peresis et gemellis piscibus.

Put. (adcubentum), and most of the MSS.

This is a puzzling passage and perhaps not an instance of a double recension by the poet. Three views occur to one as possible solutions of the passage: either Prudentius—even Christian hymn writers are not infallible—forgot his Bible and afterwards corrected himself: or a later copyist corrected the mistake and invented Dressel's reading; or thirdly we may acquit Prudentius of the mistake, assuming that *fertque qualus ter quaternus* got gradually altered into *ferre qualis ter quaternis*, and then the transposition was made to improve the sense. The difficulty in this third suggestion is that the reading is already found in the Puteanus, and there hardly seems time for the proverbial stupidity of copyists to have made so considerable a change; besides it is strange even for a copyist, if he took sufficient trouble to make an emendation of that kind, not to have taken the trouble to discover that it was quite against the sense of the passage referred to.

Cath. x. 9–16:

Rescissa sed ista seorsum
soluunt hominem perimuntque,
humus excipit arida corpus,
animae rapit aura liquorem.
Quia cuncta creata necesse est
labefacta senescere tandem,
compactaque dissociari
et dissona texta retexi.

Dressel from A. a a. p. q.

Resoluta sed ista seorsum
propriis reuocantur in ortus,
petit halitus aera feruens
humus excipit arida corpus.
Sic cuncta creata necesse est
obitum tolerare supremum,
ut semina dissociata
sibi sumat origo resorbens.

Put. R. a P⁵. H and in the margin Duss. K. P². ⁹. Stutt. Other MSS. combine the two readings in various ways.

Cath. x. 130 : factoris ab ore creatae]. cui nobilis ex patre fons est. Put. O. P^{5.6} and as a variant A. a. p. B². P^{2.7}. Duss. Stutt. In N and H both are given, though in H cui etc. is in a different hand.

Apoth. 247 foll. :

nec sit genitor sibi filius ipse
siue pater natus fuerit, siue ipse repente.
perquam ridiculum est et futile, natus ut
ex se
nascendi noua materies ac se deus ultro
ediderit.

Dressel from Laur-m. q. u.

nec sit genitor sibi filius ipse,
perquam ridiculum est et futile natus ut
ex se
siue supernatus fuerit sibi ipse repente
nascendi etc.

Put. and most MSS. except that they read siue pater natus.

Hamart. Praef. 43 : hic se caduco dedicans mysterio].

Many German MSS. insert after this verse hic qui caduci rem laboris offerens (or simply qui caduci etc.), which is obviously an alternative version, unless it is a line manufactured from glosses.

Hamart. 488 :

quem non aerato machina rostro
arietat insiliens, nec ferrea uerbera quas-
sant.

Put. and others. Other readings are
quem non fragor hosticus aut arietis
uis impacta quatit

or

quem non fragor hosticus arietis aut uis
constitit impacta aut aerato etc.

and many other variations and combinations.

Psych. Praef. 60 : parente inenarrabili
atque uno satus] Dressel from A. P. R. cett.
Ang. a.

parente natus alto et ineffabili. Put. and
others.

Psych. 726 foll. :

compositis igitur rerum morumque secundis
in commune bonis, postquam intra tuta
morari

contigit ac statione frui ualloe foueri
pacificos sensus et in otia soluere curas,
extruitur media castrorum sede tribunal.

Dressel from the marginal reading of a. w.
NO. CL. VOL. XVII.

in commune bonis tranquillae plebis ad
unum
sensibus in tuta ualli statione locatis
extruitur, etc.

Put. and others. Many combinations are
found in the MSS.

Sym. II. 142-3 :

ne torpens et non exercita uirtus
robur ineruatum gereret sine laude palaes-
trae.

Several MSS. add two verses which are
obviously an alternative for v. 143 :

eneruare suum conrupta per otia robur
posset et in nullo luctamine pigra iaceret.

Per. X. 302 : quos lana terret discolora in
stipite]. Dressel with most of his MSS.

quos uerum latet qui fidunt in stipite,
others.

Epilog. I. : Immolat deo patri is omitted
or occurs only as part of the title of the
poem in many MSS., which then have the
line 'quo regente uiuimus' at the end. It
is probable however that in this case these
words were added later to complete the
metre when the first verse had got mixed
up with the title.

Again there is some doubt in several
passages about the insertion or omission of
a particular line, e.g. after

Ap. 937 quid peccatorum prosapia corpore
in illo, is omitted by Put. and many MSS.

Ham. 69 :

ne quis duo numina credat
[imperitere uagis mundi per inania formis]
om. Put. and many MSS.

Ham. 191. : qui cunctum regeret proprio
moderamine mundum]. Om. Put. and many
MSS. Some MSS. place it after 194.

Ham. 858 :

Ast aliae, quas dira lues errorque malignus
immersit tenebris uastoque obsedit auerno,
haut impune piis semet deesse fatentur
conciliis meritas poenas per saecula ferre
quis patris antiqui aut aegri reuerentis
abyssus
exclusis mundique bonis cum morte potitis.

These verses, with many variants, occur in
some MSS., chiefly German, but they are
omitted by Put. and the French, English,
and Italian MSS.

Differences so many and so important as

these cannot be accounted mere copyists' blunders, nor can we reasonably with some editors speak of 'codices interpolati' and 'codices non interpolati.' There are none of those faults in language and style which stamp almost all interpolations, and anyone attempting to choose between them finds himself in the position of the theological student, who when asked for a list of the major and minor prophets hid his ignorance by refusing to make 'any invidious distinction between those holy men.' The only feasible theory is that in these passages we have clear traces of a double recension of the poems by the author himself; and in that case choice between them is entirely a matter of personal taste; and Dressel's taste, or adherence to his favourite MS., led him in almost all cases to decide against the reading of the oldest MS. Personal taste is however no criterion as to which was the first and which the second draught, for Wordsworth's alterations have shown that a poet's second thoughts are not always the happier. Our only hope is to find some clue in the MSS.

However we may choose to account for the occurrence of two recensions in our MSS., one thing at least is obvious to those who have read Stettiner's careful study of the illustrated MSS. of the *Psychomachia*, that Put. in spite of its age is not the archetype of the other MSS., and in a moment it will be seen that it could not be the archetype of them, as it omits lines which are found in all the others. Now in all the cases cited above, wherever there is a longer and a shorter version it is noticeable that Put. gives the shorter; and that in the case of doubt as to the insertion of a line, Put. invariably omits it. Beside this on three occasions it omits lines which the other MSS. contain (*Apoth.* 160. *Psych. Praef.* 41, 2. *Per.* iv. 181-8) and these lines are such as might well have been either added or excluded.¹ The care with which Put. has been corrected and missing lines added renders it improbable that these omissions were due to mere carelessness; and the possibility suggests itself that Put. preserves a recension different from that of the archetype of the other MSS., though subsequently some readings from it or another MS. of the same recension may have found their way into them. For, whereas in the case of later MSS. one can never be quite certain whether they may not be derived from a combination of several sources, the age alone of such an MS. as Put. renders such a supposition improbable.

¹ The omission of *Per.* iv. 102-105 is more difficult, though even that it is not impossible to explain.

There is one other remarkable omission in Put. the omission of the *Praefatio*. Now it is just the *Praefatio* which tells us that the other MSS. are derived from a complete edition of the poems made in the year 405 A.D.: and the absence of the *Praefatio* is at least a particle of proof in favour of the view. But the Puteanus is a copy taken from a different, and presumably earlier edition. Some slight support of this theory may be found too in the omission of the two books against Symmachus; for the reference to the battle of Pollentia (*Sym.* ii. 720) proves that these must have been some of the last work of the poet before the year 405. It must of course be admitted that the Puteanus is not complete, as it now ends at *Per.* v. 142. Still in the list given in the last lines of the *Praefatio* the books against Symmachus are placed between the *Psychomachia* and the *Peristephanon*, and this has generally been considered the correct order. It is the order of the MS. on which Dressel based his edition, and of the other MSS. Boh. I. T. P⁷. Om. and apparently Arras 670 and the MS. at D'Avanches, which are connected with the MS. P¹ of Stettiner's stemma. This class, as Stettiner proves, preserves most faithfully the tradition of the archetype as regards the illustrations of the *Psychomachia*; and so one would naturally expect it also to preserve the true order of the poems. Still more would one expect it of a MS. of the age of Put.; and so it seems probable that the two books against Symmachus were not transposed, and then lost with the rest of the *Peristephanon*, but were originally omitted: and as the *Praefatio* is also omitted, there certainly seems a great possibility, that Puteanus is a representative of an earlier edition than that of 405.

Of course it does not follow that Put. is itself older than the year 405. It is true that the early palaeographers in their enthusiasm claimed the MS. for the fourth century, the lifetime, that is to say, of the poet. But their enthusiasm carried them too far; and it may with more probability be assigned to the fifth or early sixth century. It would be difficult and precarious to attempt to decide between the fifth or sixth century on palaeographical grounds; and fortunately we have a far more definite and palpable clue to the date. On p. 45 at the end of the *Cathemerinon* occur the signature + ///tius Agorius Basilius. M. Delisle is undoubtedly right in identifying this with the Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius consul in the year 527 A.D. and known to us from the famous subscriptio in

the MSS. of Horace, 'Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius v.c. et inl. excom. dom. excons. ord. legi et ut potui emendavi conferente mihi Magistro Felice oratore urbis Romae.' Over these words much controversy has arisen, some regarding it as part of a *subscriptio* such as that just quoted, written by the hand of Mavortius himself and never completed, presumably because Mavortius was suddenly interrupted, while others hold the incompleteness to be due to the fact that it is a copy of such a *subscriptio* by a later scribe, who left it unfinished through carelessness or because the original was effaced. Neither of these explanations is convincing, and both seem rather examples of that mania for ingenuity which often afflicts the textual critic when confronted with the simplest problem. To imagine an interruption so sudden and important that Mavortius could not complete his sentence is surely rash. Nor is the theory that it is a copy of an effaced *subscriptio* much more probable; for as no one assigns the MS. to a later date than the sixth century, there was not much time for a *subscriptio*, especially in the middle of a book and consequently not much exposed, to have become effaced. Besides if it were a *subscriptio* we should expect it to be written formally under the text, whereas it is added casually after a space of about half a page. Had the name been John Henry Smith, or, as some are mystified by the omission of the name Mavortius, even John Henry alone, no one would ever have supposed that it was put there for any better reason than just because it was, or because Mr. Smith wanted to try a new pen. Why should not Mavortius be allowed the same

human weaknesses? There is little doubt that the name is in Mavortius' own handwriting; and as the marginalia are in the same hand, he was probably revising a copy made for himself. If so the date of the MS. would be the first half of the sixth century. It is not at all impossible that the first corrections of the copyist's blunders are also by his hand, though the change to capitals prevents us from asserting it positively: and in that case, though there is no *subscriptio*, the MS. would be an instructive illustration of what the 'legi et emendavi' of the ancient editors actually meant.

But 'revenons à nos moutons.' The suggested explanation of the variants cited above is that they are ultimately derived from two different editions of the poems; to one of which, the latest, made in the year 405 A.D., the archetype of most of our MSS. may be traced, while the other is represented by the Puteanus. Of course it is only a theory and a rash one; but it appears at least to be one not impossible way out of the difficulty. The difficulty is complicated by the fact that Put. in cases of double recension generally has the support of some MSS. belonging to the other class and asserting their descent from the edition of 405 by the Praefatio. But this is no deathblow to the theory. Even if Put. was the sole surviving representative of the earlier recension, of which we cannot be certain, intercourse between two different classes of MSS. is a constant phenomenon in textual criticism. Besides the ways of mediaeval copyists are many and strange, and I, at least, do not pretend to unravel them. Homo sum non Oedipus.

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A NOTE ON VIRGILIUS MARO.

Most of the commentators on this grammarian of the decadence are agreed that he is full of 'the silliest and most tasteless conceits' (Teuffel and Schwabe, translated by Warr p. 572), and 'extremely ignorant of what a grammarian should know; the rules of grammar' (Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* p. 85). But Huemer rightly remarks that useless as are the *Epitomae* of this grammarian for the purpose of throwing any light on the grammar of classical Latin, they are of the greatest importance for the information

which they give us as to the grammar and stock of words used by the Latin writers in Gaul at the time in which he wrote. Virgilius tells us that the Gauls were his compatriots (Huemer p. 137) and states that he intends to write 'de potestate (literarum) bigerro sermone,' i.e. the dialect spoken in the Celtiberian district in Aquitania inhabited by the Biggeriones: cf. Paulus Ausonio v. 246 *Dignaque pellitis habitas deserta Bigerris*. He probably flourished near the end of the seventh century (see the references in Huemer's

edition). In order to trace the meaning and origin of many of the strange words employed by Virgilius it would be necessary to know the oldest forms of Baskish, as well as those of Celtic: and it is as an appeal to scholars who are competent, by reason of their knowledge of these languages, to throw light on these interesting forms, that this note is published.

Meantime I think that I have been able to make out a few of the hitherto unexplained words occurring on pp. 89 and 90 of Huemer's edition. I am certain that some scholar who has the opportunity of working in the Library of the British Museum would be able to explain many of the rest.

Virgilius Maro states p. 88 that Virgilius Assianus had written notes for him (*notas caraxavit*) when the former was a youth: and that he likewise had written a splendid work on the twelve different kinds of Latin-ity: which he thus proceeds to describe.

I. *prima*, inquit, est usitata, quae in usu Romanae eloquentiae habetur et qua scripturae Latinae atramentantur, id est scribuntur. By this he means that the first kind is the ordinary Latin written and spoken in his Province; not classical Latin.

II. *assena*: hoc est notaria, quae una tantum littera pro toto sono contenta est, et haec quibusdam formulis picta. By this he means the symbols (in most cases consisting of one or more letters) which stand before a paragraph and are illuminated in monkish MSS, or abbreviations like &c. The word *assena* seems to be 'ad signa': and to point to the derivation of modern French *assener*: the meaning of the word in old French seems to confirm this derivation: see Paget Toynbee, glossary ad. verb. Körting connects the word with German *Sinn*: OFr *sen*, understanding: but it seems probable that our grammarian connected the word with *signum*.

III. *Semedia*: hoc est nec tota inusitata nec tota usitata, ut est mota gelus, id est mons altus, et *gilmola* pro gula. This seems to mean that some writers adopt a method of writing which partially disguises the words which they wish to use: they affect a baby language like that used by Lewis Carroll in the Hunting of the Snark. In this case it would be of interest to discover whether the word were partially made up of non-Latin elements: in this respect resembling Pigeon English.

IV. *numerosa*, quae proprios numeros habet, ut *nim unus*, *dun duo*, *tor tres*, *quir quatuor*, *quan quinque*, *ses sex*, *sem septem*,

onx octo, *amin novem*, *ple decem* quod dictum de plenitudine est. Et sic *nimpe undecim* usque ad *plasin viginti*, et *torlasin triginta*, et *quirlasin quadraginta*, usque ad *bectan centum* et pervenit usque ad *colephin mille* et reliqua.

In this statement he means to say that there is a kind of abbreviated conventional notation of the numerals: just as we used to employ the French numerals for scoring at backgammon: pronouncing them in a method not wholly French nor wholly English: or as, again, in Yorkshire it was customary among the shepherds to keep tally of their sheep by the use of words which were proved to be a corruption of the Celtic names of the numbers. In this sentence *plasin* needs explanation: the *in* may be the Hebrew plural: for our grammarian knew Hebrew: *bectan* and *colephin* must be corruptions of *ἐκατόν* and *χίλιοι* respectively.

V. *metrofia* hoc est intellectualis, ut dicantabat, id est principium: *sade* id est iustitia: *gno* utilitas: *bora* hoc est fortitudo: *ter* hoc est dualitas coniugalis: *rfoph* hoc est veneratio: *brops* hoc est pietas: *rihph* hoc est hilaritas: *gal* hoc est regnum: *fkal* hoc est religio: *clitps* hoc est nobilitas: *mymos* dignitas: *fann* hoc est recognitio: *ulio* hoc est honor: *gabpal* hoc est obsequium: *blagth* hoc est lux solis: *merc* hoc est pluvia: *pal* dies et nox: *gatr* hoc est pax: *biun* hoc est aqua et ignis: *spax* longevitas: ex his rebus mundus totus gubernatur et prosperatur.

This is the most puzzling paragraph of all: it may be noted that some of the words are given in a somewhat different form in the Fragmentum Angelicum p. 95.

Metrofia needs explanation. I believe it to be metaphorical. The meaning seems to be that certain abstract terms relating to the natural order of the universe have a conventional notation: some of the names of these terms seem to be made up of Latin disfigured and distorted: some of Celtic and some of some other language (Baskish?). *Dicantabat* seems to be *de quando abit* (cf. his use of *quoquihabin* for *coquendi habere vim*, p. 6) and is a good instance of the Low Latin habit of fusing two words (cf. *avec*, &c.): *sade*: is it possible to connect this word with the Russian 'sudit' to judge? *gno* seems to be the Celtic word *gnion* = ratio: see Holder, *Alt Keltischer Sprachschatz* s. v: *bora* seems to be the termination of *ro-bora*: *ter* seems to be the last syllable of *uter*. *rfoph* seems a crippled and maimed form of *reverentia*: *brops* of

probitas: rihph of risus: gal of Gallia, or of re-gal-e? fkal possibly of Kalendæ: cltaps of the Celtic word represented by the root clo-to berühmt (see Holder s. v) possibly with a memory of inclitus: mymos may be connected with *ὀνομάζω*: fann, ulio, and gabpal need explanation, the latter word seems to = Irish gabhail, submission: blagth = blancus: (the German word which ousted albus): merc? pal? biun? spax = spatium. The other kinds of Latinity described are VI lumbrosa? longiosa: in which a long periphrasis is used for an expression: the words here cited by Maro are all strange.

VII. Sincolla (σύγκολλα) or abbreviated: in this case one word is made to do duty for a sentence as 'gears,' bona colligite.

VIII. belsavia id est perversa: this is explained as a substitution of one case for another: as lex for legibus, &c. The word belsavia is accepted by Holder as Celtic, but no modern word corresponding to it is suggested. The reference must be to some cryptic method of writing, and it is strange that such a method should have been dignified with the name of 'latinitas.'

IX. presina, hoc est spaciosa: this is explained as when one word has many significations; he takes as his example the word *sur* which signifies vel campus, vel spado, vel gladius, vel amnis. In Irish the word *suir* = amnis.

X. militana hoc est multimoda: this 'latinitas' is when a single word has many synonyms: as for the act of running gammon, sualin, selon, rabbath. Of these gammon at least seems a Celtic word, cf. cambā, and modern French jambe.

XI. Spela, hoc est humillima: is a style which substitutes common or vulgar words for those in ordinary MS.: much as we might substitute 'puss' for 'cat' or 'hare.' It is noticeable that all the instances adduced by Maro are of vulgar names given to animals or birds: the word spela may be a loan word from OHG *Spil.*: gabul is evidently OFr. gopil, goupil a fox: gariga, a crane, seems connected with the Celtic word garanus; lena is merely a corruption of the last two syllables of gallina.

XII. polema hoc est superna: this seems to signify a conventional nomenclature for religious subjects: some of the instances given by Maro seem to be drawn from Latin language material and others from some other source.

There are a few other noteworthy words used by Maro: he seems occasionally to use loan-words from the German: thus p. 1 (de Sapientia) nemo sane in hac me carpat pada: this word seems to be the OHG Pfad, our 'path,' and to be used in the sense of way: on p. 28 goela translated by 'lectus' is apparently intended for gula, but in sense corresponds to German geil, though it appears that the meaning of geil = libidinosus is of NHG times. The form poera for pavor explains the French form peur. On p. 36 we are expressly told that accusare is used for 'to do': accusate quod rectum est, hoc est agite. This use seems identical with that seen in the French accuser réception d'une lettre, &c. Con is used for apud as p. 42, 74.

H. A. STRONG.

NOTES.

A CORRECTION IN SOLON.

ἰμέων δ' εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἴχνησι βάλνει
 σύμπασιν δ' ὁμῖν χαῖνος ἐνεστι νόος.
 εἰς γὰρ γλώσσαν ὀρύττε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἰμύλου ἀνδρός.
 εἰς ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν γιγνόμενον βλέπετε.
 SOLON 9 (Hiller-Bergk).

In line 2 for χαῖνος read *χηνός*: 'individual Athenians are sharp as foxes, but taken in the lump Athenians have but the wits of geese who follow in flocks where any one leads them.' Compare of course Thuc. iii. 38. 3, 4.

W. S. HADLEY.

* *

ON SOPHOCLES'S *Electra*, 683 sq.

In the words:

ὄτ' ἤισθετ' ἀνδρὸς ὀρθίων κηρυγμάτων
 δρόμον προκηρύξαντος κτέ.

I have already hinted in this *Review* (xvii. 6) that, because προκηρύξαντος is in the aorist, the phrases ἀνδρὸς προκηρύξαντος and ὀρθίων κηρυγμάτων (which, by the way, might well be, as has been suggested by Professor van Hwerden, a mistake for ὁ γηρυμάτων) are in conflict; for ἀνδρὸς προκηρύξαντος seems to be intended to depend on the other phrase and such dependence would seem to demand προκηρύσσοντος. I believe we have to do with a fairly ancient corruption and that what Sophocles wrote is ὀρθίωι κηρύγματι (or γηρύματι?). The corruption would be due to the miswriting, or rather misreading, of ὀρθίωι as ὀρθίων and the subsequent assimilation of the following word to that ὀρθίων.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

* *

A PERSIAN PARALLEL TO SOPH. *Ant.* 904.

I have noticed an interesting parallel in Persian literature to the famous crux of Antigone 904 ff.

The writer is the Princess Gulbadan, daughter of the Emperor Bābar, and the passage is in her *Memoirs*, or *History of Humāyūn* (pp. 198 f. of Mrs. Beveridge's translation). In deploring the death of her brother, she exclaims 'Would to Heaven that merciless sword had touched my heart and eyes, or Sa'adat-yār my son's, or Khizr Khwāja Khān's.'

Here is a good woman, writing without strivings after rhetorical effect, and yet avowing that her brother's life was dearer to her than her own, or the life of her husband and child. Do we understand as much of human nature as we imagine?

L. D. BARNETT.

REVIEWS.

RADERMACHER'S *DEMETRIUS DE ELOCUTIONE*.

Demetrii Phalerei qui dicitur de Elocutione libellus. Praefatus recensuit adnotavitque LUDOVICUS RADERMACHER. Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. MCMi. Pp. xvi, 132. 5 m.

THE scheme of this book suggests a general question of some interest. As the editor tells us in his Preface, he writes for specialists and not for 'studious youth.' One cannot help wondering whether the claims of these two classes are altogether irreconcilable, and whether Dr. Radermacher might not with advantage have kept in mind not only the rhetorical specialist, but also the literary youth—even at the risk of being taunted with the production of a 'school edition.' Once he had decided to produce not simply a plain text but an annotated edition, and an annotated edition of a book so seldom issued even in Germany as the *De Elocutione*, he would have done well, I think, to allow himself a latitude which may possibly not be necessary in the case of more familiar authors. Let me briefly illustrate my meaning.

A tabular analysis of the work on *Style* is a great aid to its due appreciation. Dr. Radermacher offers no formal summary of the contents. He rightly relegates to his critical footnotes those Greek headings which, though found in the Paris manuscript, are clearly not the author's own, and are often a hindrance rather than a help to the reader. But he nowhere gives prominence to the five cardinal divisions (*chapters* one might almost say) of the treatise, viz., I. Prefatory Remarks on Sentence-Formation, II. The Elevated Style, III. The Elegant Style, IV. The Plain Style, V. The Forcible Style. Yet once the reader clearly grasps the fact that its main subject is the Four Types of Literary Style, in the discussion of which certain recurring subdivisions are employed, the treatise gains immensely in

coherence and in interest. We are no longer incommoded by that 'slightly heterogeneous and higgledy-piggledy arrangement' of which Mr. Saintsbury (*History of Criticism*, I. 104) has complained. It is, of course, true that the writer allows himself an occasional digression. But so do all writers on literary criticism; and remembering the nature of the subject-matter, we do not expect in essays of this kind any rigid adherence to a systematic plan nor any pedantically absolute classification. We are well content to find, arranged within a convenient and elastic framework, a multitude of those detailed observations and illustrations in which the main value of such disquisitions must always lie.

A translation, too, has its uses. Dr. Radermacher seems to think lightly of the art. And yet the practice of translation is one of the means by which the scholar most effectually teaches himself. An editor who writes solely for specialists does his work all the better when he prepares (even if he does not publish) a translation of the text he is editing. He is forced, in this way as in no other way, to face the real difficulties of his task. The edition under review would certainly have gained by the wholesome discipline of translation, and to the student one of the attendant advantages would be that, where Dr. Radermacher passes over an entire page of the text without comment, we should at least have known his general conception of the meaning of the often difficult Greek.

Again, one could wish that the editor had given us an introductory sketch of the theory (with an occasional glance at the practice) of Greek prose style, since even the vexed problem of authorship can hardly be understood without some such aid. Something might also be said in favour of treating more fully the rhetorical vocabulary and bibliography of the treatise and of adopting a more comprehensive plan.

generally. But it is not necessary further to support my contention. The main point is that, unless the classics are to become simply 'a study for specialists' (*C.R.*, xv. 290), an endeavour should surely be made to render such books as the *De Elocutione* more generally known and accessible. Even the jaded schoolboy, if only the difficulties of Demetrius' language were smoothed away for him, might gain stimulus from the *Treatise on Style*; and this in two ways. First and foremost, he would return to his study of the great authors of Greece with an added zest and appreciation; and in the second place, he would be better able to connect his classical reading with those studies of English literature and English composition whose importance is becoming more fully recognized day by day. The *De Elocutione* does not, it is true, like the *Treatise on the Sublime*, bring Hebrew, Greek, and Latin literature into relation with one another, nor does it, like the works of Dionysius, proclaim the indebtedness of Greek critics to Roman lovers of literature. But it shows with what care, discrimination, and independence the Greeks appraised the merits and defects of their own writers; and since the principles on which it rests are permanent, and applicable to modern as well as to ancient languages, it may be found to contribute something to that revived—that enlarged and liberalised—Rhetoric which is likely to form the rallying-point of literary studies amid the many dangers with which they are at present threatened.

We proceed to consider the work actually attempted by Dr. Radermacher, bearing in mind that there is no more useful rule of criticism than that which bids us discriminate between what an editor has intended, and has not intended, to perform. The chief feature of this edition is a recension of the *De Elocutione*, based on a new collation of those folia of P 1741 which contain it. A new collation was certainly desirable. Victorius had, indeed, made use of this the primary manuscript in editing both the *De Elocutione* (1552 A.D.) and Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1548 A.D.); but his collation, though accurate in most respects, hardly answers to modern requirements. Spengel, editing the *De Elocutione* three centuries later, reproduced Victorius' collation without alteration or supplement. Since Spengel's time, C. Hammer and H. Schenkl have published the results (particularly full in Schenkl's case) of their examination of this part of the Paris manu-

script, but Radermacher has gone further and provided a full collation made with true German conscientiousness. Occasionally he misses a reading which, though of no great importance in itself, he would certainly have reported had he observed it; e.g. ἄμα (not ἄρα) in § 83, περὶ περιόδου (rather than περὶ περιόδων) as the heading in § 10, ση ὅτι μόνος κτλ. in the margin of § 36; and so with similar trifles in the later sections.¹ But these oversights are few and exceptional, and on the whole this part of his work has been excellently accomplished by Radermacher. Nor can it be said that any labour is misplaced when bestowed even on the slightest aberrations of a codex which may be regarded as one of the sacred books of literary criticism, containing as it does not only the *De Elocutione*, but the *De Compositione Verborum* of Dionysius and (above all) the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* of Aristotle. And if (as it seems likely) classical scholarship in the present century will be much occupied with the study of Hellenistic Greek, then some interest attaches to such forms as ἀπεκατέστησεν (§ 196: the double augment of ἀποκαθίστημι is frequently found in the best MSS. of the LXX.: cp. also J. H. Moulton in this *Review*, xv. 435), or to the perpetual confusion of ο and ω (of which confusion the Letter of Gemellus in the Fayūm Papyri, p. 265, furnishes a remarkable number of examples). The alternative forms indifferently presented by so excellent a manuscript as P 1741 (e.g. ἡνέμνησεν in § 297, but ἀνέμνησεν side by side with ἀπεκατέστησεν in § 196; σσ and ττ in juxtaposition, as in ἀνθυπαλλίσσοντα διαπαττομένω, § 59; and similarly μικρός and σμικρός, γίγνεσθαι and γίνεσθαι) deserve a faithful record if only because inscriptions and papyri show how much ancient authority supports these strange vacillations, which might otherwise be attributed to the mere caprice of Byzantine copyists. Whether the author himself can really have omitted ἀν with the optative in such a sentence as ποιητὴν γὰρ αὐτὸν καλοῖη τις εἰκότως (§ 215) is a debatable point; but even here there is (in the present state of our knowledge of later Greek, when so much harm has been done to scientific grammar by editing the texts of post-classical authors according to the requirements of the classical period) something to be said for bringing irregular constructions into due relief by not only reporting them

¹ In § 156 ἔγραφεν must surely be a misprint for ἔγραψεν.

but also leaving them unchanged in the text.

P 1741 is clearly the source from which all existing manuscripts of the *De Elocutione* are derived, and Radermacher might therefore have spared the occasional references (resting necessarily on the reports of former editors) in his critical footnotes to one or other of the inferior manuscripts. Instead of these references, he might well have inserted in the margin of his text the numbers of the folia of the primary manuscript which he has himself collated and (if possible) have supplied some facsimile specimens of it. The textual issues raised by the presence of numerous alterations in the text of P 1741 are difficult, and I am not sure that R. has found altogether the right solution of them. In his *Praefatio* (p. vii.) he well says: 'namque ea quoque accedit difficultas, quod minime ubique diversas scribarum manus tanta cum fiducia licet distinguere, ut animo dicas tranquillo, hanc illamve correcturam ab altero homine correctore esse inventam, non ab eo, qui primus libellum exaravit. fuit certe tempus, quo manuum varietatis discernendae adeo mirabile inter nos philologos vigeret studium, ut si quis duas tantum manus dinosceret, vix contentus esset, si tres, rem bene actam existimaret, si tamen quattuor, praeter ceteros laudabilem operam sese impertivisse crederet. quorum ego minime ardorem vitupero, sed rei difficultatem expertus novi.' My own criticism of R. would be that he has given us not too few but too many of these refinements. It is hard, for example, to see why dots used to indicate faulty letters should be assigned to 'P²,' when there is nothing in the ink or in anything else to prove that they were not added by the original hand on going through the manuscript again and marking (without actually correcting) obvious blunders. In the passage already quoted R. proceeds, 'itaque si locis non nullis nihil amplius adnotavi quam scripturam, quae antea fuerat, esse correctam, si praeterea "fortasse eadem manu" hic illic addidi, dubitationem meam indicare statui, cuius causa fortasse nulla est, sed praestare volui quae potui, non quae alii possunt.' This hesitation seems to need no apology but to be truly scientific. With the exception of comparatively late corrections (which should be marked as such), the alterations found in P are written either in the original hand or in one not easily distinguishable from it, and they seem to depend partly on a more accurate re-reading

of the original manuscript, partly on the use of another representing possibly a somewhat different tradition. I desire to show, by specific instances, that R. would have been well advised to put greater faith in the corrections found in P.

In § 288 R.'s text runs: εὐπρεπείας μὲν, οἷον ὡς Πλάτων Ἀρίστιππον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον λαιδορῆσαι θελήσας, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὀψοφαγοῦντας δεδεμένους Σωκράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ μὴ διαλύσαντας τὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ διδάσκαλον, καίτοι οὐχ ὅλους ἀπέχοντας διακοσίους σταδίους τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. His critical footnote is: 'διαλύσαντας τὸν ἑταῖρον Gregorius, διαλύσαντας τὸν ἕτερον P¹, διαπλεύσαντας ὡς τὸν ἑταῖρον P².' Now, although διαλύσαντας has the recommendation of being the harder reading, and although it is given by Gregorius (Metropolitan of Corinth: not earlier than the twelfth century of our era), can it really be defended? If the word is right, its meaning here must be 'to liberate': λύσαντας is given as its equivalent by Gregorius in his paraphrase. But this meaning can be established from no other source, and in the *De Elocutione* itself (§§ 13, 15, 21, 46, 192, 193, 271, 301) the verb διαλύειν is, like the noun διάλυσις, applied to disconnected as distinguished from periodic style. This technical sense it bears throughout, and this only. I find it difficult, therefore, to believe that in this single section διαλύειν has a different meaning, a meaning not elsewhere found, and (what is more) a meaning which seems to rob the sentence of all point, since Aristippus and Cleombrotus were under no peculiar obligation to free their master, nor does the question of liberation really arise in this passage of the *Phaedo* (59 B, c.). The truth seems to be that, by a kind of 'unconscious iteration' (*Classical Review*, xvi. 256), the scribe has written διαλύσαντας in mistake for διαπλεύσαντας. The latter gives the excellent sense, 'and did not cross the channel to visit their friend and master, although they were less than thirty miles from Athens at the time.' The point made by the author of the *De Elocutione* (who intentionally overstates the distance) is that Plato had rebuked the pleasure-loving founder of the Cyrenaic school for not hastening to the side of his condemned master. Whether Plato really meant this may be doubtful, though the contrast between Πλάτων δέ, οἶμαι, ἡσθένει (*Phaed.* 59 B) and ἐν Αἰγίνῃ γὰρ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι (*ibid.* 59 c) is noteworthy; but Demetrius, reflecting probably some tradition of the philosophical schools, makes his own meaning

clear by his reference to feasting (ὄψοφα-
γοῦντας: no such imputation is made in the
Phaedo) and to the school of Aristippus
(τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρίστιππον, § 288 fin.). I
ought, in fairness, to add that, according to
my collation of the Paris manuscript, the
word ὥς does not occur in it, whether as a
correction or otherwise. If R., who is a care-
ful collator, is right, so much the better for
my case. But if he is wrong, then we may
conjecture that, in the manuscript from
which the correction is introduced, ὥς had
disappeared because of its resemblance to
the final syllable of διαπλεύσαντας, and that
this circumstance had contributed to the
corruption διαλύσαντας. It is with regret
that one finds this difficult passage passed
over, without any attempt at elucidation,
in R.'s commentary.—In § 66 R. has: † καὶ
ἀναδίπλωσις δέ που εἰργάσατο μέγεθος, ὥς
Ἡρόδοτος δρακόντων δέ που, φησίν,
ἦσαν κτλ., with the footnote: 'ἀναδίπλωσις
δέ που P² ἀναδιπλώσας δ' ἔπος P¹'. I should
prefer to read καὶ ἀναδίπλωσις δ' ἔπος for
three reasons: (1) this seems to be meant
by the correction (made, I think, by a later
hand than that usually designated 'P²' by

R.), viz. καὶ ἀναδιπλώσας δ' ἔπος; (2) it
appears unlikely that the author would
write δέ που when those words appear
immediately afterwards in the extract from
Herodotus; (3) the parallel phrase ἡ
δίπλωσις τοῦ ὀνόματος occurs in § 116.—
Further examples of what I mean will be
found in §§ 10, 18, 24, 55, 240 etc.

The conjectural emendations which
Radermacher makes in the text are often
attractive. For example, ὥσπερ ὁ τοῖόςδε
ἔχει (for P's ἐκεῖ, § 43: cp. § 164), and καθὼς
(for P's καὶ ὥς, § 98), seem to take fuller
account of the manuscript reading than
mere omissions do. In § 99 χαμᾶθεν may
be right, but in that case would it not be
better to adopt it also in § 243? In § 143
ἡ ἐκ συνθέτου του ὀνόματος καὶ διθυραμβικοῦ is
possible, but I should prefer to admit P's
τοῦ as a dittography, and I notice that in
§ 275 Radermacher himself gives γίνεται δέ
καὶ ἐκ συνθέτου ὀνόματος δεινότης, where
the absence of του seems more in accord
with Demetrius' general love of brevity
(cp. also §§ 34, 35).—In § 188 λεπταῖς (for
δέ γε ταῖς), is, with good reason, admitted
into his text by Radermacher, who sug-
gested the emendation some time ago in
the *Rheinisches Museum*. Not so good is
the substitution of ἐν κείσθω for ἐγκείσθω in
the sentence ὅτι δέ ὑποκριτικὸν ἡ λύσις, παρά-
δειγμα ἐγκείσθω τόδε (§ 194); there is more

ingenuity in his suggestion (not incor-
porated in the text) that τὸ δὲ ἀσύνδετον
καὶ διαλελυμένον ὄλον ἀσαφές πᾶν ἀθλος γὰρ
ἢ ἐκάστον κώλον ἀρχὴ διὰ τὴν λύσιν (§ 192)
should be written as follows: τὸ δὲ ἀσύνδετον
καὶ διαλελυμένον ὄλον ἀσαφές πανάθλος γὰρ
ἢ ἐκάστον κώλον κτλ.—In § 29 the text should
run: γίνεται μέντοι γε χρήσιμά ποτε, ὥς
Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, 'ἐγὼ ἐκ μὲν Ἀθηνῶν εἰς
Στάγειρα ἦλθον διὰ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, ἐκ
δὲ Σταγείρων εἰς Ἀθήνας διὰ τὸν χεῖμῶνα τὸν
μέγαν'· εἰ γοῦν ἀφέλοις τὸ ἕτερον 'μέγαν,' συν-
αφαιρήσῃ καὶ τὴν χάριν. Radermacher reads
τὸ ἕτερον μέγα (in place of μέγαν) with P.
But μέγαν is surely required; and for
another instance in which P erroneously
gives μέγα for μέγαν, cp. § 61 τὸν δὲ Νιρέα,
αὐτὸν τε ὄντα μικρὸν καὶ τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ
μικρότερα, τρεῖς ναῦς καὶ ὀλίγους ἄνδρας, μέγαν
καὶ μεγάλα ἐποίησεν καὶ πολλὰ ἀντ' ὀλίγων, τῷ
σχήματι διπλῶ καὶ μικτῶ χρησάμενος ἐξ
ἐπαναφορᾶς τε καὶ διαλύσεως. Here Rader-
macher does not follow P in reading μέγα
καὶ μεγάλα ἐποίησεν.

When Dr. Radermacher is unable to
emend or explain a passage himself, and is
dissatisfied with the emendations or explan-
ations offered by others, he marks it as
corrupt. This practice is worthy of all
commendation. Classical scholarship would
be much forwarded if editors would (in
their text or in their notes) frankly own
their doubts. In Radermacher's text there
are many obelized passages, passages con-
taining (in his opinion) unsolved difficulties.¹

For instance, section 93 is thus printed
by Radermacher: † Ὀνομα δ' ἀντὶ λόγου
τίθεται, ὅλον ὥς Ξενοφῶν φησιν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν
λαβεῖν ὄνον ἄγριον, εἰ μὴ οἱ ἱππεῖς διαστάντες
θηρῶν διαδεχόμενοι. † ὀνόματι, ὅλον ὅτι οἱ μὲν
ὀπισθεν ἐδίωκον, οἱ δ' ἀπῆντων ὑπελαύνοντες
πρόσω, ὥστε τὸν ὄνον ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι.
φυλάττεσθαι μέντοι δεῖ πολλὰ τιθέναι τὰ διπλᾶ
ὀνόματα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔξω λόγου περὶ τὸ εἶδος.
He gives no detailed note on the passage in
his *Adnotationes*, but leaves it as it stands
above. Still the difficulties, though great,
are perhaps not insurmountable. From his
critical footnote, where he suggests Ἀντὶ
ὀνόματος δὲ λόγος in place of Ὀνομα δ' ἀντὶ
λόγου, it is clear why Radermacher obelizes
the opening words of the section. He
wrongly takes ὄνομα ('word,' not necessarily
'noun') to refer to ὄνον and not (as it
really does) to διαδεχόμενοι. The meaning

¹ At the very beginning of the treatise, Rader-
macher (like Spengel) rightly retains ἡμέτεροις un-
obelized in the text. In support of the manuscript
reading, he refers to W. Christ *Gr. Metrik* ² p. 120,
and might still more appositely have quoted π. ἐρμ.
§ 180 (cp. § 4).

of the whole section is something like this: 'An example of a word used instead of a phrase is Xenophon's sentence: "it was not possible to capture a wild ass unless the mounted men posted themselves apart and gave chase in detachments (by combined movements, manœuvring)." The single word (*διαδεχόμενοι*) is tantamount to saying that some horsemen were in pursuit behind, while others rode forward to meet them, so that the ass was intercepted. The compounding (*διπλᾷ τιθέναι* P, not *δεῖ πολλὰ τιθέναι* as Spengel and Radermacher) of words already compounded should, however, be avoided. Such double composition oversteps the limits of prose-writing.' It is certainly unfortunate that any supposed compound noun ('wild-ass,' *ὄνος ἄγριος*, *ὄναγρος*) should have occurred in the illustrative passage and caused confusion in the minds of interpreters. Peculiarly unfortunate is Spengel's conjecture *δεῖ πολλὰ*. The infinitive *φυλάττεσθαι* needs no *δεῖ* to depend upon, since the infinitive for the imperative is repeatedly used in the *De Elocutione*; and the meaning of P's text clearly is that doubly-compounded verbs (these, e.g. *προσπεριοριζέσθαι*, abound in the *De Sublimitate*, but are comparatively rare in the *De Elocutione*) should be used sparingly in prose. The real difficulty in the section is the dative *ὀνόματι* (rightly obelized by Radermacher), for which no construction can be found unless we resort to conjecture and substitute *δηλῶν* (or the like) for *οἶον*.—In a neighbouring section (§ 95) Radermacher obelizes the word *ξένῳ*, and suggests *Φιλοξένῳ* or some similar proper name. But *τὸ ξένον* ('strangeness,' or 'novelty' of expression; a well-known rhetorical term) seems just the expression required by the context: *ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα μεγαλοπρέπειαν διὰ τὸ οἶον ψόφοις εἰκέναι, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ξένῳ οὐ γὰρ ὄντα ὀνόματα λέγει, ἀλλὰ τότε γινόμενα*, viz. 'Homer (in his capacity of word-coiner) impresses his readers greatly by his employment of words resembling inarticulate sounds, and by their novelty above all. He is not making use of existing words, but of words then being formed.'

Not only does Radermacher obelize rather freely, but he also marks a good many lacunae in the text. In so doing he is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. For example in § 116 he is right in assuming the loss of some words after *τετραχῶς*, since only two of the four varieties of frigid diction recognised by Aristotle are actually named. Clearly there has been an accidental omission here. But at the end of

the same section it does not seem necessary to assume a lacuna after *τὸ ψυχρόν* in the sentence: *γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐν μεταφορᾷ τὸ ψυχρόν, τρέμοντα καὶ ὥχρα τὰ πράγματα.* The example of frigid metaphor is abruptly introduced because it is familiar and because Demetrius loves brevity above all things. Cp. § 201 *ἐν δὲ τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀρκτέον, 'Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις, ἥ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς, ὡς τὸ 'λέγεται Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν πόλιν.'* Neither in § 201, nor in § 241 (where there is a similar ellipsis), does Radermacher discern a lacuna.—In § 113 he supposes that an illustrative quotation has fallen out after *Ἡρόδοτος*, but to me the sentence seems complete: *πλὴν οἱ μὲν γυμνῇ πάντῃ χρῶνται τῇ μιμήσει τῶν ποιητῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ μιμήσει, ἀλλὰ μεταθήσει, καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος.*—Did space permit, I should wish to dispute the necessity of postulating other similar lacunae (e.g. in §§ 134, 164), and to challenge the general statement (p. 99) that '*multis hiatibus scatet Demetrius, qualis ad nostram aetatem pervenit.*' In § 266 the true solution seems to be to adopt Hammer's *λέγει* in place of *λέγειν* (I regret that I have not done so in my text), and to supply *φησί*, or the like, in the first clause of the sentence.

Owing to the fact that conciseness is a predominant characteristic of its author, there is, I think, more need for omission than for addition in a critical text of the *De Elocutione*. The bracket, therefore, must be employed not infrequently. The presence of an interpolation is manifest in § 52, where *ῥίον* has been glossed as *ἄκρα κορυφὴ κρημονῦ* (an addition marked with dots in P); and Radermacher may well, with so clear a case in mind, be right in printing the concluding sentence of § 50 thus: *εἰ δὲ μή, δόξομεν ἐξησθενῆναι [οἶον καταπεπωκέναι ἀπὸ ἰσχυροτέρου ἐπὶ ἀσθενείας].* But I am not sure that he has not pushed the use of the bracket too far. Even in § 130, where I see we agree in bracketing *οὖν*, something may be said for retaining the particle in a resumptive sense, 'well, I mean the passage'; and in § 162 it is just possible, though perhaps not likely, that *καὶ τι διαφέρουσι* is correct and a deliberate anticipation, or introduction, of the opening words in the next section. A still more plausible case might, I consider, be stated in defence of the various words bracketed by Radermacher in §§ 135, 268 (here the slight change of *ἴσως εἴρηται* to *ἐστὶν ὡς εἴρηται* should probably be adopted after Victorius), 271 (a comparison with § 301 seems to show clearly that the words *τοῦτ'*

ἔστι δεινότητα must not be omitted), 293 (μάλιστα after βουλόμενος might better be spared).

On the whole it may be said of Radermacher's treatment of the text that, while marked by much conscientious care, it leaves something to be desired on the side of literary tact and insight. It remains to review those parts of his preface and his commentary which have not already received incidental notice. The general question of authorship is touched upon here and there (e.g. pp. xii.-xiv. 77, 127) throughout the edition. The conclusion reached is that the probabilities (there are no certainties in the case) are that the treatise comes in date, as in treatment of subject-matter, midway between Dionysius and Hermogenes,—that, in fact, it appears to belong to the first century A.D.¹ In re-stating the case, Radermacher sometimes makes greater claims to originality than are perhaps warranted by the facts. Probably it is a momentary forgetfulness which prompts him to say 'quod nondum video esse arcessitum' (p. 100) with regard to an illustrative passage mentioned by Liers (not to go further back than this) in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik* for the year 1887.² Nor does the information, on p. xv., with reference to Strabo as the only author known to have used the word *σκαφίτης*, go beyond the particulars supplied by the larger lexicons; and moreover, any inference based on writings which, like those of Strabo, depend so much on other sources is highly precarious at best. In § 237 it is to be noted that Radermacher reads ὁ Γαδειεύς in place of P's ὁ Γαδηρεύς. If we venture to adopt the palaeographically less probable emendation ὁ Γαδαρεύς, we may discern an allusion to Theodorus of Gadara and so get a definite reference to the period of Augustan Rome. In the commentary generally Radermacher's wide reading in the late Greek writers is constantly proved. For specimens of excellent notes I would

refer to pp. 76, 77, 93, 102, 107 (τῶν τε συμβαινόντων καὶ συμβάντων might further be illustrated by τοῦ μέλλοντος ἢ γινομένου *ἐτι*, § 214), 108 (the intransitive use of *βεβαιῶν* well exemplified from Hippocrates), and 114. For more notes such as these we could well have spared (in whole or part) some others of less importance or relevancy, e.g. those found on pp. 66, 67, 69, 71, 89, 115, 116. The space thus gained might have been used for the elucidation of the many passages in which the student is left without guidance. Granted that 'adnotationes' do not profess to be an exhaustive commentary and that the true scholar will always shrink from the reproach conveyed in the words 'acta agere,' it remains true that in the interpretation of difficult passages, and of rare rhetorical terms, Radermacher should have allowed himself far more scope than he has done. It may seem ungracious to take exception to the personal touches which occasionally enliven the commentary, but one cannot help thinking that some of them might have been omitted, e.g. the references to the furious attacks of Fuhr and the blows of Hammer, p. 85, 89, 90, 99. On p. 99 Radermacher tells us that he thought he discerned 'metri certa vestigia' in the words τὴν κυρβασίαν ὀρθὴν φέρει (*De Elocut.* 160) and had conjecturally constructed a fragmentary line, when his friend Kroll confirmed his surmise: 'haec igitur coniectura nactus eram, cum Aristophanis *Av.* 487 intellegi Krollius me monuit. Papae!' Apropos of Aristophanes, can it be right (with Raderm. p. 117) to regard βαδίζων εἰμί, in the *Frogs* v. 36, as simply a circumlocution for βαδίζω? In his incidental allusions to the *De Sublimitate* Radermacher sometimes misses the mark. I notice that on p. 105 he quotes from the *De Subl.* c. 21 as follows: καὶ εἶση κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως παραγράφων, ὥς τοῦ πάθους τὸ συνδεδιωγμένον καὶ ἀποτραχυνόμενον ἐὰν τοῖς συνδέσμοις ἐξομαλίσῃς, εἰς λειότητα ἄκεντρον τε προπίπτει, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐσβεσται. Possibly there is some misprint in the punctuation of this sentence, as there certainly is in the accentuation of ἄκεντρον τε: at all events, I should prefer to place the comma after λειότητα rather than after ἐξομαλίσῃς. But προπίπτει seems clearly wrong, since προσπίπτει is the reading in P. 2036 and is a compound favoured by the Auctor de Sublimitate (e.g. *de Subl.* c. 39 τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει, οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ *ἐτι* προσπίπτει, misquoted in Goodwin's *Demosthenes on the Crown*, p. 134 as τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει, οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ *ἐτι* σημαίνει). In *de Subl.* c. 16, Radermacher (p. 103) would substitute ἐπιφέρει for

¹ Though agreeing with Radermacher that, on the whole, the first century A.D. is a more likely date than the first century B.C., I do not regard the evidence as conclusive and should be sorry to ignore Demetrius Syrus (*Cic. Brut.* 315) as a possible claimant.

² Finckh was, I believe, the first to direct attention to the passage of Diog. Laert. (vii. 1) here in question. May I also point out that (1) R.'s reading *χλόας* in § 174 has been anticipated by Th. Gomperz (*Philodem und die ästhetischen Schriften der herculanischen Bibliothek*, p. 71); (2) misled apparently by the abbreviation 'Schneid.' in Walz, R. attributes (in § 2) to Schneidewin an emendation due to Schneider?

ὑποφέρει and write διόπερ καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν φθάνων εὐθὺς ἐπιφέρει. But ὑποφέρει ('carries off his feet,' cp. *de Subl.* c. 3 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ὑποφέρονται) is altogether more vivid than ἐπιφέρει ('adds'). It is suggested by Radermacher (p. 108) that, in a quotation from Demosth. in *Mid.* 74 (ὅταν ὡς ἔχθρός, ὅταν κοινούλοις, ὅταν ὡς δοῦλον, as given in *de Subl.* c. 20) the words ὅταν ὡς δοῦλον are a transcriber's erroneous variation of the preceding clause ὅταν κοινούλοις. There is some force in this suggestion since the *Auct. de Subl.*, a little later in the same chapter, gives the quotation correctly as ὅταν κοινούλοις, ὅταν ἐπὶ κόρρη. But I am not sure that, in using the words ὅταν ὡς δοῦλον, he is not deliberately giving the general sense rather than the exact expressions used.—In § 74, does not μέλισμα mean a 'shake' or 'trill'? The context seems to make this likely (though Radermacher apparently understands the passage otherwise): καὶ ἐν ᾧδαϊς δὲ τὰ μελίσματα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς γίνεται τοῦ αὐτοῦ μακροῦ γράμματος, οἷον ᾧδῶν ἐπεμβαλλομένων ᾧδαϊς, ὥστε ἡ τῶν ὁμοίων σύγκρουσις μικρὸν ἔσται τι ᾧδῆς μέρος καὶ μέλισμα, viz. 'In songs, moreover, trills can be made on one and the same long letter, songs being—so to say—piled on songs (melody being ingrafted on melody), so that the concurrence of like vowels may be regarded as a fraction of a song, in fact as a trill.'—I may here add that it would have been well if, when unable to trace to its source any one of the numerous quotations occurring throughout the *De Elocutione*, Radermacher had noted 'auct. anon.' or 'auct. inc.' at the foot of the text (e.g. in § 17 and many other sections), thus directing attention to the uncertain provenance of the passages in question. Doubtless by an accident, no reference is given in § 269, to Demosth. *de Falsa Legat.* 442. In § 85 it is worth remark that Radermacher endorses the usual view that the Theognis who is accredited with the phrase φόρμιγγα ἄχορον is Theognis Tragicus.

In conclusion, let me quote (from his *Praefatio* p. xi) a note in which Radermacher mentions some of the older editions of the *De Elocutione*: 'Aldina Venetiis 1708 (rhetorum vol. iv. p. 457 sq.), Petri Victorii Florentiae prior 8 a. 1552 et altera 4 a. 1562, Morelii Parisiis 1555 et Argentorati 1556, Ilovii Basileae 1557, Caselii Rostochii 1582, Galei Cantabrigii 1676, quae editio repertita est Glasguae 1741 (itaque fallitur vir doctus ille Britannus, qui Demetrium in Britannia typis nondum expressum esse nuper contendit).' The work of Thomas

Gale here referred to is his *Rhetores Selecti. Demetrius Phalereus, Tiberius Rhetor, Anonymus Sophista, Severus Alexandrinus*, in which the *De Elocutione* is printed from a 'Codex Cantabrigiensis,' identical probably (certainly, according to Dr. M. R. James, who sends me a reference to Uffenbach's *Merkwürdige Reisen*, iii. p. 25) with a manuscript still preserved in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge. (The Queens' manuscript should, by the way, be added to the list in Radermacher's *Praefatio* p. viii; in the critical footnotes, e.g. p. 11, he occasionally mentions the 'Codex Cantabrigiensis' on Gale's authority). But what can be said in defence of the modern British scholar to whom error is attributed in Radermacher's note? Perhaps it might be alleged that his statement, incidentally made, was not quite so sweeping or so positive as Radermacher has represented it to be, and that he was thinking of separate critical editions rather than of collections such as Gale's *Rhetores Selecti*. Or it might be enough to plead human infirmity, and to illustrate its operation by a reference to the extract just given from Radermacher himself, where a good many errors nestle close to one another. 'Galei Cantabrigii 1676' should run 'Galei Oxonii 1676' (Gale, though a Cambridge man, having published his book at Oxford); the dates given for the Foulis reprint of Gale, and for Caselius' Rostock edition, should, I think, be 1743 and 1584 respectively; and the statement about the two editions of Morelius is questionable. But it is in the first clause that the most regrettable oversights have occurred. The Aldine edition of the *Rhetores Graeci* was published in 1508, 1509 (not 1708 as given in Radermacher by an obvious misprint); and it consisted of two volumes, not of four. The cause of Radermacher's mistake is clear. He has misread the following note found in some editions of the *De Elocutione*: 'Vid. Fabric. Biblioth. Gr. 4, 31. p. 457-461. Vol. 4. In hac rhetorum Graecorum sylloga extat libellus Demetrii p. 545-573.' This note might certainly be more lucid than it is; but when interpreted in the light of its context, and above all in the dry light of the facts of the case, it means that, in the Aldine *Rhetores*, the *De Elocutione* will be found on pp. 545-573 of the first volume, while some account of the Aldine *Rhetores* will be found in Fabricius *Bibliotheca Graeca* vol. iv, pp. 457-461.

I have already mentioned more than one misprint in the edition under review, and would only add that Radermacher seems to

have been unusually unfortunate in this respect. The cases which I have noticed (and he may be glad to have a note of) fall under the accustomed heads: words misdivided, e.g. *egregi aeemendationes*, p. xi, δηλοῦν p. 100; errors in punctuation, e.g., full stop between *ihrer* and *Entstehung* on p. v and similarly on p. 3 l. 14, p. 5 l. 21, p. 20 l. 23 (though the punctuation in this last case may possibly be designed), and misplaced comma on p. 6 l. 23; accents missing or incorrectly given, e.g. ἐκτείνοντο τις p. 5 l. 29, περιελήφός πάλλα p. 8 l. 4; wrong numerals, e.g. p. 14 (bottom) '32' for '29,' p. 17 'fr. 515 Nauck' for 'fr. 519 Nauck' (though this discrepancy may be due simply to difference of editions, as is the case with the references to V. Rose's collections of the Fragments of Aristotle), p. 26 'Xenophon anab. i. 9, 10' for 'Xenophon anab. i. 8, 10,' p. 34 'Sappho fr. 98 Bergk⁴' for 'Sappho fr. 91 Bergk⁴,' p. 56 (bottom) '19' for '29,' p. 67 an obviously wrong reference to 'quae supra p. 100 protulimus,' p. 118 '§ 14' for '§ 95,' p. 121 'p. 62, 27' for 'p. 60, 27'; misspelt words, e.g. p. vii 'quod capita, tot sensus,' p. 7 (top) ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ for ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ and (in the critical footnotes) 'Finkhius' for 'Finckhius' as given on the previous page, p. 73 'exageratur,' p. 111 'Thucidides,' p. 113 'scibere,' p. 118 παρακολουθούντων and παρακολουθεῖ (for ἐπακολουθούντων and ἐπακολουθεῖ), p. 119 'angustioribus' (for 'angustioribus'), p. 121 'concnit' (for 'concinat'), p. 122 'necessarium,' p. 127 πάθουρ (for πάθους). Luckily few of the above misprints occur

in the text itself, which however gives ἐνθάδε (for ἐνθάδε) on p. 17 l. 18 and καροτεχνία (for κακοτεχνία) on p. 51 l. 32 (this last error apparently being reproduced from Spengel's *Rhetores Graeci*, iii. 315). It is notorious how difficult it is for a writer to purge the printed page from errors of this description. He may have the best of printers, and may start with the laudable determination to blame himself for all accidents, believing that in an ideal edition no accidents will occur. And yet, notwithstanding all his anxious care, they do occur. I, for one, can sympathize fully with Radermacher in his subjection to the common destiny of editors. On p. 187 of my edition of the *De Elocutione* I have seemed (through a press-correction 'in Comedy' foisting itself in at the wrong place instead of taking the place of 'in comedies' in the previous line) to assign Crates the Cynic to Comedy, though the notes on pp. 240, 254 are fortunately clear enough. But worse than this: when a friend has been good enough to render into English verse for me some passages of Greek poetry, I have ill repaid his kindness by overlooking (p. 171) a somewhat grotesque misprint. 'Down gushed the brain, and bespattered the rock-floor round' my friend had written in rendering Homer's description of what happened when the Cyclops dashed two of Ulysses' men like whelps against the ground. Unhappily he is made to write: 'Down gushed the brain, and bespattered the rock-flour round'!

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

GUDEMAN ON PLUTARCH'S *CICERO*.

The Sources of Plutarch's Life of Cicero.
By A. GUDEMAN. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania.) Ginn: Boston, Mass., 1902. Pp. 115.

THE author of this useful little study has at all events laid his foundations broad and deep. He begins by enumerating all works dealing with Cicero which a writer in Plutarch's day could possibly have consulted. Most of these can be promptly set aside as either unimportant or else not used. The remaining ones require at all events a serious examination, and many scholars have held and still hold that Plutarch consulted directly and built chiefly on one or more of

the most important writings of Cicero's contemporaries,—Sallust, Nepos, Tiro, Cicero himself, or perhaps Livy. But to these views Professor Gudeman cannot adhere. He finds trace upon trace showing that Plutarch (i) did not directly use the contemporary or nearest authors, and (ii) did use some later (in fact post-Augustan) authority. Who then was this? There is hardly any one to be found except Suetonius, who, it seems to be admitted, did write a Life of Cicero; and there are various small bits of evidence which yield probabilities of certain degrees that it actually was this Life which Plutarch chiefly followed. In fact, Mr. Gudeman feels convinced that if this

Life 'were extant we should discover that the interdependence' of Plutarch and Suetonius here 'was essentially similar to that which obtains between Plutarch's *Coriolanus* and the corresponding narrative of Dionysius.' But the weak point of Mr. Gudeman's edifice of reasoning seems to me to be the fact that he takes probabilities for certainties, and builds on them too hastily. It is necessary in all such enquiries to remember that a 'probability' may be of all degrees of strength. The new probabilities which his careful study has certainly elicited are but weak when taken singly, and, together, they do not sufficiently corroborate each other to give us confidence in coming to a new conclusion. I have no theory of my own to advance about Plutarch's chief authority; in fact, I perhaps find it more difficult than Mr. Gudeman does to see whom the biographer *could* have used, for I rate his knowledge of Latin lower than Mr. Gudeman would (see p. 3); but, even

without that line of argument, I can go with him in setting aside readily Cicero himself as a direct and main source, and still more readily Tiro. Plutarch cannot have built much on either of these, because he says things inconsistent with what Cicero plainly states, and makes remarks which could not well come out of the mouth of Cicero's friend and admirer Tiro. Plutarch does of course cite Tiro, but he has imported none of his spirit. I go therefore more fully with Mr. Gudeman on the negative than on the positive side of his work; but the essay will unquestionably do much to clear up ideas on the general subject; and his collection of oversights and incompatibilities in Plutarch's story is in itself valuable, even if it yield no key. The second part of the book is a text of Plutarch with a running source-commentary designed to reinforce the conclusions already reached.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

BALL'S *APOCOLOCYNTOSIS* OF SENECA.

Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology: The Satire of Seneca on the Apotheosis of Claudius. By ALLAN PERLEY BALL. New York, 1902. Pp. vi. + 256. 5s. net.

THE appearance of a book of 250 pages on a literary skit which covers but fifteen surprises one at first sight, but our surprise disappears as soon as we call to mind the many-sided interest which this particular bit of literature possesses for us. It is in many respects the best specimen we have of the Menippean satire; it is an historical document as suggestive as it is tantalizing, and a piece of colloquial Latin which is full of nuggets for the student of the *sermo cotidianus*. Is it conceivable that Seneca wrote a satire, which in its point of view, its tone, its style, and its indiscretion is so much at variance with his other works? Why was it known in antiquity as the *Apocolocyntosis* when there is nothing about the pumpkinification of Claudius in it? Does its abrupt ending constitute an appropriate anti-climax, or is it an indication of incompleteness? It is questions like these which lend a fascination to the Apotheosis, and more than justify Dr. Ball in his full discussion of it. His monograph contains an

introduction, the text, and a translation of the *Apocolocyntosis*, critical and exegetical notes, and an index. In the introduction the satire is discussed as an historical document, the question of authorship and the name are considered, and the development of Menippean satire is traced. Literary parallels, manuscripts, and editions and commentators, have a chapter to themselves, and a bibliography is appended. The treatment is not only comprehensive, but it is interesting and readable. It shows, in fact, that attention to literary form and that distinction of style which one has come to expect in a French thesis, but to look for in vain in other scholarly productions.

The Senecan authorship of the satire is, in the opinion of the reviewer, successfully defended against the strictures of Riese, Stahr, and others. Dr. Ball's argument in this connection (pp. 43-44) that Seneca held an unfavourable opinion of Claudius, or at least that his attitude was hostile, might have been materially strengthened by citing Seneca's oration over the dead body of the emperor, which was so ironically extravagant in its praise as to excite Homeric laughter among his auditors. (*Tac. Ann.* 13, 3.) Still more significant were the subsequent utterances of Nero, which, it was

well known (Quint. 8, 5, 18), were inspired by Seneca. Of these Tacitus remarks: 'temporum quoque Claudianorum obliqua insectatione cuncta eius dominationis flagitia in matrem transtulit.' (*Ann.* 14, 11.)

For the vexed question of the title the writer suggests an ingenious hypothesis. He supposes that some wit spoke of Claudius' Deification as a Pumpkinification and that Dio, writing at a much later date of a book of which he had merely heard, 'called it Apocolocyntosis from a loose recollection of a mere conversational epithet.' This theory relieves one from the necessity of supposing that some pages at the end, which described the conversion of Claudius into a pumpkin, have been lost. To the mind of the reviewer not only is the abruptness with which the satire ends eminently Horatian and dramatic, but the final disposal of the emperor is exquisitely humorous and appropriate. Claudius' inability to find his place in the world above is cleverly satirized in the difficulty which even Aeacus feels in making him fit into the order of things below, until finally Aeacus hits on the happy idea of making him the law-clerk of a freedman—a peculiarly appropriate method of disposing of an emperor who, when living, had laboriously floundered in legal technicalities, and had been under the control of the freedmen of his court.

Dr. Ball's lexicographical notes on the satire show a careful reading of Petronius. In this way he has been able to adduce parallels to many words and phrases which are found in Seneca and Petronius only. The notes on 'alogia' (pp. 69 and 184), which has been a stumbling-block to so many commentators, furnish a case in point. It would have been well, however, to carry the comparison still deeper. There are many interesting points of similarity and contrast between the Apocolocyntosis and the Satirae which might have been brought out in this way. The two works are strictly contemporaneous. They are both cast in the form of the Menippean satire, and they are similar in tone. For these reasons, in the chapter on Menippean satire we should have liked to see, for instance, a discussion of the way in which the verses are interwoven in the narrative by each of the two authors, of the reasons which led to the adoption of one metre at one point and another elsewhere, and of the methods which the two writers use to produce comic

effects. A comparison of the Greek element in the two books would also be instructive.

The commentary is very complete, and the comments are acute and judicious. We miss notes, however, on the slang word 'calcasti' 6, on the colloquial words 'subalbam' 13, and 'excandescit' (without 'ira') 6, on 'sterquilino' 7, and on 'pauculos' 3, as a substantive. In discussing colloquial words and phrases in the Apocolocyntosis (p. 72), Dr. Ball makes the interesting observation that 'plebeian elements seem to be grouped where they are wanted with a certain dramatic consistency, and that, for instance, the conversation between the comic Hercules and the disputatious Fever is of a breezily colloquial character.' Here again one is reminded of Petronius and of the striking difference between the diction of Echion, Hermeros, and Plocamus on the one hand and of Encolpius and Eumolpus on the other.

The most important deviations from Bücheler's text are in the following passages: 'ortum' for 'orbem' 2, 'visoque' for 'iussoque' 2, 'sunt omnes' for 'cum omnes' 2, 'debes et' for 'debes' 6, 'tibi' for 'Tiburi' 7, 'contulerim' for 'tulerim' 7, 'vivat' for 'vivebat' 9, 'fecisti' for 'fecistis' 9, 'quis optimo' for 'qui optimo' 9, συγχαίρωμεν for συγχαίρωμεν 13, 'si nimium diu laturam fecissent' for 'Sisyphum satis diu laturam fecisse' 14, 'veteribus' for 'veteranis' 14, 'spem' for 'speciem' 14, 'sine fine et effectu' for 'sine effectu' 14, 'lusuro' for 'fusuro' 15, and 'ipso' for 'illo' 15. It would require too much space to discuss these readings here. We may, however, note in passing that Dr. Ball's interpretation (p. 176) of ut qui...timuerit can hardly stand, and that his defence of saepe ne utra (p. 226) rests on the supposition that saepe and ultra, quoted from a previous verse, have the same scansion. Through a similar error in the matter of quantity, or through a pure oversight, one of Martial's pentameters is made to begin with an anapaest on p. 166.

The following typographical errors have been noticed: hasily, p. 66, 'nodo' (for 'modo') p. 68, and 'Asinius Gallio' for 'Asinius Gallus,'—the last one being perhaps an interesting scribal confusion of Pollio and Gallus.

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LINDSAY'S *MARTIAL*.

1. *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata*, recognovit W. M. LINDSAY. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6s.
2. *Ancient Editions of Martial*. By W. M. LINDSAY, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of St. Andrews. Parker & Co. Oxford, 1903, 4s. net.

READERS of the *Classical Review* have had news from time to time of Professor Lindsay's labours on the text of Martial; and students of Martial will remember that he contributed to Friedlaender's edition (1886) collations of the Edinburgh MS. and part of the Arundel MS. which he had himself rediscovered in the British Museum. He speaks here of certain collations for which he is indebted to Friedlaender; but he seems also to have collated for himself every one of the most important manuscripts and many others as well.

Martial's text offers a peculiar problem. Since the time of Schneidewin (1810-1856) it has been known that the extant manuscripts are not, like those of many Latin authors, derived from a single source but from three distinct sources each representing a different recension. It will be convenient to call these recensions α , β , and γ . The first of these is found in three MSS. all of which contain merely extracts from the Epigrams: T (the *codex Thuanensis* of the Paris Library), which is much the fullest, has only 846 epigrams and many of these are incomplete. T is, according to Professor Lindsay, a direct copy of H at Vienna which now contains only 14 epigrams. The last MS. R, now at Leyden, contains 272 epigrams, confining itself mainly to couplets. In all the MSS. of this recension there is this remarkable feature, that an attempt was made to expurgate the text, by substituting euphemisms for some of the gross words used by Martial. The chief desideratum for an editor of Martial is a complete representative of this recension.

Of the β recension the chief MSS. are four. They are all derived from an edition of the text which was made at Rome in 401 A.D. by a certain Torquatus Gennadius, and they preserve, wholly or in part, the *subscriptiones* between the different books in which the editor made a record of his name and of his services to Martial. Three of these MSS. are late and belong

to the period of the Italian renaissance; but the fourth is much older and belongs to the 12th century. It is known as L because it was found at Lucca whither it was brought quite recently by a shepherd (*o pastores cupidos litterarum!*) from the hills; it was soon afterwards bought by the Royal Library at Berlin. Thus L represents the uncorrupted form of this recension, but it has not many important readings which are both new and certainly right; and the shepherd would have been thrice as welcome if he had brought down a MS. of the α recension from the hills instead.

The γ recension is much more widely spread, being found in all the other MSS. of Martial. The most faithful representative of this family is E, the MS. preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. Professor Lindsay takes this and three other MSS., at Paris, Leyden, and the Vatican, as representatives of this tradition. Neither the β nor the γ recension contained the *liber spectaculorum*; consequently, as it is contained only in the MSS. which confine themselves to extracts, we may assume, what is probable also from internal evidence, that we possess only fragments of this book.

These three recensions present a certain number of readings such that it is impossible to suppose that they can, by any process of corruption, be derived from a common original: thus in xiii 65, 2, the α recension has *hanc in piscina ludere saepe soles*, the β recension *hanc in lautorum condere s. s.*, and the γ recension *hanc in lautorum mandere s. s.* Of course the main body of the text is the same in all three; but the number of cases, in which three, or at least two, independent traditions are preserved, is very considerable.

In his edition Professor Lindsay gives a much fuller account than has hitherto been accessible, of each of these separate traditions; in his pamphlet he speculates upon their origin. It was suggested by Friedlaender (vol. i, p. 93) that some at least of these double readings are due to Martial himself, who was in the habit of correcting copies of his books for his friends (cf. vii, 11 and 17): no doubt his chief object was to eject the mistakes of the *librarius*, but it is likely enough that he would occasionally touch up a line which had been quite correctly copied. In the case of one book, the tenth, Martial

expressly tells us (x 2, 1—4) that he published a new edition of it, that which we now have, with corrections and additions. Professor Lindsay (*Ancient Editions* etc. p. 14) argues that in x 48, 23 the *a* recension gives us the text of Martial's second edition, while the reading of his first edition, somewhat mutilated, is preserved by the β and γ recensions. The enquiry is of much interest; but the conditions are such that certain conclusions are hardly ever attainable. We know that the β recension belongs to a certain date and a certain author, though we cannot be sure what text he was working upon or what he did to it; the other two recensions we cannot ascribe to any fixed author or date. But the actual divergences of text are given by Professor Lindsay much more fully than by any previous editor. As an appendix to his pamphlet he gives complete collations of both L and E.

Since 1886, when the editions of Gilbert and Friedlaender appeared, the Lucca MS. has been discovered, and on the other hand certain authorities, on which former editors laid some stress, are discarded by Professor Lindsay. Thus Friedlaender had a good deal to say about M, a lost MS. which was supposed to represent the *a* recension and from which Bongars (1554—1612) was believed to have copied certain readings into a Martial which is preserved in the Berne Library. Professor Lindsay, after careful examination, is not inclined to allow any independent value to M: his scepticism seems to be fully justified. Further, there were supposed by Gilbert to be two distinct Palatine MSS., of which only one is now extant, both belonging to the β recension: they were known as P and $\mathfrak{P}$: it is now believed that there was never more than one Palatine MS., and that the existence of a second is a false inference from defective collation.

This is a summary account of the materials on which Professor Lindsay has based his text. He tells us that his object is to give a fuller and more exact account of the manuscript evidence, and that he cannot hope, after the labours of previous editors, to contribute much of his own in the way of emendation. And in fact the only emendation of his own which I have noticed is *hic situst* for *hic situ'* of editors (xi 90, 4). Omitting the *liber spectaculorum*, I find rather more than 200 divergences from Gilbert's Teubner text (1886). A few of these are due to the adoption of emendations made since Gilbert published

his text or unknown to him: such are Professor Housman's *haec tantum res est facta* παρ' ἰστροπίας for *haec tamen res est facta ita pictoria* (*lib. spect.* 21, 8); Paley's *seca . . . μερίζει* for *secat . . . μερίζε* (v 38, 3); Greenough's punctuation of v 78, 32; Markland's *sedebis* for *sedetis* (v 38, 7); and Munro's *Istanti* (viii 50, 21); Palmer's brilliant πεζά (vii 46, 6), is found here as in Gilbert. But by far the greatest number of these changes may be referred to one of three causes: either Professor Lindsay adopts readings derived from, or confirmed by, L; or he evicts readings which have established themselves in the text without MS. authority; or, where the three recensions, or two of them, are in conflict, he disagrees with the previous view of their respective merit.

The first cause of divergence from Gilbert's text is the fuller knowledge of the β recension due to the discovery of L. Professor Lindsay has a considerable number of readings derived from L alone or confirmed by it, of which the former were of course unknown to Gilbert; but the great majority were already known from P or Q, the later MSS. of the Gennadian recension, though their authority is much strengthened by the discovery of L. The most important of these readings are: i 13, 4 *tu quod* for *quod tu*; i 61, 3 *Aponi* for *Apona*; i 78, 2 *ipsos* for *suos* found in P only; i 89, 2 *garrire* for *garris*; iii 50, 7 *librum* for βῤῥῶμα; iii 62, 7 *credis magno* for *magno credis* (euphony proves this to be right); iii 82, 18 *ipse* for *ille*; iii 93, 24 *Achori de triclinio* for *a Coride archiclinico* (a conjecture); iv 25, 6 *hausit* for *haurit*; iv 34, 1 *dicit* for *dixit*; iv 78, 8 *Sigerosque* for *Sigerosque*; v 27, 3 *non sint* for *non sunt*; v 42, 7 *quidquid* for *si quid*; v 56, 6 *relinquat* for *relinquas*; vi 13, 4 *decor* for *liquor*; vi 21, 8 *virum* for *Iovem*; vii 56, 1 *pie* for *pia*; vii 69, 2 *dote* for *voce*; vii 96, 7 *serior* for *serius*; viii 4, 1 *concentus* for *conventus*; ix 2, 6 *Corsi* for *Tusci*; ix 22, 2 *populus* for *vulgus*; ix 51, 3 *ad umbras* for *ad undas*; ix 90, 1 *florido* for *floreo*; ix 100, 4 *viduas* for *vetulas*; ix 101, 4 *raraque* for *aurea*; x i, 4 *ipse* for *esse*; x 20, 2 *tamen* for *nimis*; xi 16, 3 *iam* for *nam*; xii 57, 23 *latus* for *clusus*; xii 76, 1 *vigesis* for *vigessi*; xiii 46, 1 *Persica* for *praeoqua*; xiv 29, 2 *mandatus* for *nam flatus*; xiv 40, lemma *cicindela* for *candela*. Most of the rejected readings are derived from the γ recension, and rightly give place to the readings of the uncorrupted representative of the β tradition. This is a permanent benefit to the text of Martial; but it is disappointing to

find that L so seldom throws light upon a real difficulty.

The second cause of change is the rejection of emendations previously accepted. Thus Professor Lindsay reads: i 78, 8 *rogo* after β : the γ text has *vita* from which *via* was elicited by the renaissance scholars; i 92, 8 *Gallica peda* with β (*praeda a*, *palla* γ , *bracca* Heinsius); ii 14, 13 *thermis iterumque iterumque lavatur* with β , where Gilbert prints *ternis iterum thermis iterumque l.* after Heinsius; iii 13, 2 *plus quam patri*, ejecting *plus quam putri* of Heinsius; in iii 93, 17 he restores *pestilentia* for *pestilentias*, though the abl. which the metre requires seems to give no sense; in iv 54, 10 he restores *negat* for *secat* of Heinsius; in v 19, 12 he keeps *flammarisve togae scripula* where Gilbert accepted Munro's emendation *e. lamnisve Tagi*; in vi 39, 20 he restores *iam Niobidarum* for *iamque hybridarum* of the renaissance scholars, though the comparison of Cinna's children to Niobe's children is most obscure; in viii 28, 12 he restores *alget* for *albet* of the Italian scholars; in ix 48, 8 he reads *callida Roma* for *pallida R.* of Dousa; in ix 59, 19 he restores *sardonychas vero* for the Aldine s. *veros* (but cf. x 87, 14 *veros sardonychas*); in x 48, 20 he ejects *trima* of Heinsius for *prima* of MSS.; in x 56, 6 he reads *saxorum stigmata* for *servorum s.* which is found only in P, though it is by no means clear what meaning *saxorum* could bear here; in x 70, 9 *choreae* is restored for *coronae* of Munro which Gilbert accepted, in xi 58, 11 *lana* for Scaliger's *laeva*, in xii 15, 5 *lulus* for *luxus* of Junius, in xii 29, 6 *petas* for *reges* of Heinsius, in xii 74, 4 *gemmis* for *geminus* of Gruter. To banish doubtful corrections is the plain duty of an editor; but in many of the passages just quoted, the MS. text seems to me simply unintelligible, so that if no correction is approved, the mark of corruption should be added. Thus in v 19, 12 even if we suppose that *flammaris* is a Latin word, and that it can serve as an epithet of *togae*, is it possible to believe that a *toga* could be weighed in scruples? In some of the other cases, e.g. ix 48, 8, I think the editor shows an error of judgment in not accepting the correction.

The third cause of divergence in the two texts, is that Professor Lindsay apparently attaches less weight than his predecessors to the α recension in passages where it conflicts with the other two. Undoubtedly there are cases where the α reading is wrong and corrupt: thus i 53, 9 *alite* of T is wrong and *Atthide* of the other recensions

is right; again vi 8, 1 *praecones* of T is a corruption due to l. 5, and *praetores* is right, because the suitors are then arranged in order of descent from senators to poets. But in spite of such exceptional cases, I believe the traditional view to be perfectly sound, that the α recension is based upon better materials than the other two and ought, when both readings are conceivably right, to have the preference. Professor Lindsay in his edition does not expressly admit this superiority of α : he speaks of L as the *codex optimus* (and of course it is true that L is the best complete manuscript), and compares himself, in judging between the three traditions, to Paris awarding the apple among the goddesses. In his pamphlet (p. 9) he takes a more favourable and, I think, a somewhat different view of the claims of α . But in settling his text he is, I think, inclined to give up the good reading of α , when β and γ both present the same inferior reading. Thus in vi 64 he reads:

Cum sis nec rigida Fabiorum gente creatus
Nec qualem Curio, dum prandia portat
aranti,

Hirsuta peperit rubicunda sub ilice coniunx, . . .

where T gives *depressa* for the *rubicunda* of β and γ . Now Martial might apply *rubicunda* to a weather-beaten, hard-featured woman: cf. viii 55, 18 *Thestylis et rubras messibus usta genas*; but he would not apply such an epithet to a woman in child-birth: cf. xi 55, 6 *pallidior fiet iam pariente Lupus*. And further *depressa* is not easily dispensed with: such an event was not a regular thing in the life of the ancient Romans but only the result of a sudden surprise: at a much earlier period in Roman history Silviu*s*, son of Ascanius, was so named because he was *casu quodam in silvis natus* (Liv. i 3, 6). I should infer that *depressa*, an admirably appropriate word, is right and gives a good instance of the superiority of the α readings. I will add some other passages where the α reading is ousted by Professor Lindsay in favour of that offered by β and γ , though in each case the reading preferred has at least no obvious superiority: ii 46, 10 *renuis* is read for *metuis*; v 16, 13 *satis et* for *iuvat et*; vi 64, 25 *toto . . . in orbe* for *tota . . . in urbe*; vii 37, 6 *madida* for *media*; ix 54, 5 *cara* for *care*; xiii 74, 1 *Tarpei* for *Tarpeia*. Nor can I understand why in vi 71, 4 the β reading *sollicitata* is preferred to the γ reading *sollicitare*: the sense seems

imperatively to require the latter: for the same use of the word, cf. viii 56, 16.

Now that I have stated the one or two points on which I do not agree with Professor Lindsay, let me end by expressing my hearty admiration both for the great labour he has spent during many years on the manuscripts of Martial, and for the skill with which he has arranged his evidence in the *apparatus criticus*. He has got together all the materials; he has devised convenient symbols to represent the archetypes of the three traditions, and repeatedly elicits in the most convincing manner from the corruptions of four MSS. what the reading of the β and γ archetype really was. Considering the amount of information which it contains, his *apparatus* is surprisingly brief. It is a great boon to the reader that he is informed in the case of each epigram whether it is preserved, wholly

or in part, in the *a* recension. None of the previous editions of the text can compare with this either in amount of evidence or in the accuracy with which the evidence has been weighed.

The proof sheets have been carefully revised. I notice only two misprints in the text: iv 19, 7 *lavi* is printed for *laxi*; x 22, 2 *picta* should surely be *pictus*; and stops are omitted or misplaced at i 86, 11; iii 97, 1; v 63, 1; xiii 4, 2. On p. 22 of the pamphlet there is an error by which the *platanus Caesariana* at Corduba is supposed to have been planted by Domitian. Domitian was never in Spain; and the last line of the epigram, (ix 61, 22) *non Pompeianae te posuere manus*, shows clearly that the tree was planted by the great Julius who had many opportunities for doing so.

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SHUCKBURGH'S *AUGUSTUS*.

Augustus: the Life and Times of the Founder of the Roman Empire. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH. T. Fisher Unwin. Pp. xii. 318. 16s.

It is undoubtedly true that, as Mr. Shuckburgh says, 'Augustus has been much less attractive to biographers than Julius.' There is no considerable body of literature about him in English, nor even in French. I cannot remember any English play in which, as in Corneille's *Cinna*, he has a real part. It is not difficult to discover why Augustus has never stamped himself on the mind of modern Europe as the dictator has done, although Augustus is mentioned in the Bible and his uncle or father is not. He never conquered Britain as the dictator conquered Gaul. Plutarch never wrote a life of the younger Caesar, or Shakespeare a play about him. The one man wrote accounts of his own campaigns, not only readable, but in parts even brilliant; the other has left nothing but a meagre official summary of his life, and even that was not known till comparatively recent times. The Commentaries, too, on the Gallic War or the Civil War are read at school, when the mind is easily impressed, and some of the former is (or was) learned by heart. Fighting is more easily understood, or sympathised with, than statesmanship and

constitutional history. The work of Augustus appeals more to the mature reader and the man of the nineteenth or twentieth century; the generalship and personal gallantry of Caesar to the young and to earlier generations. Another reason, of whose justice we are less sure, is suggested in the book before us: 'The note of genius conspicuous in the Uncle was wanting in the Nephew.'

But much of popular indifference must also be ascribed to the extreme difficulty of grasping the character of the emperor. The well-known portrait-busts of the dictator show in the worn face likeness enough to the men of our own time for us easily to read there fatigue, effort, and strenuous adaptation of means to ends; while the calm, idealised, almost god-like traits of his nephew's portraits let us into no secrets and give no glimpse of what went on behind those features. So it is, too, with the literary sources of our knowledge of Augustus. The single items of information and the stories are numerous, but we have no striking or successful general account of him from the ancients, nor the means of making one for ourselves. He left no intimate letters, as Cicero did; no man of genius, like Tacitus, dissected his character. There is, of course, the Monumentum Ancyranum, of which Mr. Shuckburgh prints a translation;

but that does not help us much. What other authorities there are for the Life, what inscriptions and further side-lights, Mr. Shuckburgh might well have set forth in a special chapter. But, except a page or two on the poets, he has nothing to say about them. This omission is the more to be regretted because he has certainly been living among them; he has used them all at first hand. But neither in his new book nor in his earlier edition of Suetonius' Life has he gone at all fully or systematically into the value and limitations of the various sources. But this topic too has been very generally neglected in England.

A great subject, then, and a subject imperfectly understood and handled (except, perhaps, in Germany), lay before Mr. Shuckburgh. But he seems hardly to have tried to take full advantage of the opportunity. The account of the evidences is, as we said, wanting, although the references given for single facts or statements are numerous and accurate; and the biography itself is rather a good essay, or encyclopaedia-article, on the man and his work, than a living portrait. There is not enough flesh and blood about it for a reader who is not a specialist. We never get at the heart of the man. Perhaps it is impossible so to recover his personality; but Mr. Shuckburgh has not made any great or sustained effort. His colours are too sober for life; he has taken too much to heart Mommsen's hint about writing with renunciation; and his readers must renounce all hope of vivid painting, clear lines, and portraiture which will cling to the memory.

But if we cannot have a portrait, we find at least an estimate of character, and one made with marked fairness and sobriety of judgment. The apparent change in Augustus from cruelty to clemency interests Mr. Shuckburgh most; he discusses it twice:—

'The proscription was an odious crime; but a proscription that did not fulfil its purpose would have been a monstrous blunder also. I do not however admit Seneca's criticism that his subsequent clemency was merely "cruelty worn out." The change was one of time and circumstance. Youth is apt to be hard-hearted. With happier surroundings and lengthened experience his character and judgment ripened and mellowed' (P. 77).

'The moral problem presented by the change from ruthless cruelty to wise and persistent clemency has exercised

the minds of philosophers and historians ever since. "It was not clemency," says Seneca, "but a surfeit of cruelty." But this explains nothing. If Augustus had ever been cruel for cruelty's sake, the increased opportunities of exercising it would have whetted his appetite for blood as it [?] they] did in some of his successors. It was circumstances that had changed, not altogether the man. Still, no doubt, success softened (it does not always) Augustus' character' (P. 268).

Within a chapter or two of this *lassa crudelitas* occurs another compact judgment of Seneca (*De Clem.* I. 9) upon Augustus:—*mitis princeps, si quis illum a principatu suo aestimare incipiat*. The change, of course, can hardly fail to strike observers or readers of any period. But its causes, or indeed its exact nature, are far from easy to detect. Mere time, and the mellowing influence of age and success, seem to be Mr. Shuckburgh's chief explanation; so that, he might have said, Horace's question would find an application in high places—*Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?* But he also suggests another cause:—

'The influence of Livia over him seems never to have failed, and it was exercised on the side of clemency and generosity' (P. 276).

'His wife was a high-minded woman, and always ready to succour distress, as she showed during the proscriptions [what proscriptions?], and afterwards in her son's reign' (P. 268).

This theory (which was also held by M. Beulé) has no doubt plausibility, and I do not regard the direct influence of 'domestic' philosophers as altogether excluded. When Livia needed consolation she turned to Areus, described as *philosophus viri sui* (Seneca, *Cons. ad Marc.* 4), and M. Aurelius mentions Areus side by side with Maecenas when he wishes to draw a picture of the court of the first emperor. But here again, as in all questions about Augustus' character, we are checked by want of sufficient facts. Was the change real or merely political, in short, put on? Suetonius' sketch of the gentle and humorous old man is in favour of supposing a real change; but we do not know enough to be sure. Nor can we tell whether personal but non-political motives may not have affected the emperor, forced on him a certain line of action, and then by degrees (like most habits) worked their way

from without inward. In one country the emperor was worshipped; in another he was at least looked on as of divine stock, and his eyes were to be thought of as glowing with more than mortal lustre. Such a being must not be petty; he must not show that any person could annoy him and sting him into wrath or cruelty. This, the ground of personal dignity, is one of Seneca's arguments against giving way to anger. But behind all these considerations lie the further questions, Was Augustus ever a cruel man, if measured by Roman standards? and Was there ever any real change in him? He outlived his enemies, so that he had few occasions to strike; but, even in his 'clement' period, if he struck, he struck savagely, and that in unpolitical matters. See the story (p. 210) of the secretary who was punished for taking a bribe by having his legs broken.

Let me quote also some of Mr. Shuckburgh's wider judgments upon his hero:—

'Anecdotes of Augustus do not suggest a very heroic figure, very quick wit, or great warmth of heart. They rather indicate what I conceive to be the truer picture, a cool and cautious character, not unkindly and not without a sense of humour; but at the same time as inevitable and unmoved by pity or remorse as nature herself. No one accuses him of having hurried or neglected any task that it was his duty to perform. But neither friend, relation, nor minister ever really influenced him' (P. 211).

(But surely we read that his wife influenced him?)

'He may have listened to advice, but the final decision was always his own, adopted from no passing sentiment or passion, but with the cool determination of settled policy' (P. 64).

These verdicts seem fairly in keeping with the facts, or many of them, and Mr. Shuckburgh is again clear-sighted in insisting that Augustus' plans and views expanded side by side. He had no cast-iron plan for his conduct, or theory of what the State needed. He changed and re-changed his arrangements as experience taught him, and, when he emerged from the struggle in which his very life was at stake, he became accessible (at least it appears so) to nobler aspirations (pp. 109–110, 266–267). At first, too, he was

'supported by an indomitable persistence and a passionate resolve to avenge his adoptive father, all the more formidable perhaps in a character naturally cold and self-contained. As he went on there gradually awoke in him a nobler ambition, that of restoring and directing the distracted state. Neither now nor afterwards do the more vulgar attributes of supreme power—wealth, luxury, and adulation—seem to have had charms for him' (P. 109).

This last point deserves to be kept in mind if we would rightly estimate the ruler, if not the man. If we contrast the pleasures which a Greek tyrant was expected to take, and which alone made his position enviable in the eyes of many persons, we shall be disposed to give Augustus some credit for a life which was outwardly decent and which was respectful of other men's feelings, property, and families. His despotism, too, was more what is usually called 'beneficent' than that of even the best of the Greek tyrants—a class of men with whom he and his uncle must on many grounds be compared. He resembled some of these forerunners in beautifying his city. But his motives in this were probably mixed. It is a good suggestion that he wished to prove to the Romans that he did not, like Antonius, think of moving the seat of empire. He therefore

'prudently showed not only that he held firmly by the imperial position of Rome, but that he also wished to make it externally worthy to be the capital of the world' (P. 134).

But at this point we find ourselves passing on to his domestic and foreign policy, subjects too large to be attacked here. Sufficient to say that Mr. Shuckburgh traces the former clearly enough, distinguishing Augustus' various tasks and showing how he grappled with them; and that, as to the latter, he keeps well in sight that 'foreign policy' covers not only the emperor's attitude to outside tribes or States, but also his dealings with the provinces. These (whose history and position are reviewed in a valuable early chapter) make a history of Augustus, or of Rome at this period, really continuous with the story of the whole civilised world. The divinity, of whatsoever sort, ascribed to the emperor is a link between his policy at home and his policy in the provinces. Scarcely

enough is made of it in the survey before us. Its roots lie deeper, its consequences spread further than the biographer appears to see. To take a smaller point too, it does not seem right to translate *Lares Augusti* by 'Lares of Augustus' (p. 196); the construction of *Augusti* is different, see, e.g., Wilmann's *Exempla*, § 63.

There are many other questions about the emperor on which Mr. Shuckburgh gives us help, and which belong more to the province of biography, or of history as it is usually understood, than to that of constitutional history. How was it that as a young man he came to the top, and that as an old man he stayed there? Revolutions devour their own children; but this child of revolution saw all the others devoured, or devoured them himself, remained in power for an ordinary lifetime, and died of old age, esteemed and unthreatened. To notice this last point is partly to answer the former question. He came to the top because he had plenty of time. His numerous illnesses spared his life and his faculties. No battlefield, no assassin's knife, no stroke of lightning, cut his time short. Other men fell in battle or by suicide. Other men had no such devoted friends to fight for them (instead of for their own hand) as Octavianus secured in early days. To all this Mr. Shuckburgh would add ample pecuniary means. 'At no time in his career does he seem to have had serious money difficulties.' Such an advantage cannot be overrated; and the story of the President Louis Napoleon, as told by Kinglake, enforces the point; but yet I rather question the accuracy of the assertion, and Mr. Shuckburgh himself gives us some means of doing so (pp. 74, 75, 91, 92, 112): 'the triumviral government was in financial difficulties,' and so on.

There is more force in another consideration:—

'Antony was to govern the East and Caesar the West. And as yet the heart and life of the Empire was in the West. It was this, as much as the difference of his character, which eventually secured to Caesar the advantage over his colleague and made him master of the whole' (P. 88).

We might remember, too, that sheer luck played a part in the elevation of young Octavianus. The deaths of Hirtius and Pansa were matters of chance. The

inability of Sextus Pompeius rightly to apply his 'sea-power' was little more; at any rate, it could hardly have been counted on. The veterans whom the young man was able to enroll in Italy were, however, a thoughtful provision of his uncle; they upheld one Caesar if not another. Octavianus knew how to buy popular favour—not with gracious manners, like many heroes of newer history, but with hard cash and costly shows, the shows on which his Monumentum Ancyranum lays such well-deserved stress. *Populum annonae pellexit*. Antonius also, pursuing his Oriental pleasures, was working for his rival's success. Better, it was felt, to be ruled by a Roman of the Romans than to bear the tyranny of an Eastern court; there was no third alternative. All these outside considerations must be reckoned, but they do not disparage Octavianus' own practical ability. He knew what to do, when to act, and when to wait.

On similar lines we may account for the steady average success which marked his later life. Mr. Shuckburgh makes a good point in saying that he nearly always picked able men to do his work, a really royal accomplishment. (Varus, of course, was a striking exception.) He remained, too, in power because there was no person and no body of persons left to contest that power. His life lasted so long that the young men and the middle-aged had grown up under his shadow; they were used to it; plots were few and not dangerous. The senate was filled with his nominees; and every class felt in one way or another the advantage of his wise measures, whether remedies or palliatives. The reformed coinage alone must have been a boon to all. Yet he knew quite as well what not to try, what to leave alone; and his sound sense seldom met with such failures as those in Arabia and Germany. In short, Mr. Shuckburgh does not hesitate to call him the most successful ruler known to us. This, however, refers exclusively to Augustus' success for the moment or for his lifetime; and the glamour of the success does not blind his biographer to the other side of the shield. In fact, Mr. Shuckburgh holds the balance very true. He indicates alike the benefits and the mischievous results of personal government. He does not go so far as to blame Augustus for the later breakdown of his system or for the slow collapse of the Roman Empire. The view which so blames him, though ably defended in modern times, is a very unjust one. But for Augustus

there would probably have remained no Roman Empire to collapse; and he must not be held answerable for what he could not foresee—for accidents, or even for consequences strictly traceable and yet beyond the ordinary range of human vision. To use a metaphor of his own, all the actors in the tragedy of the Decline and Fall were not on the stage in his time. While no one could foresee the rise of Constantine or the invasion of the Huns, probably no one did foresee the coming of the Goths. As for the remote consequences of what Augustus himself did while he was on the stage, there will be no blameless characters and no end to recrimination if he is held responsible. Archelaos will be made answerable for the fall of Macedon and Admiral Tromp for the Boer Wars.

Taken on the whole, then, this new account of Divus Augustus will be found thoughtful and suggestive; and it has been put together with an amount of care which makes it generally a safe guide. But not always; there are a certain number of oversights, chiefly in minor matters. Thus Augustus, in a well-known story, can hardly have meant to call Cicero 'a true scholar'; *λόγιος* in Plutarch's *Cicero* c. 49 means 'eloquent.' Nor, again, do we like to read of 'Augustus' and 'Julius' side by side as if these were both personal names. Two dictatorships of the elder Caesar are confused, or at all events are not distinguished, on p. 9. *Alba Fucensis* seems a doubtful form. On p. 126 we read that after Actium Cleopatra made

preparations for 'retiring into Asia, as far as Iberia (Georgia),' and that news came to Antonius that 'Q. Didius had bidden the Arabs burn the ships while [?which] he had prepared for his flight in the Red Sea.' But it was rather Cleopatra than Antonius (Plut. *Ant.* 49) who meditated this flight, and the Iberia spoken of (Dion. 51. 6) must be Spain, not Georgia (compare Dion. 50. 4, 51. 8, etc.). Augustus gave his seafights not 'on the flooded Transtiberine fields' at Rome, but, as the translation of the Monumentum Ancyranum correctly says, 'the ground having been hollowed out.' The phrase *monstrum hominis* (p. 252), applied to Claudius by his mother, I cannot verify; in Suetonius it runs *portentum hominis*; but neither phrase is complimentary to Claudius. 'Julius Antonius' may be a misprint for 'Julus.' There were no Gauls or Germans serving in the city-cohorts (p. 188)—a thing which would indeed have been strange. The Germans whom the emperor dismissed at the time of Varus' disaster were in his bodyguard (see Suet. *Aug.* 49, a passage quite correctly explained in Mr. Shuckburgh's edition). It is, of course, Opportunity, not Time, as Mr. Shuckburgh says on p. 130, which is bald at the back of the head: *post est Occasio calva*.

The illustrations to the work are judiciously chosen, and have generally come out well, but the portrait of Maecenas is not altogether successful.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

MYRES' SCHOOL HISTORY OF ROME.

A History of Rome for Middle and Upper Forms of Schools. By J. L. MYRES, M.A. Rivingtons. 1902. Pp. 627. 5s.

MR. MYRES' book is one that should prove useful, though it lacks pictures, an addition especially desirable in histories intended for schools. Perhaps it is to more advanced students that the book will be most welcome, whether those preparing 'for Preliminary and Pass Examinations at the Universities' (whom Mr. Myres wishes to have as readers), or others. Though pictures are wanting, the maps are numerous and carefully prepared. In some cases it may be that, as suggested in the preface, rather too much has been attempted: for

instance, in the map on p. 80 the 'modern terrain-drawing' interferes with the clearness of the names; and the abbreviated form in which several of the names are given is not suitable to the readers for whom the work is designed. But in the main the results are very good.

The history stops at the death of Augustus. It seems matter for regret that most of our shorter Roman histories end at this point, if not earlier. Even a brief outline carrying on the student to, say, 180 A.D. would be a gain. Not to speak of the importance of the Imperial period in its effects on mediaeval and modern history, the present custom leaves outside the history-book the periods of which we

read in Tacitus, Pliny, Martial, Juvenal. However, Mr. Myres only follows what appears to be the accepted view as to the stopping-point, and indeed gives fuller measure than is given by some writers, since he goes on after the death of the dictator Caesar. The chapter on the Principate of Augustus is particularly good.

The book throughout shows mastery of the subject and skill in teaching. The matter is well arranged, the manner interesting, and we frequently come upon passages conspicuously lucid or suggestive, such as the review of the Hannibalic War and its consequences (p. 228 ff.), the account of the effects produced by Roman trade in the Mediterranean (p. 315), the statement of the 'mixed motives and ideals' of Gaius Gracchus (p. 347). The chapter on Literature and Thought from the Gracchi to Augustus (ch. xlv.) will also be found valuable by those who already know something of the subject: no doubt it is only such readers who can profit by a summary of this kind.

Mr. Myres gives special attention to geography and has an excellent chapter (ch. i) on The Land of Italy (but does the frontier of Italy now run, as is stated on p. 15, 'along the foot of the Alpine range'?). There are also accurate and helpful expositions of constitutional matters, such as the position of the *Rex* (p. 53 f.), that of the praetor (p. 106), the question between Caesar and the Senate (p. 502 f.), the constitution of the Principate (p. 547 f.). The treatment of the whole subject of the *concilium plebis* and the validity of *plebiscita* (pp. 72, 76 f.) is clear and good. (The plebeian *concilium* is distinguished from the *comitia tributa*.)

The defects of the history are perhaps due to its being put together from lectures. Occasionally one meets with a colloquialism or at least a familiarity of expression that savours rather of the lecture-room than of a written work, as when the Senate is described as 'level-headed' (p. 144) or a peace party is called a 'stop-the-war party' (p. 164). But the serious drawback to the book consists in the number of small mistakes, half-mistakes, or confusions, which are in curious contrast to the scholarly care and accuracy of so much of the work. The following are some of the points that I have noted.

The doubtful date of the Lex Hortensia is given as 286 B.C. on pp. 76, 77; on pp. 108 f., 144, as 287 B.C. Towns of Roman

citizens (with the 'franchise of Caere') could not be 'bound by ties of alliance with Rome' (p. 115), seeing that they were parts of Rome. It is said (p. 141) that a judicial praetor was instituted 'to cope with the press of judicial business during the Samnite Wars, when the Consuls were constantly away from Rome'; but the Samnite Wars had not begun in 367 or 366 B.C. The statement (p. 199) that the slaves bought after Cannae to fight for the state were 'manumitted for the purpose' is a mistake. On p. 203 they first appear as 'liberated slaves' and then are 'granted freedom.' What is meant by saying that the quaestor serving under a governor was 'technically' his ward (p. 319)? Perhaps the word is a misprint. If Auximum was the last citizen-colony and was founded in 157 B.C., how came it about that a citizen-colony was founded in 124 B.C. at Fabrateria (both statements on p. 336)? Why is 'G. Gracchus' repeatedly written (e.g. pp. 359, 374, 376), though the abbreviation of Gaius is usually given correctly as 'C'? In Jan. 104 B.C., Marius had not yet received the consulship two years in succession as is stated on p. 368 (cf. p. 372). Probably owing to a rearrangement of chapters, we are told on p. 408 that 'we have seen' that L. Valerius Flaccus had got together an army to follow after Sulla, though the statement does not apparently occur till p. 416, (where the *praenomen* is printed as 'M.'). It is misleading, if not incorrect, to speak of the *comitia* as having an 'initiative in legislation' (p. 429). There are two curious blunders on p. 461. Verres was Proprætor of Sicily, not of Eastern Sicily (the division was for the quaestors, not for the governor); and it was not Hortensius but Q. Caecilius Niger who 'claimed the right to conduct the case instead of Cicero.' 'Silanus and others who had already voted' (p. 470): the *sententia* in the Senate is incorrectly represented as a vote, though just before the *sententia* of Silanus is treated as a motion, that of Caesar as an amendment. Thus we get a strange procedure in which argument is continued during the voting, or at least after part of it has taken place. The adoption of Clodius, assigned on p. 479, to a time 'close to the end of Caesar's consulship,' had taken place when Cicero in April wrote *ad. Att.* 2. 12. Curio is said to have passed over rashly into Africa (p. 510). But he went to Africa by Caesar's orders; his rashness was shown after he arrived. Gaius and Lucius were adopted by Augustus in 17 B.C.,

as stated on p. 567; but they were not adopted a second time when they entered on public life. Presumably Mr. Myres means that they were brought forward as successors. On p. 581 we are told that the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* were all that Caesar found leisure to execute. Does Mr. Myres reject as unauthentic the books on the Civil War?

Some of these blemishes are due to a want of exactness in the expression used that might be harmless in a lecture, where misapprehension can be set right. In the same way Mr. Myres occasionally uses a word first in a looser and then in a stricter sense, a practice that reminds one of Livy, but is perhaps not quite so undeserving of blame in the modern historian as it is in Livy. Thus on p. 59 the six property-divisions of the Servian Constitution are all called *classes*, though we are told that only the highest division was a *classis* in the strict sense. On p. 50 the confusion is more serious. We are first told that 'political rights were strictly limited to members of a small number of *gentes* or clans,' then that 'some of these *gentes* . . . were called *patriciae gentes*.' It is natural to infer that plebeian *gentes* were also

included in the privileged number. But in the next sentence we find that the other clans were 'not in the strictest sense *gentes* at all,' and moreover go on to read that they 'had, to begin with, no political rights' (p. 51). We are left in some uncertainty as to whether these others were or were not among the *gentes* mentioned in the original statement.

In the numerous references to pages given throughout the book I have detected very few slips (on p. 603 the reference to p. 567 should be removed, as the passage on that page relates to the other Julia). There are a few misprints. A curious one has apparently substituted 'Tolerus' for 'Trerus' on pp. 11 (twice), 81, 82, and in the index. On p. 601 confusion has been wrought in the sentence 'For Tibullus alone of the Augustan poets neither Augustus nor Maecenas had any work to do,' by the displacement of 'Tibullus.' On p. 568 '2 B.C.' and '1 A.D.' have taken the places of '2 A.D.' and '4 A.D.,' and on p. 359 there are also misprints in dates ('304' is printed for '403' and '147' for '149').

M. ALFORD.

VERSION.

FROM THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON, XVIII. 5.

It is excuse enough, perhaps, for such translations that they give some people pleasure, but I think their only literary value is to point out likenesses of mood and manner in two languages. Nothing I have ever read has more suggested Pindar to me than this book, whose author,—part philosopher, part rhetorician, and part poet,—was either Philo as tradition says or else some other Alexandrian Jew about his date. He is moralizing here upon the tale of *Exodus*, and though he dwells upon the same ideas too often and too long, his treatment of it by forestallings and recurrences is just the treatment cultivated by the Dorian lyric, in contrast to the straight-

forward Epic style of narrative, in telling the familiar Epic stories: the first Chorus of the *Agamemnon* is a fine example. For the rest, I hope it may be easier with the version to decide whether the style and temper of this piece are not Pindaric: remark especially the noble passage where the second strophe comes, with its splendid image for the word of God,—where the line that will occur to every reader is Homer Δ 443: *τὴν Διὸς ἔριν πέδοι σκήψασαν* in Aesch. *Theb.* 415 is worth comparing as a like conception. The metre must of course be Doric, and I have chosen the arrangement of the 3rd Pythian.

W. H.

Strophe.

After they had taken counsel to slay the
babes
of the holy ones,
And when a single child had been cast forth
and saved to convict *them of their sins*,

τοὶ δ' ἐπεὶ κτείνειν γόνον εὖσεβέων
πάντ' ἐμητίσαντο, βρέφος δ' ἄρα μόνον
ῥιφθὲν οἰοσπάργανον

Thou tookest away from them their multitude
 of children,
 And destroyedst all *their host* together in a
 mighty flood.
 Of that night were our fathers made aware
 beforehand,
 That, having sure knowledge they might be
 cheered
 by the oaths which they had trusted:
So by thy people was expected salvation of
 the righteous
 and destruction of the enemies;

For as thou didst take vengeance on the
 adversaries,
 By the same means, calling us unto thyself,
 thou didst glorify us.
 For holy children of good men offered
 sacrifice in secret,
 And with one consent they took upon them-
 selves
 the covenant of the divine law,
 That they would partake alike in the same
 good things
 and the same perils;
 The fathers already leading
 the sacred songs of praise.

But there sounded back in discord the cry
 of the enemies,
 And a piteous voice of lamentation for
 children
 was borne abroad.
 And servant along with master punished
 with a like just doom,
 And commoner suffering the same as king,
 Yea, all *the people* together under one form
 of death,
 Had *with them* corpses without number;
 For the living were not sufficient even to
 bury them,
 Since at a single stroke their nobler offspring
 was consumed.

For while they were disbelieving all things
 by reason of the enchantments,
 Upon the destruction of the first-born
 they confessed the people to the God's
 son.
 For while peaceful silence enwrapped all
 things,
 And night in her own swiftness
 was in mid-course,
 Thine all-powerful word leaped from heaven
 out of the royal throne,

σώθη πρὸς ἑλεγχον ὁμῶς,
 Ζεῦ, κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἔκλυσας εὐτεκνίαν
 τὰν παιδοπληθῆ
 νοσφίσας ἐν νυκτὶ μιᾷ.
 τὰν μὲν ὄρκοις ἀμέτεροι πρόγονοι πιστοῖς δάειν
 πρόσθε, φάος πισύνοισ
 εὐφρόνας εὐαγγέλου, σωτηρίαν
 ἐλπιδ' ὀπιζομένοις ἐχθρῶν δ' ὀλέθρου.

Antistrophe.

χειρὶ δὴ ταῦτ' ἀπαρ τ' ἀντιπάλων
 λυγρὸν ἔπραξας χρέος ἀμέτερόν τ' ἐξ-
 αἶρετον τιμῶν γένος
 νικαφόρον εὐλογίαν
 ὥπασας· ἐν κρυφαῖς ἱερῶν θυσίαις
 τὸν Ζηνόκραντον
 συγκαταλήνσαν πρόγονοι
 τεθμὸν, ἧ μὲν ξυνὸν ὁμῶς ἀγαθὼν τ' ἀντλεῖν
 μέρος
 καὶ σφαλερῶν ἐθέλειν·
 ἐν δ' ὑπ' εὐφάμον λύρας ἀγούμενοι
 πρεσβύτεροι γεραρᾶν ἄρξαντ' αἰοιδᾶν,

Erode.

ἀντὶ δ' ἄχρησεν παρὰ δυσμενέων
 πάντοθ' οἰμωγᾶς ἀπαίματος βοᾶ
 μακροπενθῆς τεκνολέτωρ, θεραπόντων ξὺν δίκᾳ
 δεσπότησιν οὐκ ἀνόμοια παθόντων
 οὐδ' ὑπάτοις βασιλεύσιν δαμοτᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐν μιᾷ
 πᾶς ἰδέα θανάτου νεκρῶν ἐρειφθέντων στρατὸς
 εἶχε μίᾳσμ' ἀνάρθμον· ζῶσα γὰρ οὐκέτι χεῖρ
 πρὸς ταφὰν ἐξάρκει καδεμόνων, ξυνᾷ δὲ πλαγᾷ
 ἅμα πᾶσιν ἄωτος πᾶς ἐλωτίσθη γόνου.

Strophe.

πάντ' ἀπιστεῖντες γὰρ ὑπ' οὐλομέναις
 φαρμακείαις πρωτογόνων ἐριπέντων
 μαρτύρησαν δὴ τότε
 Ζηνὸς γένος ὡς ἐτύμως·
 πάντα γὰρ ἀσυχία φιλόφρων κάτεχεν
 δίφρην δ' ἵπποις
 νύξ θοὰ ξὺν μεσσοπόροις,
 αἶψα δ' ἐκ σεμνῶν ἔπος ἄλτο θρόνων ὦ Ζεῦ
 τεὸν

A stern warrior, into the midst of the
doomed land,
Bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned
commandment;

And standing it filled all things with
death;
And while it touched the heaven
it trode upon the earth.
Then forthwith apparitions in dreams
terribly troubled them,
And fears came upon them unlooked for:
And *each*, one thrown here half-dead, another
there,
Made manifest wherefore he was dying:
For the dreams, perturbing them, did fore-
shew this,
That they might not perish
without knowing why they were afflicted.
But it befell the righteous also to make
trial of death,

And a multitude were stricken in the
wilderness:
Howbeit the wrath endured not for long,
For a blameless man hasted to be their
champion:
Bringing the weapon of his own ministry,
Even prayer and the propitiation of incense,
He withstood the indignation, and set an
end to the calamity,
Shewing that he was thy servant.
And he overcame the anger,
Not by strength of body, not by efficacy of
weapons,
But by word did he subdue the minister of
punishment,
By bringing to remembrance oaths and
covenants made with the fathers.
For when the dead were already fallen in
heaps one upon another,

Standing between he stopped the advancing
wrath,
And cut off the way to the living.
For upon *his* long *high-priestly* robe
was the whole world,
And the glories of the fathers
were upon the graving
of the four rows of precious stones,
And thy majesty *was* upon the diadem of
his head.
To these the destroyer gave place,
and these *the people* feared,
For it was enough only to make trial of the
wrath.

παγκρατὲς οὐρανόθεν,
τραχὺς αἰχματᾶς, ἀχάλκευτον ξίφος
τεθμὸν ἔχων σέθεν, ἐξώλει δ' ἐν αἶα

Antistrophe.

πάντα κῆνα στὰς ἐνέπλησε μόρου,
οὐρανῷ μὲν ξὺν κεφαλὰν κορυφώσας
γὰρ δ' ἐπισκῆπτων πόδας·
τοὺς δ' αὐτίκα φάσματ' ἔβαν
ἐννυχίοισι φόβοις ἀδόκητα ταρασ-
οντ', ἄλλος ἄλλα
δ' ἐκφορηθεὶς ἡμιθανὴς
φράζεν ἄταν· δαίματα γὰρ νυχίων μαντεύσατο,
ὄφρα τις εὖ προδαεῖς
μὴ 'ξ ἀτεκμάρτων ὄλοιτ'· οὐ μὲν μόρου
μέλλον ἄρ' οὐδ' ἀγαθοὶ ζώσειν ἄπειροι,

Erode.

ἀλλὰ παμπολλοὶ κατ' ἐρήμια τίτνον·
οὐχὶ δαρὸν μάν, ἀμεμφῆς γὰρ Διὸς
προσπόλῳ τιμάρορος ἀνὴρ ἐφάνη ξὺν μαχανᾷ·
κεινὸς ἀντιστὰς λιτὰ θύματα φαίνων
καὶ τέλος ἀγνὸν ἄσπλος παύσειν ἄταν καὶ κότον,
οὐ κατὰ σώματος ἰσχὺν οὐδὲ χαλκοῦ ξὺν κράτει
ἀλλ' ἐπέων σθένος ἄτας ἱερέ' ἔχων δάμασεν,
ὀρκίων τεθμὸν προγόνοισιν ἀναμνάσας δοθέντα·
φθιμένων γὰρ ἐπ' ἀλλάλοισι θίνες δὴ πέσον,

Strophe.

ἐν μέσῳ δὲ στὰς ἐπιούσαν ἔριν
ἔσχεν, ἐς ζῶντας δ' ἀνέκοψε κέλευθον·
καὶ γὰρ ἐν στολμοῖς μὲν ἦν
γαίας τε καὶ οὐρανίων
πᾶσα φνὴ, πατέρων δ' ἐπιχώρια τετρ-
άστοιχος εἶχεν
τεθμὸς ἐγγλυφθέντα λίθων,
στέμμα δὲ κρατὸς τεὸν εἶχε σέβας· τοῖσιν
πέπων
εἶξεν ὁ λοιγοφόρος,
πτᾶξε δ' αἰδεσθεῖς ὅπιν λαὸς κότον
Ζηνὸς ἄλις γε μαθὼν καὶ πρωτότειρος.

ARCHAEOLOGY

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

Papers of the British School at Rome. I. Pp. 285. Illustrations and 8 maps. Macmillan. 1902. 12s.

THE British School at Rome has already begun to justify its existence; and if its future students keep up the same standard as the writers in their first Journal, the School will have cause for congratulation. There are two papers, both original records.

(1) Mr. G. McN. Rushforth describes in great detail (pp. 1-124) the excavation of the ancient church of S. Maria Antiqua, and mainly the paintings therein discovered. The architectural features of the building, and of the older one which lay beneath, are given fully enough; but the chief importance of the church lies in its pictures.

It is unfortunate that reproductions of the paintings could not have accompanied the text, but the reason is that the Italian Government, which owns the photographs and drawings, reserves these for the official publication. Yet there is so much of interest in the subjects of the paintings, that the descriptions alone have value for students of Byzantine iconography. The inscriptions are restored and explained; and light is thrown on one obscure word, *catomulevatis* (p. 47), which from the pictorial representation, and parallel quotations, appears now to be *κατ' ὄρον levatio*, a 'hoisting.' Quotations from patristic or sacred writ are identified. Light is thrown on the representation of saints in the eighth century; and some curious details appear, such as the use of votive candles (p. 51) and of the square nimbus with unimportant persons (p. 52). Besides scriptural scenes, there is an Annunciation of interesting scheme, a series of Holy Mothers, and the Story of Quiricus and Julitta.

Mr. Rushforth discusses the name of the church, and comes to the conclusion, which can hardly be called satisfactory, that it was not so named because of being the oldest church dedicated to Mary. No alternative explanation is given which would seem preferable to the natural one.

(2) The second paper (pp. 125-281) is by Mr. T. Ashby, Jun.: *Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna* I. He describes all the ancient remains which could be traced along several routes: the Via Collatina, the

Via Praenestina, and the Via Labicana. The second includes the interesting neighbourhood of Gabii, with photographs of its temple and walls, and plans of temple and forum. There are other pictures of interest: an ancient road at Gabii, and a modern village of huts which recalls the ancient hut-urns in some respects, two bridges, and a number of antiquities. Inscriptions are recorded. As to the completeness of the record, it is impossible to offer an opinion; but it bears every indication of care and thoroughness. Eight maps accompany this paper.

W. H. D. R.

TWO PAMPHLETS ON MALTA.

Die Vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler von Malta. VON ALBERT MAYR. Mit 12 Tafeln und 7 Plänen. Aus den Abhandlungen der K. bayer. Akademie der Wiss. I. Cl. xxi. Bd. iii Abth. München 1901, pp. 645-726. 5 m.

Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antiken Religion. VON RICHARD WÜNSCH. Leipzig: Teubner 1902. 70 pp. 2 m.

HERR MAYR's paper contains a very minute and careful description of all the prehistoric remains which he could find in the island; if we allow so much latitude to the word 'prehistoric' as to imply those remains which cannot be identified with any historical periods. Buildings of the kind he describes are typical rather of a culture than a date. In view of their very crude character, it is perhaps rash of Herr Mayr to classify some as *Heiligthümer*, especially when he admits (p. 653) that certain holes seen in the stones are of the same kind which the Maltese now use for tethering their cows. Some of these buildings at least were built piecemeal (p. 663). However, there is colour for Herr Mayr's assumption in the existence of certain flat stones, perhaps used as altars. It is perhaps rash also to assume that these buildings were always open to the sky as the author seems to do (p. 682). Besides this class, there are also remains of dwelling-houses and forts or towers, and large quantities of pottery of which nothing definite is known. Herr Mayr declines to

believe in a Phoenician origin for these remains. There is no direct evidence in support of such a theory, and the heads and figures which have been found in two of them, have no suggestion of a Phoenician origin, nor does the plan of the Maltese remains point in that direction. Their analogies lie westward, with the remains of Pantelleria, Sardinia, the Balearics, and south-eastern Spain, which are ascribed to the early bronze age. Some of these were tombs. There is a trace of Mycenaean influence in the ornamental carving on one block found in Malta. I will add one comparison which seems to have escaped the author. The carved creature which is presented on p. 650 under the title of a kind of fish, is the well-known *pistrix* or sea-monster of the Sicilian coins (see *e.g.* Hill, *Coins of Sicily* Plate II. 8). Whether we agree with Herr Mayr's explanations or not (and they seem to be somewhat imaginative) he has earned the gratitude of all students by the careful records he has made. The excellent plans and plates, with the descriptions, give a clear impression of what is there. At a glance, one is reminded of Dartmoor, Stonehenge, and Asia Minor: in particular I cannot help thinking that curious composite tombs which I have seen in Caria may possibly throw some light upon these remains.

Herr WÜNSCH seeks antiquity in another sphere. His text is a description of a Maltese custom written by an Arab in the sixteenth century. Every year, says the Arab, a precious 'idol' is thrown into a field of beanflowers and hidden; there is feigned mourning for three days, the god is said to be angry and will not be appeased; finally the image is brought back in procession with great rejoicing. The author analyzes this custom in detail, and connects it with the feast of Adonis. In his examination he collects the ancient notices of the Adonis-celebrations, and a number of modern parallels, extending from Sardinia to Bethlehem. He also suggests reasons why Adonis should have been connected with John the Baptist; a curious parallel is the floating head of Adonis in Egypt, and the fact that the relics of John were set afloat once a year in Babylon. Of course the time is really the chief point of contact; if the early Christian priests wished to adopt a heathen festival, they would be ready to identify very fanciful parallels when the times corresponded. A good deal of this book is assumption. There is so far as I am aware no authority for the finding of

Adonis's body, which Herr Wunsch takes to be part of the original Adonis-feast (p. 23). A good deal of the chapter on beans seems to be wide of the mark. The belief that beans contained the souls of the dead may have been common; but the bean-field, described by our Arab, in which the sacred image was found, may not have been essential at all; that field may have been just conveniently placed. At the same time, it would be worth while to know more of the Athenian Hero Kyamites. One interesting point brought out in the book, is that Adonis and St. John appear to have been connected elsewhere, and in Sardinia there is a trace of the *κῆποι*. St. John is often celebrated in grottoes; Herr Wunsch thinks these are a substitute for the sea-shore, which is somewhat far-fetched. I am bound to say, however, that the tone of the essay is generally critical, and the author is far more rigorous and less fanciful than many excursionists in the realms of folk-lore.

W. H. D. R.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR

Miletus.—The chief results of the work carried on here since October 1901 are as follows. The gateway at the beginning of the great processional road to Didyma, which had been previously excavated to the level of the period about 100 A. D. (as was testified by the discovery of an inscription of the Emperor Trajan), has been further explored. A gateway of late Hellenistic date has been brought to light, on either side of which was a large chamber, originally, no doubt, intended for the sentries. Before this were remains of another and older gateway, flanked on either side with towers, and of a wall built of squared stones of the best Hellenistic type. Apparently these are remains of the fortifications of the city, as they existed at the time of its capture by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. Altogether five important periods in the history of Miletus can now be distinguished: (1) the period of the older Hellenistic wall; (2) that of the later Hellenistic wall; (3) that of the improvements effected by the Emperor Trajan, by whom the level of all the low-lying streets was raised; (4) the time of the Emperor Gallienus, at which the ruined Hellenistic walls were replaced by another hastily raised (judging from the inscriptions and sculptures built into it) as a defence against the Goths; and

(5) the time of the Byzantine fortifications limited to the Hill of the Theatre.

Excavations were carried on South of the city in the Necropolis close to the Sacred Way. At a great depth were found tombs containing the remains of cremated bodies, while on both sides of the street was a series of monuments. The majority of these were below the Roman level and were evidently of Hellenistic date. Family graves with strong vaults were found built into the white limestone hillocks; others were in the form of subterranean caverns in the rock, with short staircases leading down to them. To Roman times belong the larger buildings in the form of temples *in antis*, with subterranean chambers and remains of wall paintings. In the Necropolis were found another of the well-known archaic seated figures, a richly decorated marble base, and fragments of archaic roof-decoration in terracotta.

The remains of the Nymphaeum, which formed the end of the great aqueduct, are sufficient to allow of a conjectural restoration of the façade. The building originally consisted of two stories; in the upper was the reservoir, which was supported by a series of strong arches. A restoration of the *βουλευτήριον* with its Propylaea and altar is also possible (see *Arch. Anz.* p. 154). The date of the building can be placed with confidence at about 200 B.C.; possibly its founder was Seleucos IV. (187—175 B.C.). The altar stood in the court before the Council House on a base decorated with reliefs of bulls' heads, lions' masks, and garlands; above this base was a series of small pillars, between which were marble reliefs representing a throned goddess, Heracles, etc. The whole was crowned by a fine marble cornice.

The progress of the work has been somewhat hindered by the difficulties attending negotiations as to compensation, etc. Now, however, the more important half of the site of Miletus has been secured for excavation, and a great deal still remains to be done, particularly in clearing the theatre.¹

Rhodes.—The recent excavations have led to the discovery of an inscription, which contains the name of a Rhodian admiral under M. Antonius praetor procos (the father of the triumvir) and A. Gabinus. It will be published by Professor Mommsen in *Hermes*. The Danish excavations at Lindos have been very fruitful in discoveries of architectural remains, sculptures, and

particularly of inscriptions relating to artists.²

SYRIA.

Baalbec.—As the result of the excavations carried on from Sept. 1901, the Northern half of the Propylaea has been cleared up to the stylobate of the front columns. Work in the courts brought a number of interesting inscriptions to light. On the base of a bronze statue was the following: *θεῶ μεγίστῳ Ἡλιονπολίτῃ δεσπότῃ [Κ]άσσιος Οἰῆρος ἅμα Χαρείνῃ [σ]υνμβίῳ τῇ ἀξιολογωτάτῃ καὶ . . .* Among the names occurring in the inscriptions are those of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Septimius Severus.

A few sculptures deserve mention. One is a votive relief to the three Heliopolitan deities, and represents Zeus in chiton and himation, with Hermes on his right and Aphrodite on his left hand. Hermes is nude and carries the *caduceus* and purse, while Aphrodite is wrapped in a chiton. The relief is in the pseudo-classical style of the Roman period. Upon another relief Hermes appears alone. A small altar decorated with star and crescent, jug, staff, and wreath, was probably dedicated to Men.

The so-called temples of the Sun and Jupiter have been completely excavated, and the ground plan of the latter can be accurately determined. The most interesting discovery in the temple of Jupiter was that of the Adyton at the W. end of the Cella. From the sculptures found it would appear that this temple was dedicated to Dionysos rather than to Zeus.

The German explorers have also examined various examples of Roman Architecture in other parts of Syria, including Palmyra, the E. Jordan Valley, and the Lebanon. Among the monuments studied were temples, theatres, and Nymphaea.³

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Mitteilungen des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung. Bd. xxvii. 1902. 1-2 Heft.

Report on excavations at Pergamon, 1900-1901, with preface by Conze. Philippson: Geology of district. Dörpfeld: Buildings, including Southern gate, main street, Agora, public fountain, and wall of Eumenes (six plates, nine cuts). Von Prott and Kolbe: Inscriptions, numbering 207, most important being those relating to *ἀστυνόμοι* and public bank (two plates). Thiersch: Miscellaneous finds. Dörpfeld: Abstract of subsequent operations.

¹ *Arch. Anz.*, 1902 (4).

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, March 14, 1903.

³ *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, 1902 (4).

3 Heft.

Von Prott: Dionysos Kathegemon (with supplementary note). Dissertation on Pergamene cults, of Dionysos as progenitor of the Attalidae, and of the Attalidae themselves.

Rubensohn: Third report on excavations in Paros, including the Pythion and Asklepieion (three plates and 24 cuts).

Calvert and Thiersch: Contributions to the topography of Troas (the harbour, Rhoiteion, and Ophryinion, and their situation).

Deubner: Phobos. Publishes two lamps in Athens Museum on which this deity is represented as a bear, supposed to protect the grave in which they were placed against robbers and other dangers (five cuts).

Discoveries: chiefly inscriptions from Asia Minor.
H. B. W.

Journal international d'arch. numismatique.
Parts 3 and 4, 1902.

Svoronos. Τὰ Πραξίτελεια ἀνάγλυφα τῶν Μουσῶν. Ἀρχαῖον μουσικὸν βῆμα (with illustrations). Konstantopolis. Βυζαντιακὰ μολυβδόβουλλα. Seals in the National Museum, Athens.—Rouvier, 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie. Sidon.'—Svoronos. Θησαυρὸς νομισμάτων ἐξ Ἁρεοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίας. A hoard of silver coins found in Euboea at Oreos (Histiaea) in September 1902. The specimens—perhaps only about half the treasure—that have been recovered from the finders and examined are 646 in number. Except a few pieces of Chalcis and

Histiaea none of the coins are of the island of Euboea itself. The most numerous are coins of Rhodes and of the Macedonian kings Philip V. and Perseus. The hoard was no doubt buried at the time of the war between Perseus and the Romans. The Roman fleet was stationed περὶ τὸν Ἁρεόν. The Rhodians were the allies of Perseus, hence, perhaps, the number of coins of Rhodes in this hoard—*Δραγούμις*. Στέμματα; Κληίδες; Ὀμφαλός.

Bulletin international de numismatique
(Paris) ii. 1903.

Tacchella publishes (p. 1 f.) an interesting tetradrachm with the usual types of Alexander the Great, but bearing the name—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ—of Cavarus king of Thrace, *circ.* 219 B.C. Bronze coins of this ruler were already known (Head, *Hist. num.* p. 243). Blanchet (p. 4) thinks that the bronze coins of Naukratis inscribed NAY and AΛΕ were struck as the result of an alliance between Naukratis and Alexandria. The *Revue belge de numismatique*, pt. 2, 1903 contains the concluding part of Dutilh's article on the coinage of the Egyptian Nomes. The *Rivista italiana di num.* part 4, 1902, contains—Dattari on Alexandrian coins; Lanza on coins of Agrigentum; Description of recent finds of denarii, Potenza and Vergnacco hoards, p. 541 f.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. 27, 4. 1902.

A. Brinkmann, *Ein Schreibgebrauch und seine Bedeutung für die Textkritik.* On the different marks of reference and direction by means of which in mss. of antiquity and early middle ages additions to the text, variants, &c., are introduced. Ignorance and neglect of them on the part of copyists has been a fruitful source of error. L. Ziehen, *IEPA ΔΕΥΡΟ.* In Philostratus (Life of Apollonius IV. 18. 155) in the passage on the Epidauria proposes *ἱερὰ δεῦρο* for *ἱερὰ δεῦρο* and gives the order of the Eleusinian festival days: 13 Boedromion, *ἀγυρμός* with *πρόρρησις*, 14. *ἱερὰ δεῦρο*, 15. *Ἐπιδαῦρια*, 16. *ἀλαθε μύσται*. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte.* I. The murder of Caracalla. On the composition of the Emperor's body-guard at this time. II. The decennial celebration of Gallienus. On the meaning of the term *milites alati* and on the political position of the period. A. Enmann, *Die älteste Redaction der Pontificalannalen.* Agrees with Mommsen that the Roman state-chronology was due to the tables of annals kept by the Pontifex in the Regia. Mucius Scaevola P.M. edited the *Annales maximi* while Tib. Coruncanus, the first plebeian P.M. published the oldest history of Rome. M. Fränkel, *Epigraphische Beiträge.* I. C. I. Gr. 1511. Seeks to restore the text and dates near the end of the fifth cent. B.C. II. On the *Aphaia inscr.* C. I. Pel. 1580. In answer to Furtwängler in No. 2 of this vol. P. v. Winterfeld, *Satzschlussstudien zur Historia Augusta.* I. On the autobiography of Hadrian. Sees traces of this autobiography in the

Vita Hadriani from the unmetrical endings of sentences. II. On the criticism and history of the text. By the help of the endings of sentences restores some passages. F. Reuss, *Zur Ueberlieferung der Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen.* I. Timagenes and the Alexandrian tradition. Protests against the hypothesis of a history of Al. by Timagenes. II. Eratosthenes and the Alexandrian tradition. Traces the agreement in the account of the campaigns by Strabo, Plutarch, and Arrian to a common source in the critical writings of Eratosthenes. IV. Aristobulus and Clitarchus. Maintains that Clitarchus lived about 260 and must have used Aristobulus. F. Wilhelm, *Zur römischen Elegie.* Traces the motive of jealousy in the Roman elegy to Alexandrian models, the influence of which is unmistakable in the love scenes. O. Neuhaus, *Der Vater der Sisygambis und das Verwandtschaftsverhältniss des Dareios III. Kodomannos zu Artaxerxes II and III.* Suspects Droysen's assumption (from Curt. x. 5. 23) that S. was a daughter of Artaxerxes II and concludes that she was a daughter of his brother Ostanes and wife and sister of Arsanes. W. Schmid, on *Soph. Antig.* 528. A. Körte *Ein Gesetz des Redners Lykurgos.* In the fourth of the laws of Lycurgus (in Plutarch vit. x. oratt. p. 842 A=Westermann Biog. p. 273) would alter τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος to τοῦ Ποσειδεῶνος. H. Schöne, *Eine Blattversetzung bei Galen.* W. Sternkop, *Zu Cicero ad Q. fr. II. 3.* A. Schulten, *Zur Lex Manciana—Pro salute imperatoris.* H. Lietzmann, *Prodecessor.* Gives evidence for the use of this word in the sense of *decessor*. A. Zimmermann, *Ueber die römischen*

bezw. italienischen Personennamen, die bald die Stammsilbe Pop (b) bald Pub (p) tragen. L. Radermacher, *Μυκήνησι*. Finds this word in the expression ἐμοὶ κινήσει of the Paris cod. of the so-called Epitome of Adamantios.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 9, 8. 1902.

M. Guggenheim, *Studien zu Platonis Idealstaat (Kynismus und Platonismus)*. (1) The beginning of the doctrine of the *contrat social*. (2) The antithesis οἰκείον...ἀλλότριον. (3) The definition of τὸ δίκαιον and the value of the judgment on δίκαιον and ἄδικον. (4) The division of labour as an essential principle of society. (5) The training for philosophy with Isocrates, Antisthenes, and Plato. Reviews of Nissen's *Italische Landeskunde* II. 1 and Hense's *Die Modifizierung der Maske in der griechischen Tragödie*.

Part 9. F. Köpp, *Harmodios und Aristogeiton*. Seeks to show in opposition to Wilamowitz and Reizenstein that the collection of scolia in Athenaeus is not a 'Kommersbuch' from ancient times but a late product. The history of the tyrannicides is followed up both in the way of the evidence of lyric poetry and the historical accounts in Thucydides and Aristotle and supported by coins and works of art. Th. Zielinski, *Antike Humanität*. Deals with the question how far the personality of a dramatist can be detected in his works and concludes that owing to his many-sidedness it is impossible to bring him under a simple formula. The writer refers to Euripides and Nestle's book upon Eur. as 'the poet of the Greek illumination.' In theology Eur. is sometimes a doubter, sometimes a believer, in physics he is a dualist (Zeus—æther and earth). Eur. declares himself against all privileges of nobility, riches, free birth, and Greek origin. In politics he favours a moderate democracy. There are reviews of Jahn and Michaelis' *Arx Athenarum a Pausania descripta*, Villari's *Le invasioni barbariche in Italia* and Negri's *L'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata*.

Part 10. C. Fries, *Babylonische und griechische Mythologie*. Between the four rivers of Hades, the κρήναι πίσιπες of Calypso's isle and the four streams of Paradise there is a mythological connexion. F. Blass, *Die Textüberlieferung in Demosthenes' olympischen Reden*. Replies to a critic in *Revue des études grecques* 1901, and develops his views on the question how far rhythm is available for the criticism of the text of Demosthenes. E. Gerland, *Kreta*. Discusses the results of the recent discoveries in Greek, especially those of the English and Italian excavators. P. Wolters reviews Ruhlands' *Die kretinischen Göttinnen und Entwicklung ihrer Typen in der attischen Plastik* and J. Iberg traces the expression *Wo das Eisen wächst* to the ancient representations of Jupiter Dolichenus on whose inscriptions occurs the formula *ubi ferrum nascitur*, see also Schol. Ap. Rhod. I. 1323 and Suid. s.v. χαλυβες.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 31, I. 1903.

S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem*. J. v. L. Ad. scholia Aristoph. Lys. 62. Suggests ἐπεὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν ἐτέμνητο (for ἐτέμνητο). H. v. Herwerden, *Homericæ. Ad Odysseum*. W. C. H. Capel, *Ad Senecam*. Critical notes on the Letters with references to Hense's edition. M. L. Earle, *Ad Vergilii Aen.* i. 39 sqq. Proposes *illa* in 42 and *Ipsum* in 44. K. G. P. Schwartz, *Ad Lucianum*. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea*. J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Aristophanis Plutum*. Main-

tains that only one edition of the *Plutus* was published by Aristophanes and that it was never revised by himself or others. J. van Leeuwen, *ΛΕΙΠΙΟΣ sive ΛΕΙΠΙΟΕΙΣ quid significat?* With reference to Kenyon's *Bacchylides* XVII. 95. The word means merely *bright*. J. Vürtheim, *Vellus aureum*. In support of his previous explanation in the last vol. V. refers to Catullus, lxi. 271 *aurora exoriente vagi sub lumina solis*.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 27, i. 1903.

P. Foucart, *Les constructions de l'Acropole d'après l'Anonymus Argentinensis*. A Greek papyrus discovered in Egypt, published 1902, makes the date of the beginning of first Parthenon 469, of second 447, and of Propylaea 437-432. G. Ramain, *Plautus Epidicus*. Notes. J. Lebreton, *Études cicéroniennes*. II. *Emploi du pronom démonstratif coordonné à un relatif*. The relative construction is normal; the other is preferred only for special reasons. A. Misier, *Les manuscrits parisiens de Grégoire de Naziance* (continued). E. Chatelain, *Notes sur quelques palimpsestes de Turin*. B. Haussoullier, *Note sur une inscription d'Éphèse*. L. Havet, *Plautus Persa* 159. Proposes; ποθεν τ' ornamenta. M. L. Earle, *Ad Caesaris comm. de b. g. initium*. Rewrites the beginning. H. Bornecque, *Le texte de Sénèque le père* (concluded). L. Havet, *Plautus Men.* 98. Proposes *Nam illic <it> homo homines. Non alit etc.* V. Mortet, *Notes sur le texte des Institutions de Cassiodore*. Observations on the character of geometry in Cassiodorus and the teaching of this science in the first part of the middle ages. J. Bidez, *Un faux dieu des Oracles Chaldaïques*. J. Bidez, *Fragments nouveaux de Sotérichos?* F. Gaffiot, *Études Latines*. A further note on *quid est quod*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

7 Jan. A. Nikitsky, *Die geographische Liste der delphischen Proxenoï* (Gillischewski), very favourable. A. Ludwich, *Besserungsvorschläge zu Kolluthos* (C. Haebertin). 'Very good and acceptable.' E. Lavis, *Histoire de France. I. Les origines, la Gaule indépendante et la Gaule romaine*, par G. Bloch (E. Kornemann), favourable.

14 Jan. F. H. M. Blaydes, *Spicilegium tragicum* (H. Otte), unfavourable. Fr. Kortz, *Die Eigentümlichkeiten der Kallimacheischen Dichtkunst* (G. Wörpel), favourable. W. Gebhardi, *Ein ästhetischer Kommentar zu den lyrischen Dichtungen des Horaz.* 2 Aufl. von A. Scheffler (W. Hirschfelder), very favourable. Gregorii Nysseni *περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου liber a Burgundione in Latinum translatus*, ed. J. Burkhard, IV. V. (J. Dräseke). 'A work of exemplary diligence and painstaking accuracy.'

21 Jan. *Apollonii Dyscoli quae supersunt*, rec. R. Schneider et G. Uhlig, I. 2 (P. Maas). 'An extraordinarily valuable work.' O. Henricke, *Observationes criticae in Galeni Commentarios περὶ Ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ ἑμπεριμάτων* (R. Fuchs), favourable. H. Magnus, *Studien zur Überlieferung und Kritik der Metamorphosen Ovids*, VI. (A. Zingerle), favourable. C. André, *Dans quelle mesure se sert-on encore du Latin?* (P. Cauer). 'An interesting survey.'

28 Jan. *Hippocratis opera*, vol. ii. Ed. H. Kuchlewein (R. Fuchs). 'An important work.' F. Marucci, *Studio critico sulle opere di Catone il Maggiore*, I. i. (F. Münzer), unfavourable on the whole. *Cicronis Rhetorica*, rec. A. S. Wilkins, I. (Th. Stangl), very favourable. Fr. Aly, *Humanismus oder Historismus* (P. Cauer), very favourable.

The Classical Review

JUNE 1903.

THE *nomos* of Timotheus of Miletus, innovating musician and poet, may now be studied in the edition of Prof. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf. The style of this ode on the great defeat of Xerxes will doubtless be a shock to tastes trained on the Attic models. Its bragging compound epithets, its *σμαραγδοχαίτης πόντος* and *ιχθυοστέφει μαρμαροπτέροις κόλποισιν Ἀφροδίτας*, and its artificial periphrases, *τρόφιμον ἄγγος* for the throat and *στόματος μαρμαροφεγγεῖς παῖδες* for the teeth, are rather startling than effective. Of a piece is the introduction into a serious poem of frankly solecistic Greek, such as the suppliant Asiatic's *ἤξε* for *ἤγαγε* and *κάθω* for *καθεδοῦμαι*. But for the light, direct and indirect, which it throws on Greek lyrical and musical development the fragment is most precious.

It is time that there was a protest against the practice which certain foreign publishers adopt of printing corrigenda and addenda to a publication upon the back or inside of its paper cover instead of on a separate page or slip. This petty economy is particularly inconvenient when a work is published in parts which appear at lengthy intervals and we are especially sorry to note that a firm of the standing of Messrs. Teubner of Leipzig allow it in a book of the importance of Roscher's *Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology*.

Steps are being taken towards the formation of a Classical Association for England and Wales, and it is hoped that a meeting of those interested in the project will be held in the course of the next few months.

NO. CLI. VOL. XVII.

The objects of the contemplated association are to bring the friends of the classics closer together, by so doing to secure for classical studies their due recognition in the education of the country, and to consider and promote improvements in classical teaching. Space forbids details: but amongst those already supporting the movement may be mentioned the names of Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Principal N. Bodington, Yorkshire College of Science, Dr. Gow, Westminster School, Miss Penrose, Royal Holloway College, Prof. Sonnenschein, University of Birmingham, and Prof. R. S. Conway, University College, Cardiff. Those who are favourable to the project are asked to send their names with suggestions as to the date and place of the first meeting to either of the two last named gentlemen, or to the editor of this Review.

Apropos of Classical Associations, we are glad to welcome the Cambridge Classical Society, of the foundation of which a brief account is furnished by a contributor in another column.

It is with great regret that we announce that the increasing pressure of other work compels Mr. A. B. Cook to relinquish the assistant-editorship which he has held for nearly five years. We are sure that this feeling will be shared by all our readers, though they cannot from the nature of the case fully appreciate how much the *Review* owes to Mr. Cook's able and devoted service.

R

HOMERIC NOTES.

Iliad iv, 201 f. and 222.

Verses 221–222 tell how at the advance of the Trojans, the Greeks again put on their armour and prepared for battle. Is this a contradiction of what has been told but twenty verses before? Verses 199–202 are as follows :

βῆ δ' ἵεσθαι κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
παπταίνων ἥρωα Μαχάονα. τὸν δὲ νόησεν
ἔστεῶτ'· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κρατερὰὶ στίχες ἀσπι-
στάων

λαῶν, οἳ οἱ ἔποντο Τρίκης ἐξ ἱπποβότοιο.

Ameis-Hentze, Anhang to Book IV, page 19, after setting aside the various arguments urged against the earlier portions of this book, conclude thus :

“Ueberdies bleibt der nicht zu beseitigende Anstoss, in den Uebergangsversen 221–222, die Neurüstung der Achaeer, befremdend, weil Machaon und seine Scharen bereits 201 bewaffnet dastehen. Dieser Anstoss kann nicht durch die von Benicken vorgenommene Athese von 222 beseitigt werden, denn dieselbe Voraussetzung liegt auch der folgende Epipoleis zu Grunde, wie 252 *θωρήσσοντο* und 274, *κορυσέσθην* zeigen.”

But is the arming of the Greeks in 222 a contradiction of 201 f.? Does 201 describe the Greeks as already armed? Does *ἀσπιστάων* mean those already armed, or is it a general word for warriors? In *Il.* v, 577, the verse *ἀρχὸν Παφλαγόνων μεγαθύμων ἀσπιστάων* means simply, ‘Leader of the proud Paphlagonian warriors.’ So in the passage in question, *ἀσπιστάων* is another Homeric example of the use of an adjective which applied at one time, as if it applied at all times. In *Il.* v, 375 Aphrodite in tears is called ‘the laughter-loving Aphrodite’ *φιλομυειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη*. And in *Il.* v, 769, and in *Od.* ix, 527, although it is mid-day, the sky is still called ‘starry.’

And *Od.* iii, 400 Nestor puts Telemachus to bed, ‘and by his side he put Peisistratus of good-ashen spear.’ *ἔνυμνελὴν Πεισίστρατον*. Certainly we cannot think that Peisistratus would take an ashen spear to bed with him in time of peace, so in this passage, *Il.* iv, 201 f. *κρατερὰὶ στίχες ἀσπιστάων*, the meaning is not ‘strong ranks of men already armed,’ but ‘mighty ranks of warriors.’ There is no contradiction between 201 f. and the later passages 222, 252,

274, which describe the Greeks as arming. There is no need of emending, as no contradiction exists.

Iliad, x, 243, and *Odyssey* i, 65.

πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην,

In the *Iliad* these are the words of Diomedes, in the *Odyssey* the words of Zeus. Ameis-Hentze, Anhang to *Il.* x, 243, ‘W. Jordan bemerkte dass an keiner andern Stelle *θείος* im Munde eines Gottes von einem Menschen gebraucht werde.’ This is regarded as a decisive reason for making the passage in *K* the original one, and for making the verse in the *Odyssey* borrowed from it. Yet in *ε*, 11 *Athene* the goddess says of this same mortal, *Odysseus*, *ὡς οὗτις μέμνηται Ὀδυσῆος θείοιο*.

Zeus himself uses it of Heracles in *Iliad* *Il.* xv, 25; but the word is nowhere used by Diomedes, except this place in *Il.* x. Then too the phrase *Ὀδυσῆος θείοιο* amounts almost to a mannerism in the *Odyssey*, occurring no less than twenty-six times. The frequency of this phrase, and the fact that *Od.* v, 11, is an exact parallel, where the same phrase is put in the mouth of a god, and the added fact that *θείοιο* is elsewhere used by Zeus, but never by Diomedes, are negative proofs of the originality of *Od.* i. 65.

Then too the condescending yet self-assertive tone of the verse is better suited to the king of the gods, than to the quiet blunt Diomedes. In *Il.* x, Diomedes had no occasion to put in *ἐγὼ* as he contrasts himself with no one; while the whole tone of the passage in the *Odyssey* demands the use of *ἐγὼ* by Zeus.

Iliad, xi, 233 ff.

Iliad xi, 233 ff. describes the duel between Agamemnon and Iphidamas. Agamemnon hurls first and misses, yet in the end slays Iphidamas. To this the scholiast notes, *μόνον νῦν ὁ πρότερος ἀφείς νικᾷ καὶ δεύτερον ἀφείς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις μονομαχίαις τετρήγεται ὅτι ὁ πρότερος ἀφείς νικάται*.

This note is repeated without comment by Leaf and Bayfield, in their note to xi, 233, ‘This is the only instance in the *Iliad* where the warrior who has the first cast and misses his shot still wins in the end.’

Both these notes are wrong, as in the *Iliad* xiii. 600–619 the story of the combat between Menelaus and Peisander is narrated

where the first cast is made by Menelaus, he fails, yet wins in the end. The duel in xiii, is almost a duplicate of the one in xi.

Odyssey iii, 269.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι.

To whom does μιν refer? A glance at the different annotated editions will show that it has been referred to Agamemnon, Aegisthus, the bard, and Clytaemnestra.

The examples used to support the view that Clytaemnestra is meant, and that δαμῆναι can be used unmodified of yielding to lust, are not exact parallels, because in no case is δαμῆναι thus used absolutely, but is explained by ἔρωσ or φιλότῃτι. An exact parallel would be where loss of virtue is spoken of as destruction, without an explaining word. Such an example, though late, is found in Lysias i. 8, where the old farmer in telling how the adulterer corrupted his wife, says, καὶ λόγους προσφέρων ἀπόλεσεν αὐτήν. Here ἀπόλεσεν is exactly the causative of δαμῆναι and shows that the loss of virtue may be spoken of as destruction, without a modifying word.

Odyssey iv, 511.

Proteus in describing the death of Ajax

Oileus to Menelaus uses the following grim and seeming cruel humour, *Odyssey* iv, 511.

ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐνθ' ἀπόλωλεν, ἐπεὶ πῖεν ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.
'Thus there he perished, since he drank salt water.'

The apparent heartlessness of these words led Eustathius to reject the verse. Nitzsch, Dindorf, and many editors have rejected it. A very close parallel to this grim humour is found in *Hamlet*, Act iv. scene vii., where Laertes is told of the death of his sister Ophelia.

Laertes Alas, then she is drown'd !

Queen Drown'd, drown'd.

Laertes Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,
And therefore I forbid my tears.

Certainly if Shakespeare could put in the mouth of a brother such grim humour as 'Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,' Homer might easily let Proteus make a similar grim jest on the arrogant and foreign Ajax.

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THE ANCIENT NAME OF GLA.

THE rock fortress which once stood in Lake Copais and whose remains are known at the present day as Ghà, Glà, or Goulas, has not been identified with any ancient site. Noack, in his well-known article (*Ath. Mitth.* 19. 463 sq.) concluded for Arne, but his hypothesis was rejected by de Ridder (*B.C.H.* 18. 446) and is not generally accepted (Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 129).

While reading Rzach's new edition of *Hesiod* I came across the following fragment (No. 38) quoted by Strabo, p. 424: καὶ Ἡσίοδος δ' ἐπὶ πλεόν περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ [sc. τοῦ Κηφισοῦ] λέγει καὶ τῆς ῥύσεως, ὡς δι' ὅλης ῥέου τῆς Φωκίδος σκολιῶς καὶ δρακοντοειδῶς.

παρὲκ Πανοπῆα διὰ Γλήχωνα τ' ἐρυμνὴν καὶ τε δι' Ἐρχομενοῦ εἰλιγμένους εἰσι δράκων ὥς.

There are some variants on the form of the words παρὲκ Πανοπῆα, but they do not affect the rest of the quotation.

I venture to suggest that Γλήχων may be the ancient name of Glà or Goulas. The

word does not appear to occur elsewhere, and Sittl (ed. 1889, p. 607) has recourse to the desperate expedient of reading Τρηχῖν'.

In favour of this identification may be urged (1) the similarity of name, Γλάχων and Glà, (2) the fact that Glà does stand upon the course of the Cephissus or Melas, and must have been after Orchomenus the most important place upon it, (3) the epithet ἐρυμνὴν suits Glà as well as τειχιόεσσαν Tiryns. (4) There is an obvious parallel between the disappearance of the name Γλήχων and the oblivion which overtook Glà.

Against this is to be set the fact that the places in *Hesiod*'s lines occur in the wrong order. This, however, may fairly be set down to the epic manner.¹ The places mentioned in the Catalogue occur in any

¹ Which Strabo 408 recognises and excuses. Ὁ[ποιητὴς ἀτάκτως χρῆται] τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν τόπων τῶν τε ἀ[γιο]λόγων καὶ τῶν μή· καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ ἀσκήμοις τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ ἐν μέσσοις μῆδοι τῇ τάξει διαπεσεῖν.

order, and even where the poet might be expected to be more precise, as in accounts of journeys, the sequence of localities is violated. So *h. Apoll.* 423 Cretans sailing north along the west coast of the Peloponnese, past the 'ford of the Alpheus' before they come to Pylos, Cruni, and Chalcis, and which are known to have been to the south of that river, and *ib.* 242 Apollo proceeding

through Boeotia westwards comes to Ocalea before Haliartus. Again if it be thought that Strabo's wording should include Glechon in Phocis, the answer is that Glechon as a site had been forgotten for centuries.¹

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Strabo may have taken the quotation from Theopompus, who is his authority for this district.

SOME PASSAGES OF AESCHYLUS AND OTHERS.

THEBAE.

Theb. 83. The Theban women overhear the spy's report, and are then supposed to leave their houses and rush together for sanctuary to the Gods. What has struck them with such panic terror is the announcement that the enemy is coming:

59 ἔγγυς γὰρ ἦδη πάνοπλος Ἀργείων στρατὸς
χωρεῖ, κόνει, πεδία δ' ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς
χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππίων ἐκ πλευρόνων·

and it is out of these words that their imaginations weave what follows:

μεθίεται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών,
ῥεῖ πολλὸς ὄδε λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότης·
αἰθερία κόνις με πεῖθει φανείσθ'·
ἄναυδος σαφὴς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος·

83 ἔλε δέ μ' ἀσπίδων πᾶτα γος . . .
. πεδί' ὀπλοκτυπ . . .

where ἔλε με is used in precisely the same way as by the Danaids in a similar situation. *Supp.* 794 πατρὸς σκοπαὶ δέ μ' εἶλον· οἷχομαι φόβῳ. But the transcriber's eye, instead of continuing the word ἀσπίδων, was diverted by the πεδί so resembling it below, and what he has bequeathed is only

ἐλεόμασπεδιοπλοκτύπος

leaving scholiasts to suppose an adjective ἐλεδεμάς, or to conjecture ἐλεδεμένας. Another's comment καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς δέ μου πεδία κατακτυπούμενα κτέ. leaves it doubtful whether he is trying to explain ἔλε δ' ἐμάς or whether τὰς ἐμάς did actually precede πεδί' in the original.

125 σύ τ' Ἄρης φεῦ φεῦ ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου
πόλιν
φύλαξον κήδεσάι τ' ἐναργῶς.

I suspect this is a gloss either on τὰν Καδμώνυμον or τὰν γαμβρόνυμον, i.e. τὰν Καδεμίαν: it would be a natural explanatory

form, as in Lycophr. 183 τοῦ ἐπώνυμου τοῦ πολέμου is the explanation of οὐλαμώνυμον.

SUPPLICES.

1033 ὑποδέξασθε δ' ὀπαδοὶ μέλος . . .
Mr. Tucker says 'ὑποδέξασθε. not = διαδέξασθε. The ὀπαδοὶ bear no part in the words . . . The attendants are only bidden to accompany the song with suitable steps or motions'. Such a proceeding is no doubt conceivable, but I do not discover any warrant for it in the language. ὑποδέχεσθαι was used for 'to succeed' in time or place: *Hdt.* 7. 176 τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέχεται καὶ τεύαγα. And in *Ath.* 694 a (*F.H.G.* iv. 342) Artemon, explaining how σκόλια came to be so called, employs the term ὑποδοχή to describe the method of singing in succession: there were three ways of singing τὰ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας, of which the third was τὸ σκολιόν 'zig-zag': τριῶν γενῶν ὄντων . . . ὦν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ὃ δὴ πάντας ἄδειν νόμος ἦν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὃ δὴ πάντες μὲν ἦδον οὐ μὴν ἅμα γὰρ ἀλλὰ¹ κατὰ τινα περίοδον ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς,² τὸ τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τάξιν ἔχον, οὐ μετέχον οὐκέτι πάντες ἀλλ' οἱ συνετοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τόπον τινα εἰ τύχοιεν ὄντες.³ διόπερ ὡς ἀταξίαν τινα μόνον παρὰ τᾶλλα ἔχον τὸ μήθ' ἅμα μήθ' ἐξ ἧς γινόμενον σκόλιον ἐκλήθη. The first was a general chorus, ἅμα πάντες, *tutti*; in the second all took part, only not all at the same time (ἅμα), but successively (ἐξῆς, ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς); the third was by *solo* voices picked out here and there at any place. The second fashion is described as καθ' ἓνα ἐξῆς by Dicaearchus in *Schol. Plat. Gorg.* 451 E where the meaning of the words lost is evident from

¹ I correct the MS. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γὰρ κατὰ . . . *Ath. Pol.* p. 8 Sandys ἦκησαν δ' οὐχ ἅμα πάντες οἱ ἐννέα ἔρχοντες ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς . . . *Plat. Theaet.* 189 E ἦτοι ἅμα γὰρ ἢ εἰ μέλει.

² Add this to the Dictionaries.

³ καθ' ὅντινα τόπον αἶε τύχοιεν ὄντες Kaibel, or καθ' ὅντινα τύχοιεν ὄντες τόπον.

Athenaeus. I do not therefore see why ὑποδέσασθε μέλος should not mean 'take up the strain', as Miriam in Exodus 15. 21 takes up the song of Moses in v. 1. The Choruses in Tragedy as our texts give them are merely the *libretti*; they do not indicate ὑποδοχαί, but in Aeschylus at any rate there is enough to show us they were frequent; and it would not be surprising if there had been considerable use of solo voice.

AGAMEMNON.

189 στάζει δ' ἔν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας
 μνησιπήμων πόνος
 καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν·
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βιαία (or βίαιος)
 σέλαμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

στάζει is rightly explained by Dr. Verrall: 'The admonitory recollection of experience is compared to a wound which long afterwards will ache at times and even break out again, reminding the sufferer of the original hurt.' I cannot go with him further in his reading and explanation, for he considers it an erroneous assumption that the ὕπνος is that of the sufferer, and that on this assumption nothing can be made of the passage; but the root of the idea is a sore that oozes, bleeds, breaks out again. And ἔν ὕπνῳ is a most important part of it. Bodily disease may be unfelt in the activity of day, but will disturb the sick man's rest upon his bed: Dio Chrys. II p. 169 κ. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόσημα οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀναίσθητον τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὥς μηδέποτε βλάψαι μηδὲ ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι μηδεμίαν πράξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργηγορότι καὶ¹ βαδίζοντι μὴ σφόδρα ἐνοχλῇ, εἰς γε τὴν κοίτην ἀπὸντησε καὶ διασπᾶ καὶ διαφθείρει τὸν ὕπνον. And as it is with bodily diseases, so it is with the sufferings of a wounded spirit, which is eloquently, stated by Achilles Tatius i. 6, ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ δωματίον παρήλθον, ἐνθα μοι καθεύδειν ἔθος ἦν, οὐδ' ὕπνον τυχεῖν ἡδυνάμην. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τᾶλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος τραύματα ἐν νυκτὶ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπαινίσταται μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ ἐρεθίζει τὰς ἀλγυδόνας· ὅταν γὰρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἔλκος νοσεῖν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα μὴ κινουμένου τοῦ σώματος πολὺ μᾶλλον ὀδυνᾷ. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὄτα πολλῆς γεμίζόμενα περιεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσον τὴν ἀκμὴν, ἀντιπεριάγοντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς· ἐὰν δ' ἡσυχία τὸ σῶμα πεδηθῇ, καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ

γενομένη τῷ κακῷ κυμαίνεται. πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγίρεται τότε τὰ τέως κοιμώμενα· τοῖς πενθοῦσιν αἱ λύπαι, τοῖς μερμυῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες, τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ φόβοι, τοῖς ἐρώσι τὸ πῦρ. Conscience also 'chastens in the night-season,' as they say in the Old Testament, from which many illustrations could be drawn; the best, perhaps, are Job 33. 14. *For God speaketh once, yea twice, in a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction, that he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man; he keepeth back man from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword. He is chastened also with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones; and so on;* such act of God is a χάρις βίαιος—whom he loveth he chasteneth—to make man repent and deliver his soul from going into the pit: 5. 17 *Happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty: for he maketh sore, and bindeth up: he woundeth and his hands make whole.* Psalm 16. 7 *I will bless the Lord who hath given me counsel: yea, my reins instruct me in the night seasons.* συμφέρει, as we are told in the *Eumenides* v. 523 σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει, under the deterrent influence of fear; and when fear was sent divinely to a man, it was commonly in the time of rest upon his bed, in dream (Job 4. 12—17, 30. 15—17, *Wisdom of Solomon* 17 and 18. 17—19²); and such fears in the Greek view, came by the agency of δαίμονες, black spirits (e.g. *Cho.* 282—8): thus were theologised the twinges of a guilty conscience, which Plato in *Rep.* 330 D—E describes as torturing a man upon his death-bed with the fear of Hell, and causing him to start up, like a frightened child, from sleep: he had ridiculed such myths before, but now they rack him with the apprehension that they may be true—whether it be merely from the weakness of old age, or because he really sees those terrors plainer, being nearer to them. It was in dream that the divine part of us waked and saw; εὔδει δέ, says Pindar in *fr.* 131, *πρασόντων μελέων*, it lies dormant while the limbs are active, but becomes prophetic when we are asleep. Aeschylus can hardly not have shared in this Pythagorean doctrine, and must I think include allusion to it here; it is his brevity in allusion to familiar doctrine that makes his lyrics difficult. *μνησιπήμων* like *μνησιτέφανος ἀγών* in Pindar means 'put-

¹ καὶ in one MS. wrongly as in Soph. *Trach.* 1108; καὶ followed by γε means 'even though . . . , yet . . .'

² Though the object is not here regarded as deterrent: compare Lysias 105.

ting in mind of suffering,' and could mean both 'reminding of the past' and 'warning of the future.'—*πρὸ καρδίας* is 'at the seat of consciousness,' cf. 967, Cho. 390, *Eum.* 103.—The *τε* in *ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ*, which critics either alter or ignore, is to be taken, as I have pointed out, with *καί*, and means *simul ac*; if this very common construction had been recognised here, I do not think we should have heard of any objection to *ἐν ὕπνῳ*.

352 οὐ τὰν ἅλυντες αὐθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν : Zenob. i. 35, Diogen. i. 33 αἰροῦντες ἡρήμεσθα, Suid. αἰρήσω τάχα, Ael. *N.H.* i. 29 αἰρεῖ τοὺς ὀρνιθοθήρας ἡρημένῃ, Opp. *Hal.* 2. 133 ὁλλύμενοι δ' ὀλέκονσι καὶ οὐς πέφνονσι φονήας, Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 3. 20 εἰ οἱ κυκλοῦμενοι κυκλωθεῖεν, *A.P.* ix. 14 εἶλε δ' ἁλούς, Soph. *O.C.* 1025 ἔχων ἔχει, καὶ σ' εἶλε θηρῶνθ' ἡ τύχη : such phrases for 'the biter bit,' 'turning the tables' or 'catching a Tartar' are favourite in Greek and Latin; but my object is to quote enough to warrant a correction of Soph. *O.C.* 547. I think it ought to run like this :

ΟΙ. ἔχει δέ μοι πρὸς δίκας τι. ΧΟ. τί γάρ ;
ΟΙ. ἐγὼ φράσω·

καὶ γὰρ ἁλούς ἔλον, εἰ καὶ ἀπόλεσα·
νόμῳ δὲ καθαρὸς, αἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἔλθων.

'If I slew, it was only in retaliation; and I am innocent in law, as having been led into the act unwittingly.'

That of course is his plea, 271-4, 975-7, 988-98, and that was the legal view and legal formula, Plat. *Legg.* 865 Stallbaum. 869 D, 874 B—C. The order is καὶ γὰρ ἁλούς ἔλον here because the stress is not on ἔλον but on ἁλούς. The MSS. give καὶ γὰρ ἁλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ἀπόλεσα (or attempting to make metre, κάπῳλεσα) νόμῳ δὲ καθαρὸς αἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον. First ἁλλους for ἁλούς (Hermann) was an easy error; then ἐφόνευσα was the gloss on ἔλον, for it was the regular way of explaining ἀνελεῖν and ἐλεῖν in this sense: e.g. Bekk. An. 396. 1 ἀνελεῖν : ... ἔστιν ὅτε ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφόνευσε λαμβάνεται. Hesych. ἀνέλω : φονεύσω. *Eumen.* 357 φίλον ἔλῃ : φονεύσῃ. *Phoen.* 755 ἔλοι δορί : φονεύσαι. Lycophr. 435 εἶλε : ἐφόνευσε. Better still perhaps would be καὶ γὰρ ἁλούς ἔλον,—εἰ καὶ ἀπόλεσα, νόμῳ γε καθαρὸς, αἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἔλθων 'even though I slew, yet pure in the law's eye;' but in any case I can't help feeling we want ἔλθων : it would have been easy to misunderstand the construction and write ἦλθον.

592 ΚΛ.

616 οὐκ οἶδα· τέρψιν—οἶδ' ἐπίψογον
φάτιν—
ἅλλον πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ
βαφάς.

618 KH. τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων
οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ὥς γυναικὶ γενναῖα
λακεῖν.

XO. αὐτῇ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μανθάνοντί σοι
τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.
σὺ δ' εἶπέ, κῆρυξ—Μενέλεων δὲ
πεύθομαι
εἰ νόστιμός τε καὶ σεσσωσμένος πάλιν
ἥξει σὺν ὑμῖν, τῇσδε γῆς φίλον
κράτος.

The MS. gives 618-9 to the Herald; most critics follow Hermann now in giving them to Clytemnestra (Paley, Weil, Enger, Schneidewin, Karsten, Margoliouth, Wecklin, Sidgwick); Dr. Verrall thinks they are spoken by a 'Conspirator.' The passage is no doubt a trying one; but if it has not been treated successfully hitherto, the reason is, I think, that critics have not allowed themselves to be guided by the usages of language. Many of them for instance (as Schuetz, Davies, Conington, and Dr. Verrall) begin by rendering τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος '*talis quidem sui iactatio*, 'a boast like this,' 'that sort of boast,' as though it were τοιόσδε κόμπος : now a sound method, I submit, would say 'τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος cannot mean "a boast like this," but only "such is the boast," and unless it is corrupt—which is improbable, for corruption would rather be the other way—our explanation must allow it its due meaning.' Let us then follow the guidance of the language, and see where that will lead us to.

μανθάνω means *intellego*, 'I see,' 'I understand,' 'I take your meaning'; μανθάνεις; 'do you see?' Examples are abundant in Comedy and Plato; Eur. *Or.* 1129 ΠΥ. εἴτ' αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦργον οἱ τείνεις χρεῶν. OP. 'Ελένην φονεύει' μανθάνω τὸ σύμβολον. ΠΥ. ἔγνωσ. Ar. *Ran.* 64 ΔΙ. ἀρ' ἐκδιδάσκω [tragic¹] τὸ σαφές, ἡ τέρα φράσω; HP. μὴ δήτα περὶ ἔτρουσ γε· πάνν γὰρ μανθάνω. And μανθάνεις accordingly means 'you understand,' *rem tenes*, as Lucian i. 564 ΑΓΟ. οὐκοῦν . . . δηλον ὅτι μόνος ὁ σπονδαῖος μισθὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ λήγεται; ΧΡΥΣ. μανθάνεις. This is implied by a participle in Cho. 112, HA. ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ τὰρ ἐπεύξωμαι τάδε; XO. αὐτῇ σὺ ταῦτα μανθάνουσ' ἥδη φράσαι, i.e. μανθάνεις : and the same is implied here by μανθάνοντί σοι : 'Her speech is thus, as you understand.' The person addressed, therefore, must have shown the Elder that he understands; and it follows that the previous remark cannot have been made by Clytemnestra : seeing

¹ ἀρὰ γε διδάσκω; in Alexis 116. 14 is the Attic. In P. V. 786 Messrs. Sikes and Willson have restored ὥς τοῖνον ὕταν τῶνδε μανθάνειν πάρα.

no reason to believe in Dr. Verrall's Conspirator, I conclude that the MS. is right in assigning 618-9 to the Herald. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε is a formula dismissing *her* case, as 941 τοῦμόν μὲν οὕτω, *Eum.* 556, *Theb.* 409, 1003, *Supp.* 513; they jot in *μανθάνοντί σοι*, and add a plainer explanation in the following line, of which the natural interpretation is 'in the judgment of good critics—those who can read between the lines—only very specious words.' Then σὺ δ' εἰπέ, κῆρυξ, is the antithesis to αὕτη μὲν αὕτως, 'now for *your* story further.'

λακεῖν is an invidious word; it means 'to scream' or 'cry aloud without reserve or self-control' (αὔειν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα *Theb.* 169, *Supp.* 884): it is used contemptuously by Clytemnestra of the bawling news-bringers in 856, and her γυναικείῳ νόμῳ¹ ὁλολυγμὸν ἔλασκον' in 601 is a retort, quoting the contemptuous judgments passed on her supposed impetuous behaviour; in 1427 περιφρόνα ἔλακες is used of her by the Chorus (as κομπάζεις in 1399) to rebuke her vaunting menaces, but a woman of her character would never, I think, apply it to herself: in 287 she replies with scorn οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάκοιμι¹ βριζούσης φρενός 'I should not come crying the mere fancy of a drowsing brain.'

But the most important phrase is ὡς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ, which so far as I can find, two critics only—Peile and Mr. Margoliouth²—make any attempt to deal with. Yet every one knows the force this ὡς after an adjective should have; a limiting or qualifying force; not, as Peile takes it, 'particularly for a noble lady,' but 'for such a person as a noble lady,' 'considering that a noble lady is the speaker.' Examples are familiar, as *Soph.* *O.T.* 1118 πιστὸς ὡς νομῆς

¹ This is Karsten's correction of the MS. λάβοιμι which cannot bear the sense attributed to it here; that would be οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην δόξαν εὐδόουσης φρενός. But δόξαν λαβεῖν is used only in the following senses: (1) *to get reputation*, with or without an epithet, or with a genitive *reputation of or for*; as λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ζῆλον, φόρον, ὄνειδος, εὐκλειαν, διαβολήν, φθόνον, αἰσχύνην, γέλωτα etc., (2) *to conceive a notion (of)*, entertain a conception (of), as λαβεῖν ἔννοιαν, φαντασίαν, νόησιν. But δόξαν or δόκησιν λέγειν is *to state mere opinion* as opposed to knowledge: λάκοιμι is a stronger synonym of λέγοιμι, and now the emphasis falls where it should, on δόξαν.—In that passage the old men assume she has only ordinary woman's reasons, dream or rumour, as in *Eur. Hcl.* 1190 πότερον ἐννύχοις πεπεισμένη στένευ ὀνείροις ἢ φάτιν τιν' οἴκοθεν κλύουσα; and ἄπτερος φάτις, of which fantastic explanations have been given, means a winged, or metaphorically a wing-swift rumour. Φήμη, fama, was a thing that flew.

² Mr. Margoliouth gave the lines to Clytemnestra, reading ὦν for ὡς: 'cur ut feminae nobili? neque enim alii cuiquam indecorus fuisset.'

ἀνὴρ 'trusty as any, in his shepherd's place,' *O.C.* 20 μακρὰν γὰρ ὡς γέροντι προϋστάλης ὁδόν 'a long way for an old man,' *Aj.* 395 ἔρεβος ᾧ φαεινότερον, ὡς ἐμοί, *Plat. Sophist.* 226 c ταχείαν, ὡς ἐμοί, σκέψιν νῦν κακοηθείας, 'a rapid process of thought for such as I am' (Sir R. Jebb's versions), *Parmen.* 136 d πολλὸν ἔργον προστάττει ὡς τηλικῶδε, *Dio Chrys.* II. p. 267 R. δριμύν <μὲν> καὶ δόλιον ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, πολλὸν δὲ ἀπέχοντα τῆς νῦν κακοηθείας, *Thuc.* v. 43 ἡλικία μὲν ἔτι τότε ὦν νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, iv. 84 ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν. The meaning then, according to the use of language, should be 'not discreditable for a noble lady; allowance must be made for such a person; she cannot of course be expected to have the same high standard of dignity and reticence and delicacy as a common'—I cannot say what type he would have chosen: but can that be his meaning? Should it not be just the opposite, that such unabashed avowals, though brim-full of truth, are surely indecorous, unbecoming a true gentlewoman? You have only to make the punctuation interrogative to let him say so:

[Exit Clytemnestra.]

Herald. Brave protestation; though brim-full of truth,

Surely, for a noble lady, shame to cry it!

Elder. We have heard her story,—as you apprehend,

In the ear of judgment, very specious words.—

But tell us, Herald, our beloved prince Menelaus, shall we see him safe back with you?

The Chorus are well aware of her hypocrisy; therefore I do not think 618-9 would be said by one of them; but the Herald, who knows nothing, is surprised and unfavourably impressed, thinking that noble ladies do not usually proclaim their fidelity and affection in such terms; thinking perhaps that there is some indecency in her saying 'that I may give my honoured lord the best and soonest welcome—for to a woman's eyes what hour is dearer than ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρὶ, σώσαντος θεοῦ, πύλας ἀνοίξει';³ Clytemnestra here of course is merely over-acting; but in Sophocles her true behaviour is such that Electra refuses her the character γενναία γυνή: *El.* 287 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ λόγουσι γενναία γυνή⁴ φωνοῦσα τοιαύτῃ ἐξονειδίζει κακά,

³ *Eur. Cyc.* 498 θύραν τίς οἶξαι μοι; *Eupolis fr.* 220 ἦν οὐκ ἀνέφρα πάποτ' ἀνθρώποις ἐγώ. *Ar. Eccl.* 962, 990, *Nicet.* *Eugen.* 4. 245, 268, 6. 528.

⁴ 'this woman, in professions so noble,' Sir R. Jebb: I incline to the other interpretation 'this so-

‘ὦ δύσθεον μίσσημα, σοὶ μόνῃ πατὴρ τέθηκεν;’
κτέ.

771 δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλούτῳ παράσχημον αἶψα. The best illustration is Plat. *Legg.* 870.—When Bacchylides ix. 49 says οἶδα καὶ πλούτου μεγάλαν δύνασιν ἃ καὶ τὸν ἀχρεῖον τίθησι χρηστόν—τί μακρὰν γλῶσσαν ἰθύσας ἐλαύνω ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ; I suppose that a passage on the power of wealth must have followed in the poem of Solon (*fr.* 13) part of which (v. 33 sqq.) he has been paraphrasing for his young Athenian. The examples of παντοῖοι ἔρωτες became a commonplace; see Hor. *C.* i. 1. 3 sqq. with Orelli-Hirschfelder's note on v. 18.

784 καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς
ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι
ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων
οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτὸς

The sense of the missing line should be. *laborum tenuis rident*, as I showed in *C.R.* 1900 p. 116; add Heliod. ii. 19 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐμειδιάσεν ὀλίγον καὶ βεβιασμένον καὶ μόνοις τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐπιτρέχον. But it is the eye that shows the truth; with the physiognomists it was the eyes that gave the most important signs: *Script. Physiogn.* I p. 305 Foerster τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων καὶ τὰ σύνολα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐνίδρυται καὶ ὥσπερ διὰ πυλῶν τούτων ἡ ψυχὴ διαφαίνεται. *ib.* II 17, 409. Leon. Tar. *A.P.* vii. 661 φυσιγνώμων ὁ σοφιστής, δεινὸς ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ τὸ νόημα μαθεῖν. Aesch. *fr.* 242, 243.¹ Ach. Tat. i. 7. Eur. *Med.* 215 (a passage aimed against the physiognomists) οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς βροτῶν 'σεμνοὺς' γεγῶτας, τοὺς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἀπο... And this is what Clytemnestra alludes to when she says 283 εἰ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σον κατηγορεῖ,—for κατηγορεῖν belongs to the physiognomical vocabulary (see Foerster's Index II p. 394–5): it must have been used by old Ionic writers on the subject and retained as technical; hence it appears in other writers often when they speak of what is indicated by such outward signs; e.g. Eur. *fr.* 690, Philostr. *Imag.* 26...ὠκύτητα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ κυνός, *Vit. Soph.* i. 17...πειθῶ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός. (II p. 19 and p. 380 Kayser), *Heroic.* p. 303 = 698, Aelian *N.A.*

called noble lady,' as in Eur. *El.* 326 Aegisthus is to Electra τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις ὁ κλεινός, ὡς λέγουσιν. *Orcl.* 17 ὁ κλεινός, εἰ δὴ κλεινός, Ἀγαμέμνων.

¹ Ending ἔχων δὲ τούτων θυμὸν ἱππογνώμονα: this, as I learn from Burton, is the regular metaphor in Arabic; *firāsah*, their word for physiognomy, means properly 'skill in judging the points of a mare (faras)', an eye for horseflesh. The metaphor in Greek was derived, I suppose, from a common Oriental source.

i. 5, Heliod. iii. 5, Plut. *Mor.* 695 D, Schol. *Theb.* 109: there are also some examples in the Dictionaries which should be classed under this head.

800 ἐν ὀψυκοῖσι δ' ὄμμασιν βλαβὰς ἔχω
τὰς ἀμφὶ σοὶ κλαίονσα λαμπτηρουχίας
ἀτημελήτους αἰέν.

Clytemnestra feigns what Imogen says honestly, 'To lie in watch there, and to think on him? To weep 'twixt clock and clock? if sleep charge nature, To break it with a fearful dream of him, and cry myself awake?'. Night after night, she means, the lantern has been burning in her chamber, but he, like a faithless lover, never yet regarded it: *A.P.* v. 191 ἀρὰ γε τὴν φιλάσπων ἔτ' ἐν κοίταισιν ἀθρήσω ἀγρυπνον λύχνῳ πόλλ' ἀποδομένην (v.l. ἀποδομένην: ἀποκλαιόμενην Huschke, ἀποδυρομένην Jacobs); *ib.* 279, 263, 150, Plut. *Mor.* 759 E Δαῖς τις ἢ Γναθαῖον 'ἐφέσπερον δαίονσα λαμπτήρος σέλας' ἐκδεχομένη. But it has been burning really because there was the μοιχὸς ἔνδον as in Heliod. i. 12, for the lamp was always witness, *A.P.* v. 4–8, Lucian i. 648; and if the least gnat's whining woke her in alarm, it was alarm about Aegisthus: that is why to Agamemnon she repeats the ἀμφὶ σοί, 801, 804.

887 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἀνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,
σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης
στύλον ποδῆρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρὶ
καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἑλπίδα.

891 [κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χεῖματος,
δοδιπῶρ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος,
τερπνὸν δὲ τῶναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.]
τοιουτῶδ' εἰ τοῖ νῦν ἀξίῳ προσφθέγμασιν.

All the phrases in 887–890 are examples of a hope or stay, ἐλπίς or ἀγκυρα: but critics since Blomfield have been offended by the καὶ in 890; and rightly, on their view of the construction: some therefore would read γαῖαν for καὶ γῆν, while others take the καὶ to begin a new series of comparisons. But it has been recognised that the following lines have a different construction; κάλλιστον means κάλλιστόν ἐστι, just as τερπνὸν in 893 means τερπνόν ἐστι (cf. Theognis 255, Soph. *fr.* 329) and on the ground that they are not προσφθέγματα endeavours have been made to shift 891–3 to other places. I think myself that they were merely a marginal quotation to illustrate 890. Yet καὶ γῆν I am sure is sound, for what Aeschylus meant is μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρὶ παρ' ἑλπίδα φανὲν καὶ ναυτίλοις γῆν παρ' ἑλπίδα φανείσαν: and a passage of Pindar will show this, where his late-appearing ode

is compared to a child vouchsafed to a father (*φανείς*, as the scholia rightly take it) late in life: *O. x.* 86 τὰ παρ' εὐκλείῃ Δίρκῃ χρόνῳ μὲν φάνεν, ἀλλ' ὥτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ ποθεῖνός ἴκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἦδη. Liban. iv. 651. 10 πόσους ἐπιδείξω σοι τῶν πολιτῶν γυναικας μὲν αὐτῶν ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν πατέρας δ' οὐ κεκλημένους, ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἔσχατον ἦδη γήρως ἦκοντας καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πράγματος προσαφηρημένους; ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν σοὶ ταῦτα πείθωμαι, γύναιον δὲ ἔνδον ἢ παῖδες δὲ μηδαμῇ φαίνωνται. . . . Hom. *h. Dem.* 219 παῖδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὀψίγονον καὶ ἄε λπτον ὥπασαν ἀθανάτοιο.

944 ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳ χρῆται ζυγῶ,
αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον
ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δώρημ', ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο.

This is commonly mistranslated (with a full-stop at 944) 'This maid, presented to me by the army, the chosen flower from rich spoils, accompanies me home.' The meaning is,

None wears the slave's yoke of his will, and she

Comes by the army's tribute in my train
As rarest blossom out of all our spoil.

She therefore, as a delicate princess, will feel it the most keenly. This formula πάντες (or οὐδεὶς) . . . αὕτη δὲ is extremely common. The predicate comes first in Greek, and the stress here is on πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον ἄνθος.

1444 ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὔτως· ἡ δὲ τει κύνει δίκην
τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόνον
κέϊται, φιλήτωρ τοῖδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν,
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, χλιδῆν.

But the pair
Have got their merits:—his condition, thus;
While she, after her swan's last dying
wall,
This lover of his, lies there; to me, this
light
Addition to my bed, this trivial toy,
Only bath afforded sweet,—the sweet of
triumph.

as in Eur. *Phoen.* 1402 Eteocles διῆκε λόγ-
χην through his brother καπέδωκεν ἡδονὰς
Κάδμου πολίταις.—I do not know how to
convey more briefly the full significance of
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, which, as I ex-
plained in *C.R.* 1900, p. 117, is a description
of Cassandra; it means 'a trivial extra
morsel': Pollux 10. 87 τὰς δὲ παροψίδας
. . . ἐπὶ μάξῃς ἢ ζωμοῦ τινὸς ἢ ἐδέσματος εὐτελ-
οῦς, ὃ ἔστι παροψήσασθαι. 6. 56 παροψίδα·

ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ζωμοῦ τι εἶδος ἢ ὡς τινὲς
μάξῃς, ἢ παρενθήκη τις ὄψου, ὃ οἱ νῦν ἂν εἴποιεν
παροψήματιον. The metaphor was common
in the sense of a *πάρεργον*: Sotades (*Ath.*
368 a) παροψὶς εἶναι φαίνεται τῷ Κρωβύλῳ
τοῦτον μασάται, παρακατεσθίει δ' ἐμέ. *Magnes*
(*ib.* 367 f) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κακῶν παρ-
οψίδες. *Ar. Δαιδ.* πάσαις γυναιξίν. . . ὥσπερ
παροψὶς μοιχὸς ἐσκενασμένος. *Philostr.*
Heroic. 284=662 φυτεύω δὲ αὐτὰ (these other
fruits) οἷον παροψήματα τῶν ἀμπέλων. *Clem.*
Alex. 695 καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐφάπτεται φιλο-
σοφίας οἷα τρωγάλιόν τι ἐπὶ τῷ δειπνῶ παρ-
οψόμενος. *Himerius Or.* xiv. 24 τοὺς δὲ
Πύρρωνος τρόπους καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν ἔριν οὐχ ὡς
μέγα σποῦδασμα οἷον δέ τι παρόψη-
μα τῆς ἀλλῆς φιλοσοφίας μετέρχεται.

CHOEOPHORE.

687 οἱ ἐγὼ κατ' ἄκρας νηλεὺς πορθοῦμεθα.
ὦ δυσπαλαῖστε τῶνδε δωματίων Ἀρά
ὡς πόλλ' ἐπωπᾶς κάκποδὸν εὖ κείμενα
τόξοις πρόσωθεν εὐσκόποις χειρουμένη
φίλων ἀποψιλοῖς με τὴν παναθλίαν.
καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης—ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχειν
ἔξω νομίζων δλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα—
νῦν δ' ἦπερ ἦν δόμοισι βακχίας κακῆς
ιατρὸς ἐλπίς, ἦν παρούσαν ἐγγράφειν.

In *v.* 687 I have given M. Schmidt's
νηλεῶς and Mr. Tucker's reading in *vv.*
692-3; but neither of those matters affects
the questions I am going to discuss,—who
is the speaker, and what is the true version
of the last two lines. The MS. gives νῦν
δήπερ ἐν δόμοισι βακχίας καλῆς (δ' ἦπερ Turne-
bus, ἦν Weil, κακῆς Portus) ιατρὸς ἐλπίς ἦν
παρούσαν ἐγγράφει. I write ἐγγράφειν and
render it 'And now Orestes—for he was
imagining that with judgment he was keeping
his foot out of the miry clay—now, that
Hope the House had, which should cure the
accursed riot in it, might have been entered
in the roll as 'present'! So near it was to
being realised, the Arrival of Orestes, the
sole Hope of the House (for by this time he
is of an age to act); yet though so warily
situated out of the way (ἐκποδὸν εὖ κείμενος)
until his time should come, he too has been
brought low by the Curse and I, ἡ παναθλία,
am left stripped of friends just when that
Hope was on the very verge of being
present. Such is the feigned outburst, as I
understand it, of Electra, an avowed wrung
from her, seemingly, in uncontrollable grief,
when all is hopeless; she and the audience
meanwhile knowing well that the Hope
might be set down as present in all truth.

παρούσαν ἐγγράφειν is of course a meta-
phor from such a muster-roll as in *Soph.*

Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος *fr.* 144 γραμμάτων πτυχὰς ἔχων νέμ' εἴ τις οὐ πάρεστι τίς ξυνόμοσεν : developed here out of the phrase ἐλπίς παρούσα meaning a hope realised or nearly realised : when they are far from realisation they are μακρὰ ἐλπίδες,¹ as in *Trag. fr. adesp.* 127, 8 Death comes μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας, *Thuc.* iii. 39, 3 οὔτε ἡ παρούσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον² μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινὰ, γεγόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως. *Tac. Ann.* xiii. 37 *si omissa spe longinqua et sera praesentem et potiore sequeretur.* An excellent example is the passage quoted by Prof. Robinson Ellis in *Hermathena* 1900, p. 7 from *Dion Cass.* xxxix, 53 ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατὰ τὰ πρὶν ἀνήκουστα ὀρῶντες σφίσι γεγονότα, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παροῦσαν ἔργῳ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα καταπράξειν προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἡδὴ ἡγάλλοντο.

παροῦσαν therefore should be sound, meaning παροῦσαν τὴν ἐλπίδα : and if the words δόμοισι βακχείας ἱατρός ἐλπίς παρούσα do not mean *Orestes*, it is very strange. The great Hope in this story is the Hope for the House cherished by Electra and her humble friends of overthrowing the usurpers, a hope embodied in the single person of Orestes : *Cho.* 234 ὃ φίλτατον μέλημα δώμασιν πατρός, δακρυτὸς ἐλπίς σπέρματος σωτηρίου, ἀλκῇ πεποιθὼς δῶμ' ἀνακτῆσιν πατρός. 772 ΤΡΟΦΟΣ καὶ πῶς ; Ὁρέστης ἐλπίς οἴχεται δόμων. *XO.* οὐπω κακὸς γε μάντις ἂν γνοίῃ τάδε.³ *Soph. El.* 305 *HA.* μέλλων γὰρ αἰεὶ δρᾶν τι τὰς οὔσας τέ μου καὶ τὰς ἀποούσας ἐλπίδας διέφθορεν. 805 ὃ τάλαν' ἐγὼ Ὁρέστα φίλταθ', ὥς μ' ἀπόλεσας θανών' ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς οἴχει φρενὸς αἶμοι μόνα ἐπαρήσαν ἐλπίδων ἔτι. 832 εἰ τῶν φανερώς οἰχομένων εἰς Αἶδαν ἐλπίδ' ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ τακομένας μάλλον ἐπεμβάσει. 855 μή μέ νυν μηκέτι παραγάγῃς ἵν' οὐ πάρευσιν ἐλπίδων ἔτι κοινοτόκων εὐπατριδᾶν ἄρωγαί. 952 εἶχον ἐλπίδας φόνου ποτ' αὐτὸν πράκτορ' ἵζεσθαι πατρός. 1127, 1149–1159. *Aegisthus* in 1460 : ὡς εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐλπίσιν κεναῖς πάρος ἐξήρπ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε, ... *Eur. El.* 352, 607.

παροῦσαν, again, should refer to the

¹ And 'nearer' as they come nearer to fulfilment, *Plut. Mor.* 85 E. ἡ δ' ἐλπίς ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τέλους βαδίζουσα, *Eur. H.F.* 763 δοκμάτων ἐκτὸς ἦλθεν ἐλπίς 'has arrived,' *Or.* 851 οἶμοι, προσῆλθεν ἐλπίς ἣν φοβουμένη . . . , whereas in *Ag.* 803 ἐλπίς προσῆλθε merely, without practical fulfilment.

² This is the meaning of ὄκνος in *Ag.* 996, synonymous with εὐλάβεια and the opposite of ἐλπίς or θράσος. 'Let Caution then fling concern for the lading overboard from the sling ('derrick') of due Measure'.

³ If punctuated as one clause, this would surely be οὐπω καλὸς γε μάντις ἂν γνοίῃ τάδε ?

presence of Orestes ; for what makes all the difference to Electra is whether Orestes is absent or present, ἀπών or παρών, and these words are applied to him repeatedly : *Cho.* 8, 1012 (218 ὃδ' εἰμὶ), *Soph. El.* 3, 878, 882, 1236, *Eur. El.* 243, 262, 331, 392, 564. In Aeschylus and Sophocles the note is struck at once, παρών : and Euripides emphasises the obvious point of Orestes being really present while Electra supposes him still absent.

When the champion does arrive, it is to be Avenger and Deliverer of the House⁴ : *Cho.* 160 ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων, *Eur. El.* 135 *HA.* ἔλθοις τῶνδε πόνων ἐμοὶ τὰ μελέα λυτὴρ : and in this heroic enterprise (θεῖος Ὁρέστης *Cho.* 866) he is compared to Perseus in *Cho.* 829, *Eur. El.* 460,⁵ 854, and to Heracles in *Cho.* 159–163, both of them being types of the Purger and Just Slayer : Olympiod. on *Plat. Alcib.* p. 156 *Creuzer* : ἐκάτερος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ καθάρσει τῶν κακῶν γέγονε, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς διὸ φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Πείσανδρος 'δικαιοτάτου δὲ φονῆς.' ἐπὶ γὰρ καθαρότητα φόνους ἐποίει. Nor does Sophocles omit this touch : *El.* 69 *OP.* σύ τ' ὦ πατρίων δῶμα' σοὶ γὰρ ἔρχομαι δίκη καθαρθῆς πρὸς θεῶν ὠρμημένος. The murderous usurpers are conceived by Aeschylus as a foul corruption or disease within the House ; with that idea he uses medical language in 469–472, 955, 964, and with the same idea, I think, ἱατρός here.

βακχείας κακῆς⁶ must, from the order of the words, be governed by ἱατρός : and could any phrase more naturally describe the conduct of these same usurpers, which Orestes was to stop ? Till then, they flaunt and riot in the wealth of Agamemnon : see Electra's description of the state of things in 132 sqq. ending οἱ δ' ὑπερκόπως ἐν τοῖσι σοῖς πόνουσιν

⁴ Something to this effect might well have been said by Orestes at the beginning of the *Choephores*, after v. 3 for instance.

⁵ This is the object of the whole chorus which has been supposed irrelevant ; it is a remoter variation on the theme.—The comparison to Perseus is particularly appropriate ; that much-honoured Argive hero was got out of the way by Polydectes just as Orestes by Aegisthus ; sped by Hermes, slew Medusa ; was then pursued by the winged Gorgons (cf. *Eum.* 48) ; and eventually slew the murderer and usurper Proetus and recovered the Kingdom of Argos.

⁶ Some would have καλῆς of the MS. to mean κακῆς by an irony ; but the genitive was taken to depend not on ἱατρός but on ἐλπίς : schol. ποῖος Ὁρέστης ; ἡ τοῖς οἴκοις ἱατρικὴ ἐλπίς τῆς ἀγαθῆς εὐφροσύνης : this view would naturally lead to writing καλῆς. The genitive must depend on ἱατρός, as in *Aesch. fr.* 255, *Pind. N.* 4. 2, *Eur. El.* 69, and βακχείας seems to want a definite qualification. She might have said 'Αἰδου βακχείας, as Cassandra in *Agam.* 1234 calls Clytemnestra θύονταν Ἀἰδου μητέρα, which is rightly explained by Conington.

χλίουσιν μέγα. ἐλθεῖν δ' Ὀρέστην δεῦρο σὺν τύχῃ τινὶ κατεύχομαι σοι: and when Orestes is victorious the Chorus sing ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ δεσποσύνον δόμον ἀναφυγὰ κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς ὑπαὶ δυοῖν μισαστόρουν. By Sophocles this is developed much more fully in Electra's speeches; 254 sqq. ending ἐγὼ δ' Ὀρέστην τῶνδε προσμένονσ' αἰεὶ παύστω ἡρ' ἐφήξειν ἢ τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυμαι. 1149 HΛ. (imagining Orestes dead) νῦν δ' ἐκτέλοιπε ταῦτ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θανόντι σὺν σοί. πάντα γὰρ συναρπάσας θύελλ' ὅπως βέβηκας. οἷζεται πατήρ· τέθηγκ' ἐγὼ σοί· φροῖδος αὐτὸς εἰ θανὼν· γελῶσι δ' ἐχθροί· μαίνεται αἰ δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ, ἧς ἐμοὶ σὺ πολλὰκις φήμας λάθρα προὔπεμπες ὡς φανόμενος τιμωρὸς αὐτός. ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' ὁ δυστυχὴς δαίμων [corresponding to the Ἄρά of *Cho.* 688] ὁ σὸς τε κἀμὸς ἐξαφείλετο. 794 Clytemnestra taunts her with this hope: HΛ. ὕβριζε· νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχούσα τυγχάνεις [*Agam.* 1669, *Cho.* 56]. ΚΑΥΤ. οὐκ οὖν Ὀρέστης καὶ σὺ παύσετον τάδε; and Orestes says 1290 *you need not teach me* ὡς πατρώαν κτῆσιν Διγέσθος δόμον ἀντλεῖ, τὰ δ' ἐκχεῖ, τὰ δὲ διασπείρει μάτην· *but show me where γελῶντας ἐχθροὺς παύσομεν.* In Eur. *El.* 326 Electra, in describing the behaviour of the couple, mentions of Aegisthus: μέθῃ δὲ βρεχθεὶς τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις ὁ κλεινός, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐνθρόσκει τάφῳ πέτραις τε λείει μνήμα λάϊνον πατρός, καὶ τοῦτο τολμᾷ τοῦπος εἰς ἡμᾶς λέγειν· 'ποῦ παῖς Ὀρέστης; ἄρά σοι τύμβῳ καλῶς παρὼν ἀμύνει;' ταῦτ' ἀπὼν ὑβρίζεται. Such conduct surely might be called βακχεία κακή, the insolent riot which the presence of Orestes was to cure: and cure of it successfully effected would mean for his sympathisers restoration of a sane and sober rule, τὰ σὺ φρονα *Cho.* 782; for the two words are opposed, as in *Bacch.* 933 ὅταν παρὰ λόγον σάφρονας βάκχας ἴδῃς.

ἄγκυρα is a synonym of ἐλπίς, and I take Electra's meaning here to be like that of Helen in Eur. *Hel.* 276 ἄγκυρα δ' ἥ μοι τὰς τύχας ὥχει μόνῃ, πόσον ποθ' ἦξιν καὶ μ' ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν, οὗτος τέθηγκεν, οὗτος οὐκέτ' ἔστι δῆ. Heliod. v. 19 Χαρίκλεια μοι βίος ἦν, ἐλπίς καὶ διαδοχὴ τοῦ γένους· Χαρίκλεια μόνῃ παραψυχὴ καὶ, ὡς εἰπείν, ἄγκυρα. καὶ ταύτην ὑπετέμετο καὶ παρήνεγκεν ὅτι ποτ' ἔστι τὸ εἰληχὸς με δαιμόνιον. This part of my argument I will conclude with two more of Electra's sayings to this effect in Sophocles: 845 *yes, I know that in the case you speak of ἐφάνη μελέτωρ· ἐμοὶ δ' οὐτις ἔτ' ἔσθ'· ὅς γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν, φροῖδος ἀναρπασθεὶς.* 1196 OP. *How does your mother ill-treat you?* HΛ. καὶ χερσὶ καὶ λύμαισι καὶ πᾶσιν κακοῖς. OP. οὐδ' οὐπαρήξω οὐδ' ὁ κωλύων πάρα;

HΛ. οὐ δῆθ'· ὅς ἦν γὰρ μοι σὺ προὔδωκας σποδόν.

Thus the phrasing of these two concluding lines, *Cho.* 694-5 is of itself, to my mind, overwhelmingly in favour of their being spoken by Electra. The other arguments have been advanced before, and are stated best by Davies; but since most recent editors, and all now living with the exception of M. Weil (ed. 1884) assign the speech (with various explanations of the last two lines) to Clytemnestra, it is not superfluous to repeat and reinforce them.

There is of course no question that the following speech 703-14 is Clytemnestra's: she says there

ἄγ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνδρῶνας εὐζένοὺς δόμον
ὀπισθόπους τε τούσδε καὶ ξυνεμπόρους.¹
κἀκεῖ κυρούντων σώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα
αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν ὡς ὑπευθύνῳ τάδε.
ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς κρατούσι δωμάτων
κοινώσομεν τε κοῦ σπανίζοντες φίλων
βουλευσόμεσθα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς περὶ.

In this there are two remarks which she goes out of her way to make, and which cannot be without significance: αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν ὡς ὑπευθύνῳ τάδε 'and I advise you to perform this, as you shall answer for it'; a strange thing surely for a queen to enforce a simple order to a slave with such a menace! To say the least, what reason could she have for anticipating that a slave might be unwilling to execute so harmless a command, to show a stranger hospitality? And then she says, of course with meaning, ἡμεῖς δὲ... οὐ σπανίζοντες φίλων: she is still in the presence of the strangers who have just heard her exclaim (according to the view I am opposing) ὦ δυσπάλαιστε Ἄρά, φίλων ἀποσιλοῖς με τὴν παναθλίαν: how can that be reconciled with 'we have friends in plenty'? Everything is intelligible if you suppose that she is not addressing a mere slave at all, but Electra: it was an established detail in the story, and constantly appears in all the dramatists, that Electra was treated like a slave; and so I think with Davies she is treated here²: 'the words seem to be addressed' he says 'to some person of position', and in αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν κτέ. 'there is a touch of severity which looks very much like bringing Electra to order for her burst of lament-

¹ May not the plural be merely complimentary, politely referring to Pylades as though he were 'a retinue'?

² Anciently the daughter of the house might even give the stranger his bath (see *Ath.* 10 c), but in Tragedy such offices are assigned to slaves: Eur. *Alc.* 563, *El.* 360.

ation'. Surely; and surely also 'we are by no means stripped of friends and sympathisers' is another reminder to Electra, a sneering retort to her φίλων ἀποφύλοις με τὴν παναθλίαν,—where I agree again with Davies that τὴν παναθλίαν could not have been spoken by Clytemnestra. It is Electra whom the death of Orestes leaves μόνη, utterly forsaken, Soph. *El.* 813, 950, 1074.

In the *Electra* of Sophocles there is hardly any touch which in one form or another is not already to be found in Aeschylus. Some points he makes less prominent and others more, and puts them often in a different form or place¹; but in one way or another almost every touch is duly followed. And in saying this I do not mean the least disparagement of Sophocles; his own countrymen would certainly have thought it no disparagement, because their attitude towards artistic work in literature was the same as their attitude towards artistic work in other fields; their aim, speaking generally, was not to be original, but to attain, as in the Zeus of Phidias, the most proportioned and complete expression of a type. Look now at the corresponding scene in Sophocles (where Electra is not feigning but honestly believes Orestes to be dead): *El.* 673 ΠΑΙΔ. τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης: ἐν βραχεὶ συνθεὶς λέγω. ΗΛ. οἱ γ'ὼ τάλαιν', ὅλῳλα τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. ΚΑ. τί φής, τί φής, ὦ ξεῖνε; μὴ ταύτης κλύε. ΠΑ. θανόντ' Ὀρέστην νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι λέγω. ΗΛ. ἀπωλόμην δύστηνος' οὐδέν εἰμ' ἔτι. ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν τὰ σαντῆς πρῶσσο, ἔμοι δὲ σὺ, ξένε, τάληθες εἰπέ, τῷ τρόπῳ διόλλυται; Then follows the circumstantial account. Each time you see that it is Electra who speaks first, exclaims in genuine sorrow; but no such exclamation in the whole scene comes from Clytemnestra. After the narration she uses the same language to the messenger as in the *Choephoros* and frankly confesses her relief at being rid of the danger menaced by Electra of Orestes' coming back, avows her satisfaction

¹ One of the main ideas that run through the *Choephoros* is the change from Darkness to Light; παρά τε φῶς ἰδεῖν 'The night is departing' is the burden of the final chorus. Sophocles has used this in a different way: in the opening scene of the *Electra* the παιδαγωγός points out that it is morning and the black night has departed; and the audience, familiar with the play of Aeschylus, would perceive that morning symbolized the arrival of Orestes under the guidance of Apollo.—The sudden change from darkness to light, symbolizing spiritual 'light,' αὐγή, φέγγος, and the light of Heaven, was what was shown to the initiated in the Mysteries; it was preceded by ὀρίκη and τρόμος, see e.g. Themistius in Stob. *Flor.* 120. 28. I cannot help thinking that this would be suggested to the audience by the language of *Cho.* 448-63 and perhaps 959 sqq.

(793), and taunts Electra (795) with the removal of that menace; and her final words are τήνδε τ' ἔκτοθεν βοᾶν ἕα τὰ θ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων κακά. And yet the Aeschylean critics argue that 'it would be in the last degree unnatural for her to be silent on the death of her son' (Sidgwick). Why, of course it is unnatural, because she is an unnatural mother; that is what is indicated in the brief broad touch of Aeschylus and emphasised by Sophocles, who makes Electra ask (804) ἄρ' ὑμῖν ὡς ἀλγοῦσα κῶδυνωμένη δεινῶς δακρῦσαι κάπικωκῦσαι δοκεῖ τὸν νῖον ἢ δύστηνος ὧδ' ὀλωλότα;

The next argument is that 'Electra had been told by her brother to go in and look after her part of the plot within (552, 577); and it would be quite out of place for her now to come out.' To this Davies answers: 'Electra is here doing what was enjoined at v. 577; she lends her aid to promote the success of the plot within. Her action did not naturally terminate at v. 582; it is necessary that we should see whether or not her professions are mere words; for the same rule which applies to the story of a play, that it should begin, unfold itself, and conclude naturally, applies also to the action of each of the three players. Anything which she may be supposed to have done within is no part of her dramatic action unless related afterwards.' And so the Chorus are shown acting upon their instructions (579) in v. 762 sqq., and so Aegisthus' opening words in 837 inform us that the Nurse has played her part. The remaining argument he meets by saying 'No degree of objection whatever can be urged from the employment of three actors.' At any rate it will be time enough to deal with the vague scruples felt upon that point when any reasons are produced to warrant them. Meantime I shall believe with Klausen 'possunt hi versus a nemine dici nisi ab Electra.'

926 παρὸς γὰρ αἶσα τόνδε σοι ὀρίζει μόνον as Heliod. ix. 21 τίνα σαντῷ τιμωρίαν ὀρίζει; Dem. 1291, 11 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺ σαντῷ ὤρισας. Contracted, this would be σωρίζει or σωρίζει, as ὀρνιθοκλέπται in Herodas vi. 102 for οἱ ὀρνιθοκλέπται. In the same way οἱ seems to have contracted into ωι: Eur. *Cycl.* 555 KY. ὦνοχός (Canter for ὦ οἶνοχός) ἀδικος. ΣΙΑ. οὐ μὰ Δι' ἀλλ' ὦνος (ὦνος L) γλυκὺς:—though Mr. Murray prefers to read ὦνος and ὦνοχός as exclamations. In Ath. 426 f quoting Hermippus (I 230 Kock) the MSS. write without contraction εὐχόμεθα πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ οἶνος ωκαιρασγενου. In Herodas iv. 73 we

have οὐδ' ἑρείς 'οὗτος ὄνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν ἐν δ' ἀπηνήθη,' ἀλλ' ὧι ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο, καὶ θέων¹ ψαύειν ἡπείγετο 'this was not a man that

¹ Liban. IV 727 ἀνέστρεφον οἱ θεωροὶ θέοντες, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ὁμοίως ἐπειγόμενοι. Here καὶ θέων is merely a synonym of the phrase καὶ ἐπιδραμών, Dem. 831. 10 κἂν ἐπιδραμῇν ὥστε γενέσθαι αὐτῶν κύριον, Ael. V.H. 3. 17 τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην κἂν ἀρπάσαιμι ἐπιδραμών, Hdt. 3. 135, Plat. Legg. 799 c.

liked one subject and disliked another; whatever was suggested to his mind he was ready and eager to essay off-hand.' Since ψαύειν governs a dative in Babrius 87. 3, we might take ὧι to be governed by ψαύειν understood, but it seems as likely to be a crasis for ὃ οἱ 'to him.'

W. HEADLAM.

ARISTOPHANES, *KNIGHTS* 414.

A NEGLECTED IDIOM.

MR. RICHARDS hardly makes enough of his tempting conjecture that ἐκτραφεῖν has replaced ἐκτραφεῖς ἦν, for he omits to notice a nice point of significance introduced thereby.

ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι σ' οἶμαι τούτοιςιν, ἢ μάτην γ' ἂν ἀπομαρδαλίας σιτούμενος τοσοῦτος ἐκτραφεῖς ἦν.

'I shall beat you I think on your own ground. Otherwise I should be none the better for *actually* growing as big as yourself (see Neil 842) on hunks of discarded bread.' There is another instance of the idiom at l. 854 εἰς ἐν ἔστι συγκεχυτός: 'is *positively* in conspiracy': and a third at Pl. 867 ἔστιν ἐξολωλεκός:—'has *actually* ruined.' In Ach. 484 those who take εἰ as from εἶναι ought not to have been scouted as they have been 'The line must remain ambiguous; but there is a good deal to be said for εἶναι as against λέναι: ἔστηκας; οὐκ εἰ καταπύων Εὐριπίδην;:—'afraid to go! not *effectually* saturated with Euripides!'

The idiom is not uncommon, and attention to it always improves, sometimes makes, the meaning of a passage. Soph. O.T. 126 δοκοῦντα ταῦτ' ἦν:—'that was *actually* thought.' Ph. 1218 ἐγὼ μὲν ἤδη καὶ

πάλαι νεὸς ὁμοῦ | στείχων ἂν ἢ σοι τῆς ἐμῆς:—'long ere this I should have *actually* been nearing my ship':—Eur. Hec. 579 οὐκ εἰ τι δώσω τῇ περισσ' εὐκαρδῶ:—'hast thou indeed nought to give her for her high hardihood?': Antiphon Fr. M. 3 67 ἦν ὁ γρῦφος ἐνταῦθα ῥέπων:—'the puzzle *did* indeed mean as much': Alex. Fr. M. 3 427 τά τε κυμβία | ἄρ' ἦν πρόσωπ' ἔχοντα χρυσᾶ παρθένων;:—'had they *actually* girls' faces?': Ly. 12 6 ἔλεγον ὡς εἰέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι:—'how certain men were *actually* out of humour.' Many of the instances quoted by Mr. Richards when read with their context illustrate the idiom even better than these. There are frequent examples in Plato and the orators, but I shall be afraid of them until I have time to test each by Blass's rhythmical theory. Like rhyme and metre, rhythm ends in slightly modifying syntax.

Long ago (F. G. Syntax 369) I brought this idiom into rank with that of τυγχάνειν, λαμβάνειν, etc., quoting Thuc. 3, 68 and 4, 54. The latter instance is conclusive:—ἦσαν δέ τινες καὶ γενόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ λόγοι:—'some proposals were even *actually* made to Nicias.' No doubt, however, the point had been noted scores of times before.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

NOTE ON DEMOSTHENES, *DE PACE*, § 11.

οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γινώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' ἃ ἂν ἐμῶν ἔπω δύο κ.τ.λ.

Having been much troubled some years since by the anomaly of ἂν c. subj. in this

passage, I was interested to find the construction questioned by Mr. H. Richards in the April number of this *Review*. There can be no doubt that the words ought to mean 'the two things which I shall state,' but such a rendering must be pronounced

impossible if the rules of the ordinary grammars are correct (see *e.g.* *Madv.* §§ 126, 127). My present object is to suggest that the use of *ἄν* (κε) c. subj. to express futurity, which is admittedly legitimate in Homer in various types of sentences, has survived occasionally in Attic Greek to an extent which is not generally recognised. The subject has been exhaustively discussed by Prof. W. Gardner Hale in his article on the Anticipatory Subjunctive (*Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. I pp. 1–92). He deals, however, mainly with Homer and points out that the subjunctive construction is continually giving way to the future indicative (pp. 29, 37, 63, etc.). Nevertheless, to take one of his categories, the dependent question of fact, represented by *Il.* 22. 130 *εἶδομεν, ὁπποτέρῳ κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξῃ*, we find accurately corresponding in *Thuc.* 4. 118 *ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις πρῶτον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλευσάσθαι Ἀθηναίους καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐσῆι ἢ πρεσβεία περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου*. This is translated by Arnold 'determine on the manner in which the negotiators from Lacedaemon shall be admitted,' and Mr. Graves would evidently prefer this interpretation but for the grammatical doubt. It may be added that the parallel clause—*πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκας ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, καθ' ὃ τι ἔσται ἢ καταλύσεις τοῦ πολέμου*—makes strongly in favour of the rendering quoted. Similarly in *Eur. frag.* 257:—

δοκεῖς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξυνετὰ νικήσειν ποτὲ
καὶ τὴν δίκην που μάκρ' ἀπωκίσθαι βροτῶν
ἢ δ' ἐγγύς ἐστιν, οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ' ὀρᾷ
ὃν χρὴ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σὺ
ὅποταν ἄφνω μολοῦσα διολέσῃ κακούς,

the natural meaning of the last lines is:—

'you don't know *when* Justice *will* suddenly come and destroy the bad.' It is true that by common consent Justice comes 'like a thief in the night' (*σῆγα καὶ βραδὲ ποδὶ στείχονσα μάρπτει τοὺς κακούς, Δίκαι τοι δίκαι χρόνιος ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑποπσεῖσθ' ἔλαθεν*). But here her invisible presence has already been asserted, and the climax requires an allusion rather to the unexpectedness than to the secrecy of punishment. Thus in the end:—*ὁρῶ γὰρ χρόνῳ δίκαν πάντ' ἄγονσαν εἰς φῶς βροτοῖς* (*Eur. fr.* 559). Weeklein's proposal to substitute *ἔως* for *ὅποταν* (*Philol.* 39, p. 414) is accordingly unnecessary.

Prof. Hale (*l.c.* p. 61 ff.) makes an important distinction in calling attention to

the type of clause which he calls *determinative*, *i.e.* where a relative clause serves exactly to determine a person or thing or a time, which forms part of the main sentence. Under this head would come the passage from *de Pace*, being parallel to Homer's (*Od.* Z 201):

οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ διερὸς βροτὸς οὐδὲ γένηται
ὅς κεν Φαίηκων ἀνδρῶν ἐς γαίαν ἵκηται
δηιοσιτῆτα φέρων.

And I cannot find any essential distinction in *Plat. Apol.* 20 E *καὶ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θορυβήσητε, μηδ' ἂν δόξω τι ὑμῖν μέγα λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀξίόχρεον ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνοίσω*—'for the word which I will speak is not mine.' (Jowett's translation, with italics added). It should be observed that Socrates has in view a single definite assertion made by the God of Delphi. Determinative, again, surely is *Ar. Thesm.* 5 *σqq*:—

EY. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκούειν δεῖ σε πάνθ' ὅσ' αὐτίκα
ὀψεί παρεστῶς.

MN. πῶς λέγεις; αὐθις φράσον
οὐ δεῖ μ' ἀκούειν;

EY. οὐχ ἄ γ' ἂν μέλλῃς ὁρᾶν.

This should be translated:—'No! not those things which you are going to see.' Confusion, perhaps partly due to the presence of *ἂν*, has been introduced into the text of *Eur. fr.* 421 *κέκτησο δ' ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχῃς ἄνευ ψόγου, καὶ σμικρὰ σψέζου τῇ δίκῃ ξυνοῖσ' ἀεῖ*—'be the true owner of that which thou shalt keep without censure, and cherish little, clinging ever to justice.' The general sense of the first line is fixed by *fr.* 461 *κέρδη τοιαῦτα χρὴ τινα κτᾶσθαι βροτῶν, ἐφ' οἷσι μέλλει μήποθ' ὕστερον στένειν*. Further, I submit that in *Soph. Ant.* 773 *ἄγων ἔρημος ἐνθ' ἂν ᾗ βροτῶν στίβος | κρύψω πετρώδει ζῶσαν ἐν κατώρυχι* the meaning cannot be 'leading her anywhere, wherever the path shall be deserted,' but is rather 'leading her to a place where the path shall be deserted,' or, in other words, this is not a clause of general assumption but a characterising or descriptive clause (I use Prof. Hale's terminology). It is possible, however, that Creon has a definite spot in view, and if so the clause would be determinative and more closely parallel to the cases we have been discussing. *O.C.* 188 might possibly admit of a similar interpretation, but is beset with other difficulties.

I pass to clauses determining a temporal antecedent, where the same principle applies.

Prof. Hale (p. 65) cites as typical *Il.* xxii. 358 :

φράξω νῦν μή τοι τι θεῶν μῆνιμα γένωμαι
ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἐσθλὸν ἔοντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐν Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσιν

and translates :—‘Take heed now to thyself lest I draw upon thee the wrath of the gods on that day when Paris and Phoebus Apollo *shall* slay thee for all thy valour at the Scaean gate.’ Now it should be remarked that it is indifferent whether the antecedent is expressed or implied, and this is at once recognised in dealing with the Homeric instances. But in Attic Greek, where the antecedent is implied, the idiom is apt to escape notice. Thus no difficulty seems to be felt in *Dem.* 28. 21 εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τίνα οἴεσθε αὐτὴν (*my mother*) ψυχὴν ἔξειν ὅταν ἐμὲ μὲν ἴδῃ μὴ μόνον τῶν πατρῶων ἀπεστερημένον κ.τ.λ. The speaker is anticipating an unfavourable verdict, and the translation must be :—‘what think you will be her feelings (at the time) when she shall see me...?’ Goodwin (§ 529), in citing the passage, omits εἰ... γένοιτο : with these words added his resolution of ὅταν as ‘if ever’ ceases to be plausible. *Soph. Trach.* 451 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐκ κείνου μαθὼν | ψεύδει, μάθῃσιν οὐ καλὴν ἐκμανθάνεις | εἰ δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ὤδε παιδεύεις, ὅταν | θέλῃς γενέσθαι χρηστός, ὀφθήσῃ κακός requires more detailed examination. Deianeira suspects that Lichas is concealing the truth. ‘If you are relying to order,’ she says, ‘you are following a bad trade ; but if you are your own instructor’ (implying that his motives may be re-

spectable) ‘*at the time when* you shall wish to prove merciful, you will be found cruel,’ *i.e.* the very occasion for which you are schooling yourself will betray you. Hermann however comments :—‘hic quidem ita loquitur ut de quovis honesto mendacio dicat, non de eo, quod nunc dixit Lichas, quia non scit, quae mente is falsa dixerit. Quod si certo sciret, propterea mentitum esse, ne doletet ipsa, dixisset, ἐν ᾧ θέλεις χρηστός γενέσθαι.’ And Prof. Jebb follows on the same lines :—‘the form is general, but the reference is to this particular case.’ In fact, counsel has been darkened by the assumption that ὅταν is necessarily indefinite. What possible object could Sophocles have for making Deianeira say ‘you will always fail whenever you try to be of service,’ if she means ‘you will fail in the very service which you hope to render’? It is true that she does not know the purpose of his dissembling, but she has at least a strong suspicion of what he intends and to this alone her remark is directed.

These illustrations, which are not due to any systematic search, might no doubt be multiplied by further enquiry. But it must always be borne in mind that very many sentences, which are determinative in form and should be so classed, are practically indistinguishable from corresponding sentences of general assumption. Thus Homer’s ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται ὃν κεν ἴκωμαι (*Il.* 1. 137) is determinative, but would not differ materially from a generalising ὄντιν' ἂν ἴκωμαι κεχολώσεται.

A. C. PEARSON.

AN EMENDATION IN *LOGIA JESU* III.

The *Poemandres* of Hermes Trismegistus enables us to make a simple and obvious correction in the third Logion. Two passages of the Hermetic writer are apparently paraphrases of the Logion. The first (c. i. § 27 Parthey) runs : ἡργμαὶ κηρύσσειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως κάλλος. ὦ λαοί, ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς, οἱ μέθη καὶ ὕπνω ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες καὶ τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, νήψατε, παύσασθε κραυπαλῶντες, θελγόμενοι ὕπνῳ ἀλόγῳ. The second and closer paraphrase (c. vii. § 1) is as follows : ποὶ φέρεσθε, ὧ ἀνθρώποι μεθύοντες, τὸν τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἄκρατον οἶνον ἐκπίοντες ὃν οὐδὲ φέρειν δύνασθε ἀλλ' ἤδη αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμείτε ;

στήτε νήψαντες, ἀναβλέψατε τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς. The gnostic author of the *Poemandres*, then, probably had in view the Logion : λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἶρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εἶρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τοῖς νιοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν. ‘I found all becoming drunk’ μεθύοντας (note the tense), ‘and I found none athirst,’ is a contradiction. Or at least we may say that the Hermetic writer offers a neater contrast : ‘I found none sober.’ Read therefore νήψαντα for διψῶντα.

FRANK GRANGER.

CATULLIANUM.

66, 59 sqq.

Hi dii ven ibi vario ne solum in lumine
caeli

Ex Ariadneis aurea temporibus
Fixa corona foret, sed nos quoque fulgere-
mus

Devotae flavi verticis exuviae,
Uvidulam a fletu cedentem ad templa deum
me

Sidus in antiquis diva novum posuit.

Initium versus undesexagesimi etiam post ea quae et alii et Vahlenus (*Sitzungsberichte Berlin. Akademie* 1888, pag. 1361 sqq.) de loco et de toto carmine docuit, iacet corruptum. Emendationes aliorum iure Vahlenus improbavit; sed etiam quae ab hoc proponitur non magis probata esse videtur. Namque vix verisimile est comam dixisse se ab Arsinoe Ariadneae coronae invidia percita in sideribus positam esse, cum invidus semper malus sit neque aliud facere velit, quam adimere cui invideatur illud, propter quod ei invideatur, aut prohibere ne quic-

quam boni fiat cuiquam, ut in loco Aristophaneo ab ipso Vahleno laudato: *κοῦκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἐκείνους οὐχὶ φθονῶν ἔπανσας, ἵνα μὴ ῥήτορες γένοντο* (Equit. 880). Enuntiatum ipsa suum Zephyritis eo famulum legarat, *Graia Canopieis incola litoribus* dictum est parenthetice, neque opus est ut poeta dicat, cur ales equos Arsinoes iussu comam sustulerit dominaeque apportaverit. Inde autem a versu unde sexagesimo coma pergit narrare, quid postea factum fuerit, cum ales equos casto Veneris in gremio illam collocasset . . . *vario ne solum in lumine caeli ex Ariadneis temporibus aurea corona fixa foret me sidus in antiquis novum diva posuit*. Si res ita se habet, ut nos iudicamus, in corruptis *Hi dii ven ibi* latent vocabula *Hic AUTEM*:

Hic AUTEM, vario ne solum in lumine caeli
Ex Ariadneis aurea temporibus
Fixa corona foret, . . . etc.

THEOPHANES KAKRIDIS.

ATHENIS.

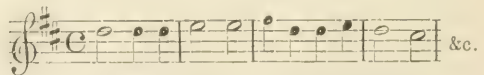
THE LATIN SAPPHIC.

THAT Horace modified the structure of the Greek Sapphic line by introducing a fixed caesura after the fifth syllable and making the fourth syllable long is well known; but why he did so, and what was the precise effect of the change upon the rhythm and delivery of the verse, is a more difficult question.

On this question of the interpretation and significance of the Horatian procedure, the treatise of P. Eickhoff (*Der horazische Doppelbau der sapphischen Strophe*, 1895) threw a flood of light. At the same time it left the question in a position which I cannot regard as entirely satisfactory or final; and it is the object of the present article to carry the discussion a stage further.

Eickhoff's view may be briefly summarized as follows. Side by side with the quantitative structure which he took over from the Greek Sapphic, Horace introduced into his Sapphics an *accentual* structure, which completely altered their rhythmical character and threw their quantitative

structure into the background. Horace, he says, wrote his verses for a new tune or melody, which was composed in 'common time' (whatever may have been the time of the melody for which the Greek Sapphics had been written); and a considerable portion of the treatise is devoted to a discussion of the possible constitution of this Latin tune. The result at which Eickhoff arrives is that it must have been similar in respect of its time and rhythm to the well-known music of Flemming written for *Integer vitae*:



Integer vitae scelerisque purus

To English readers, accustomed from their public school days to read Sapphics according to the rhythm indicated by the ordinary prose accents of the words, this conclusion comes as a welcome and unexpected confirmation of their traditional practice. It seems that an answer to the

vitally important question 'How did Horace mean his verses to be read and delivered?' is here foreshadowed. Apparently to judge by the regularity with which the word-accent falls on the first, the fourth, the sixth (in this place the accent may be only a secondary accent) and the tenth syllables—the poet meant them to be delivered according to the model of

nón eget Maúrís iáculis neque áreu

(I avoid quoting the first line of the Ode —I 22—because it raises the question how far Horace intended a secondary ictus on the second, the fifth, the eighth and the eleventh syllables; Eickhoff holds that he did:

íntèger vítaè scélerisque púrùs

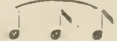
If so, the third syllable of the word *scelerisque*, which has the principal word-accent, receives at least a secondary ictus in the verse; the principal ictus falling on the syllable which has only a secondary word-accent, if any.)

The difference between the Horatian and the Greek Sapphic may, then, be most simply stated in musical terminology by saying that Horace desired (for some reason or other) to give his verses a 4-time movement (γένος ἴσον); whereas the Greek Sapphics had a 3-time movement (trochaic, γένος διπλάσιον):

ποικι - λόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρο - δίτα

or ποικι-λόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρο- δίτα

(The Greek accents are, of course, otiose.

The bar, or half-bar, marked  is equivalent in time to .

If the Horatian rhythm is as Eickhoff says, we see at once why he made the fourth syllable long, and put a caesura after the fifth. It was *in order to get a syllable having the word-accent in the fourth place*.¹ For every Latin word ending in *-us* must, according to the ordinary law of prose accentuation, be pronounced with an accent on the penultimate. What Horace did with the Greek Sapphic may be illustrated very well

by the second line of the strophe written by the late Lord Tennyson for Sir Richard Jebb's *Primer of Greek Literature*, and given also in his *Memoir*, vol. ii, p. 231. His object was to reproduce in English the movement of the Greek, as distinct from the Latin Sapphic; and his first and third lines reproduce it admirably. In his second line, however, whether deliberately or not, he departed from the Greek model, and put his caesura after the fifth syllable (without, however, lengthening the quantity of the fourth); the effect was to give an Horatian movement to the last part of the line (*promise, and the victim*); had he chosen to put in a word accented like *resplendent* or *majestic* instead of *glorious* in the first part of the line, the transformation would have been complete. The lines run—

Fáded év'ry víolet, álł the róses;
Góne the glórious prómise, and the víctim
Bróken in this ánger of Áphrodíte
Yíelds to the víctor.

But I come now to two points of disagreement with Eickhoff.

(1) He regards the accentual and the quantitative structure of Horace's Sapphics as two *parallel* phenomena, each of which is independent of the other. Hence the title of his treatise (*der Doppelbau*, the double-structure). This dualistic theory of the verse seems to me to be open to criticism. A poet can hardly serve two masters in this way. Not that verse may not be both quantitative and accentual: that is a phenomenon of which we have plenty of isolated examples in Latin as well as English. It is only necessary to quote such familiar instances as—

ómnia súnt desérta, osténtant ómnia létum
Catull. 64. 187.

pállida díś invísá supérque immáne bará-
thrum
Aen. viii. 245.

quae dígna méntís laús erit árduae,
quae dígna fórmæ láus erit ígneae?

Claudian, Nupt. Hon. Aug. et Mar. 4 f.

ípsa gémmis pùrpurántem píngit ánnum
flóribus
Pervig. Veneris, 9.

to say nothing of popular verses recited at triumphs, etc. In English we have the converse phenomenon of quantity combined with accent in isolated verses like

Ríft thě hílls and rólł thě wátërs, flásh thě
líghtnìngs, wèigh thě sun

Tennyson, Locksley Hall, l. 176.

¹ The reason given by Eickhoff, *Nachtrag* is somewhat different. He thinks the object of Horace was to make the second foot like the fourth.

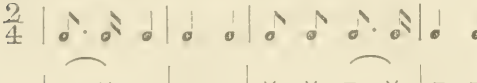
And rōlling fār alōng the glōomy shōres
The vōice of dāys of ōld and dāys to bē
Morte d'Arthur.

as well as in deliberate imitations of classical metres such as those of Tennyson and Hawtreys in *English Hexameter Translations*, e.g.

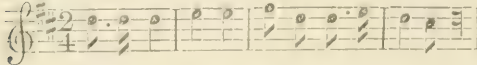
Clēarly the rēst I behōld of the dār-k-eyed
sōns of Achāia.

But in all such instances quantity and accent play into one another's hands; both of them are means of bringing out a common basis of rhythm. What we should have to accept in Eickhoff's view is that in the Horatian Sapphic the quantities subserve a 3-time rhythm, and the accents a 4-time rhythm. This could only result in one or other of these rhythms being sacrificed in the actual delivery of the verse; and if so, why should the poet have troubled to attend to them both? To my mind the inference to be drawn from the facts is that both the quantities and the accents were intended to be heard and to produce a joint effect on the ear; and it is, therefore, the business of the metrist to see how they can be *reconciled*. But reconciled they cannot be if we limit ourselves to the view that a long syllable is always twice as long as a short syllable. And herein I find a new argument for the existence in verse of extra short and extra-long syllables—a doctrine which of late has fallen into disfavour in some influential quarters.¹

I submit the following method of reconciliation; premising that instead of  in the first and third bar I should be equally well content with  (that is three *morae* accelerated so as to be pronounced in the time of two *morae*):


Persicos odi puer appa - ratus

or (to repeat the melody of the familiar music)—


Integer vitae scelerisque purus

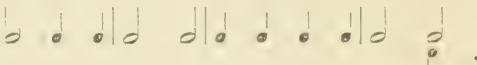
¹ It would be tempting to suppose that Horace shortened the third syllable of his Sapphics according to the law of 'Breves Breviantes': and it is worth noticing that the third syllable never has a principal word-accent. But this hypothesis would require a great deal more evidence to support it than is forthcoming; and I mention it only to reject it.

Here every syllable which Horace makes long has a relatively long note assigned to it (*i.e.* a note which is longer than that assigned to any syllable which Horace makes short); and every syllable which he makes short has a relatively short note assigned to it. And at the same time the accentual structure of the verse is fully recognised. The conversion from a 3-time to a 4-time rhythm has involved the following changes: (1) the transference of the ictus from the third and fifth syllables to fourth and sixth respectively; (2) the complete alteration of the quantity of the fourth syllable, which in the Horatian form of the verse must be long, whereas in the Greek form it may be (and ought theoretically to be) short;² (3) the slight shortening of some syllables—the first, second, eighth, and ninth, and the very slight lengthening of others—the fifth and sixth. How far the latter details were consciously realised by Horace (*i.e.* show far his lines became *fully* rhythmical according to the scheme which he favoured) must remain a matter of conjecture.

I submitted this theory to Prof. Eickhoff last year,³ and was glad to receive from him the following reply (dated Dec. 21, 1902). 'Ihre Rhythmisierung des *metrischen sapphischen Verses*


integer vitae scelerisque purus

halte ich jetzt, nachdem die Seikilosmelodie veröffentlicht worden ist, welche auch kurze Noten im gutem Taktteil hat, für möglich; sie est dem Horazischen⁴ Rhythmus



sehr ähnlich, nicht ganz so einfach. Mit Recht hat sie nur vier Takte (*four bars*). Aber ich halte sie nicht nur für den römischen metrischen Bau für wahrscheinlich, sondern auch für den griechischen, und halte den $\frac{3}{4}$ Takt hier nicht für nötig.'

(2) The second point in which I venture to express a view differing from that of Eickhoff is in regard to the question whether Horace's Sapphics were an attempt to adapt the Greek metre to new Latin music. Eickhoff holds that they were, and quotes O.

² I see no necessity to call the *i* of *Diana* long in *Carm. Saec.* 70; for this line has the Greek rhythm.

³ The publication of the present article has been delayed through pressure of other work.

⁴ I presume Prof. Eickhoff means the *accentual*.

Jahn's article in *Hermes* 2. 419 in his support (*Doppelbau*, p. 22). This seems to me an unnecessary and indeed impossible theory; unnecessary, because the more words are written for music the less need is there for indicating the bars by the word-accents¹; impossible, because if Horace was writing for music it was music whose time was liable to change in successive lines (unless, indeed, as Eickhoff suggests in his letter, the Greek Sapphic would also go to 4-time music). For instance Horace writes

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis (Greek rhythm),

Qui feros cultus hominum recentum (Latin rhythm).

* * *

Te canam magni Iouis et decorum (Latin rhythm),

Nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem (Greek rhythm).

This free passage from the one rhythm to the other is itself a strong argument that the verses were written for recitation and not for music. In recitation the change of rhythm may have been merely a pleasing variety (as in Tennyson's Sapphic line quoted above); in singing it would have involved either a new tune for every line which departed from the norm, or else great violence to the accentuation of the words (e.g. *Nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem*). And indeed Eickhoff treats every line in the first three books of the Odes which neglects the 4-time rhythm as a failure on the part of the poet,² and, consistently with this view, he regards the 5-time rhythm which appears in the large majority of the lines of Catullus as due merely to accident. I do not regard the matter in this light. Both rhythms are equally legitimate, and the difference between them, great as it was, was apparently not such as to prevent their being used side by side. Nor ought we to speak of Horace as having on maturer consideration returned to the Greek rhythm in Book IV. and the *Carmen Saeculare*. For if so, how are we to account for the fact that here too the large majority of the lines have the specially Horatian accentuation? Lines like

Laurea donandus Apollinari (Greek rhythm) though much commoner than in Books I.-III. are still only a minority; and on

this principle two thirds of the Sapphic lines of Bk. IV. and the *Carmen Saeculare* must be put down as failures.³ If Horace had come to the conclusion that his earlier accentual system was a mistake, he would surely have been able to modify his practice more successfully.

In illustration of the two types of the Sapphic (the one definitely Latin, though the other is also represented in Latin literature), I will quote a few specimens in English and German. It will be seen that the Latin type is far more widely represented than the Greek, which, however, is clearly the basis of the lines of Swinburne called *Sapphics*: I quote only the first of twenty stanzas (*Poems and Ballads*, i. p. 234); note the accent on the third and fifth syllables:

All the night sleep came not upon my eyelids,
Shed not dew, nor shook nor unclosed a feather,
Yet with lips shut close and with eyes of iron

Stood and beheld me.

Several excellent instances of the Greek rhythm might be quoted from German literature; for example the following reproduction by Geibel of *Φαίβεραί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσι*

Höchbeglückt wie selige Götter deucht mir,
Wem, dir tief ins Auge zu schau'n, und
lauschend
An dem Wöhl laut deines Gesprächs zu
hängen

Täglich vergönnt ist.

So too Platen's *Die Pyramide des Cestius*.

Among the experiments in classical metre introduced by Sir Philip Sidney into his *Arcadia* occur the following lines (Book I. p. 141, of the edition of 1725), which, however disappointing as verse, have a special interest as exhibiting the Greek and the Latin rhythms side by side; Zelmane sings them 'speaking as it were to her own hope':

If mine eyes can speak to do hearty errand,
Or mine eyes' language shé do hap to judge
of,
So that eyes' message bé of her received,
Hope, we do live yet.

³ Westphal, J. H. H. Schmidt and Christ are united in regarding the specially Horatian caesura as inexplicable; in fact they practically condemn every verse which has it as defective.

¹ The music takes care of its own rhythm.

² All these exceptions are carefully tabulated by him: e.g. I 10. 1, 6, 18; I 12. 1; I 25. 11; I 30. 1; II 16. 26; III 22. 2; III 27. 10.

Six other stanzas follow, in some of which we find the same mingling of the Greek and the Latin rhythm, *e.g.*

If the swán's sweet voice be not heard, but
at death,
If the mute timber when it hath the life
lost, etc.

The following lines by Cowper 'written during a period of insanity' are entirely on the Horatian model; I quote the first stanza only.

Hátred and véngeance, mý eternal pórtion,
Scárce can endúre deláy of execútion;
Waít with impátient reádingness to seize my
Soíl in a móment.

Perhaps the most familiar example of the Latin rhythm is the parody by Canning, published in the *Anti-Jacobin* (Nov. 27, 1797): the verses which he parodied are also of the same type. The ictus falls on the fourth and the sixth syllables, without exception, though the caesura is sometimes after the fourth syllable:

Néedy knife-grinder! whither are you
góing?
Róugh is the róad, your whéel is out of
órder:
Bléak blows the blást, your hát has got a
hóle in't
Só have your bréeches!

A curious example of the survival of this Horatian type is the metre of the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers' *St. Paul*. This metre has generally been supposed to be an invention of Mr. Myers himself; but it is nothing but the Latin Sapphic, abbreviated in the alternate lines by one syllable. Note the

accents on the first, the fourth and the sixth syllables (p. 19):

Ring with a reckless shivering of laughter
Wroth at the woe which thou hast seen
so long,
Question if any recompense hereafter
Waits to atone the intolerable wrong.

In the following stanzas I insert the ictus marks: the first is normal, the second and third show some characteristic variations, for which there are parallels in other parts of the poem.

Thén in the midnight stúrring in his slúmber
Ópened his vísion ón the heights and sáw
Néw without náme or órdinance or númer,
Sét for a márvel, sílent for an áwe

Stárs in the fírmament abóve him beáming,¹
Stárs in the fírmament, álíve and frée,¹
Stárs, and of stárs the innúmerable
stréáming,²

Deép in the deéps, a ríver in the seá;—

Thése as he wátched thro' márch of their
arísing,

Mány in múltitudes and óne by óne,¹
Sómewhat from Gód with a supérb sur-
prísing¹

Breáthed in his éyes the prómise of the
sún. (p. 47).

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

¹ These lines have the second and third feet inverted: cf. p. 29 'Ay, and when the Prophecy her tale hath finished,' 'Love be imperishable, love be young' (catalectic); p. 26 'Heard not nor pitied her nor made reply' (cat.). This inversion is employed by Klopstock in the second line of every stanza of his 'Selmar und Selma' (Eickhoff, p. 49 f.).

² This line has a dactyl for the spondee of the second foot; so too the fourth line quoted above from p. 19.

ON HORACE, *ODES*, IV. 8. 13-22.

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae 15
reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
non incendia Carthaginis impiae
eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque 20
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

It will be useful to summarise the difficulties of this passage:

(a) The ode violates Meineke's canon.

(b) The burning of Carthage happened thirty-seven years after the death of the elder Scipio, and twenty-three years after that of Ennius.

(c) The genitives Carthaginis impiae followed immediately by the genitive ejus make the expression exceedingly awkward, as ejus has no connection with Carthaginis.

(d) Eius is generally agreed to be impossible.

(e) Calabrae Pierides—'Calabrian Mace-

donians' is a doubtful expression, though defensible. It could hardly have satisfied Horace, especially in the fourth book.

(f) The metre of line 17 is irregular.

The remedies are various, but none suggest any explanation how the verses became corrupted. Some mark a lacuna of two lines to bring the number up to thirty-six. Others omit lines 17 and 28, but l. 28 has nothing against it. Others block out six lines, 16-19, 28, 33. Gow in the *Corpus* gives up the whole ode.

It may be taken as certain that Horace wrote all his odes (not the epodes) in stanzas of four lines each, with perhaps the exception of those early experiments in metre, the fourth, seventh, and twenty-eighth odes of the first book. It mattered nothing whether the metre was naturally in four-line stanzas, as the *Alcaics*, or in couplets, such as Ode I. 3, or in single lines, as in Ode I. 1.

I do not believe that 'Calabrae Pierides' in line 20 is sound. As Page says, 'Although the word *Pierides* had come to mean nothing more than a synonym for "Muses," yet the combination of the two words is hardly happy.' Again, the commentators have not remarked that Horace never ends a sentence in an *Asclepiad* line of this kind two syllables from the end, so as to begin a new sentence with a weakly *pyrrhic*, as in 'laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque,' where the 'neque' sentence is very loosely attached to what precedes. Doubtless writers of Latin verse would feel such a thing to be most undesirable. (Some editions read in IV. 13. 17, 'Quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens,' but even so there is really no stop after color.) In the line under discussion it may be urged that there is not really a strong pause after *Pierides*, but there is enough to cause a jar, and this, with the clumsiness of *Calabrae Pierides*, makes me certain that the stop should come after *Calabrae*, and that *Pierides* belongs to the next sentence. I would write:

laudes quam Calabrae: Pieridum neque
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

(For 'neque' standing second in a sentence cp. Ode III. 18. 6, and IV. 5. 14, the former being a sufficiently exact parallel.)

It will be seen that on this view *eius* in line 18 must disappear, as *laudes Calabrae* is now nominative to *indicant*. In fact, *eius* is due to the mistaken punctuation of line 20. The scribe corrected some accusa-

tive into *eius* to make sense of the passage. *Illum* was probably the original word, and the sentence ran thus:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis

illum, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae;

'The inscriptions upon statues &c. do not more clearly mark out him who returned after winning a name from conquered Africa, than do Calabrian praises.'

It will be well to point out what other changes I think necessary in the whole passage, and then consider them together. 'Non incendia Carthagini impiae' must go, as most commentators agree, and the other line to be cut out is 'post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae.'

The passage then runs:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis,
relectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae
illum, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae; Pieridum neque
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

The words 'post mortem ducibus' I consider to have been a gloss on the 'bonis' of the preceding line. The scribe filled up the line, and filled it very badly, with 'non celeres fugae,' words which violate history, and are not likely to have been written by Horace. He did not wish to belittle the opponent of Africanus, for obvious reasons. The words are, perhaps, a recollection of 'Philippos et celerem fugam.' The other line excised, 'non incendia Carthagini impiae,' has no friends. A reason can be offered for its interpolation. In *Hor. Sat. II. 1. 65* is an expression very similar to that in this ode,

'num Laelius et qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine
nomen'—

which refers to the *younger* Africanus. The interpolator compared these two passages, and made them square with one another by inserting the reference to the burning of Carthage before the line in the ode. He did not see that the word 'meritum' makes all the difference. The younger Africanus 'meruit' the same title for himself, which the elder had won before.

Further, 'qui nomen lucratus rediit' must

refer to the elder Scipio. Horace is recalling, as Peerlkamp pointed out, Scipio's message to the Senate, when they demanded an account of money received by his brother Lucius. 'Cum Africam totam potestati vestrae subiecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur, praeter cognomen rettuli.' (Peerlkamp's note quoted by Orelli—Hoc unicum erat Scipionis lucrum; alii alia luera spectabant.) This, with the reference to Ennius, makes it certain that there can be no allusion to the younger Scipio.

The reference in the first line is now seen to be particular to Scipio, as well as referring generally to Roman heroes. 'Not the statues marked with public inscriptions, by which breath and life return to the good, and the threats of Hannibal flung back in his own face.' Now there must have been at least two statues of Scipio in the Rome of Horace's day. Augustus had erected in his Forum statues of the great generals of the Republic, with laudatory inscriptions (Suet. Aug. 31). There was also a statue of him at the family mausoleum outside the Porta Capena, along with a statue of Ennius. Ovid refers to it in words that seem to show he had this ode in his mind (Ars Am. 3. 409):

Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi.
Nunc hederæ sine honore iacent; operata-
que doctis
cura vigil Musis nomen inertis habet.

The 'laudes Calabrae' are the direct praise of a great man by a poet; that is the 'pretium muneris' of line 12. The best commentary on these lines was written by Horace about the same time, Epist. II. 1. 245-7:

At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
munera, quæ multa dantis cum laude
tulerunt
dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poetae.

The change from 'Pierides' to 'Pieridum' in line 20 is not great. The phrase

'Pieridum chartae' seems sound enough, and the expression is no more unlikely than one in Pseudo-Tibullus, Pan. Messall. l. 200:

'posse Meleteas nec malle vincere chartas.'

Chartae does require some adjective, as the whole point is that they must be pages of poetry, not of prose, such as 'Socraticae chartae.' It may be observed that Page seems to have felt the want, for he translates, 'if no poet's page tell of thy great deeds.'

I am inclined to think that by the epithet 'Calabrae' Horace denoted himself as well as Ennius. The point is of little importance. 'Calabrian' was used by the Romans with exceeding vagueness. In fact, so far as that goes, Ennius might just as well have been born at the Rudiae near Canusium. Martial, who knew as much geography as most men, calls Horace Calabrian in three places, V. 30. 2; VIII. 18. 5; XII. 94. 5.

Page remarks that 'In this and the next Ode it is probable that, though Horace addresses Censorinus and Lollius, his words are meant for Augustus. The Poet-Laureate hints pretty broadly to the Emperor that he is well aware of the value of the favour he is bestowing in writing this Book at his request.' This seems true, and it follows that the reference to 'incisa notis marmora publicis' is a graceful compliment to Augustus, who had erected, amongst others, a statue of Scipio.

I will add, as I have not seen it noticed, that Lucius Marcius Censorinus, ancestor of the Censorinus to whom this ode is addressed, was consul B.C. 149, and with Manilius conducted the first campaign of the third Punic war, the younger Scipio then serving as tribune. As the operations were far from successful, Horace would not wish to recall them. But the fact may have suggested the interpolation of 'non incendia Carthaginis impiae.'

ERNEST ENSOR.

A HISTORICAL NOTE ON TACITUS, *ANNALS*, XII. 62¹.

'At Byzantii data dicendi copia, cum magnitudinem onerum apud senatum deprecarentur, cuncta repetivere. orsi a

¹ This article is an expansion of a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society on March 5.

foedere quod nobiscum icerant, qua tempestate bellavimus adversus regem Macedonum, cui ut degeneri Pseudophilippi vocabulum inpositum, missas posthac copias in Antiochum, Persen, Aristonicum, et

piratico bello adiutum Antonium memorabant, quaeque Sullae aut Lucullo aut Pompeio obtulissent, mox recentia in Caesaris merita, quando ea loca insiderent, quae transmeantibus terra marique ducibus exercitibusque, simul vehendo commeatu opportuna forent.'

'Beginning with the treaty which they concluded with us when we fought against that king of Macedonia whose supposed spurious birth acquired for him the name of the Pseudo Philip, they reminded us of the forces which they had afterwards sent against Antiochus, Perses, and Aristonicus, of the aid they had given Antonius in the pirate-war, of their offers to Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompeius, and then of their late services to the Caesars.'

Thus Messrs. Church and Brodribb. Their translation is interesting, for it renders 'posthac' rightly (as I hope to shew), yet in defiance of historical fact, if 'the false Philip' of whom Tacitus speaks is the man commonly so called. These are the wars of Rome with which the chapter is or may be concerned :

The war with Philip V (the second Macedonian war)	B.C. 200—197
The war with Antiochus III	192—190
The war with Perseus (the third Macedonian war)	171—168
The war with Andrisceus, 'the false Philip'	149—148
The war with Aristonicus... ..	131—130
M. Antonius, the orator, in command against the Cilician pirates... ..	102
Sulla in Greece and Asia... ..	87—83
M. Antonius, the son of the orator, in command against the pirates... ..	74
Lucullus in command in Asia	74—66
Pompey in the East	67—62

In all these wars what part did Byzantium play? Before the second century we hear of no connexion between Rome and Byzantium; but in the second Macedonian war their interests were the same. In 201, when Philip V leagued himself with Antiochus to spoil the Egyptians and their friends, he made himself master of Perinthus, which was connected by *συμπολιτεία* with Byzantium; consequently Byzantine ships fought against Philip in the battle off Chios, and Byzantium was naturally on the side of Rome when Rome stepped in. By the terms of peace in 197 Philip was required *ἀποκαταστήσαι Περινθίους εἰς τὴν Βυζαντίαν συμπολιτείαν* (Polybius, xvii. 2.4). In later years Philip, and Perseus after him, helped Byzantium to ward off the attacks of Thracian chiefs; but though the kings of Macedon thus neglected the terms of the peace of 197, we hear of no breach between

Rome and Byzantium. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we must take Tacitus' word for it that in the war with Antiochus¹ and in the third Macedonian war the Byzantines did service to Rome. For their conduct in the affair of Andrisceus we have positive evidence: they paid honours to the pretender, and incurred the displeasure of Rome thereby. Diodorus xxxii. 15.6: *ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ καταντήσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐτιμήθη καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἔδωκαν δίκας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οἱ Βυζάντιοι*. Thenceforward Byzantium was faithful to Rome.²

The help which the Byzantines gave to Rome during the first half of the second century, and the punishment (whatever it was) which they suffered for their acknowledgment of Andrisceus, might seem to imply a formal alliance between the two cities. But the passage of Tacitus appears to say that the first treaty was no older than B.C. 149; and looking at Tacitus and Diodorus together one is tempted to infer that the treaty and the punishment were connected, or identical. In any case one followed close upon the other; and if the fault came first, the treaty must have been formed when the Byzantines were in disgrace; if the treaty came first, their fault was so much the worse. Then why did the envoys of Byzantium, seeking a favour from the senate in A.D. 53, begin the narrative of their city's connexion with Rome at the one point where its behaviour towards Rome had been bad? They might have left the affair of Andrisceus out; they might have mentioned it discreetly after the war with Perseus, in its proper place; but they preferred, it seems, to mention it first. Did they begin with the one black episode that the rest might be uniformly white? So we must suppose, unless Tacitus, or the ordinary interpretation of his words, is wrong.

First, it is strange that the Byzantines, and Tacitus, should speak of Andrisceus, as 'king of Macedon.' His claims were never admitted by Rome, or by history. He was king in fact for a short time only; he was not king by right³; he was not king by

¹ See E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. p. 107, n. 6. Mommsen says that 'extensive privileges were granted to the Byzantines,' by Antiochus with a view to his war with Rome (*History of Rome*, Engl. transl., ii. p. 450). I cannot find the evidence for this.

² See Kubitschek's article on *Byzantion* in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 1138, where references are given for the events mentioned above.

³ His claim that he was the son of Perseus was

courtesy from any point of view which concerns us here; and no other writer calls him king.¹

Secondly, Tacitus' explanation of the name 'false Philip,' as commonly interpreted², is absurd. Andriscus was called 'the false Philip' not because he was 'ultimae sortis homo,'³ but because he posed as a Philip and was not. Had his lineage been of the best, he was still 'the false Philip' since he claimed to be a Philip and his claim was false. The Tichborne claimant was 'ultimae sortis homo,' but he would have been 'the false Tichborne' just the same if he had been a Vere de Vere.

Thirdly, 'posthac' must belong to 'missas,' not to 'memorabant.' In Latin of the republican times 'posthac' has regularly, and possibly always, a *continuous* sense, 'from this (that) point onwards,' marking not a later event but a permanent result. This is not so in Tacitus. The *Lexicon Taciteum* which has just been completed reveals the curious fact that Tacitus uses the word only in his last work, the *Annals*, where it occurs nearly twenty times; and while in some of these its meaning is continuous, in others it is non-continuous: 'afterwards,' 'later on.'⁴ But Tacitus never uses it to mark so flimsy a partition as that which separates the divisions of a speech. This, however, is a small matter: if there were no other objection, 'posthac memorabant' in the meaning 'they went on to mention' would be allowed to pass. But the chief argument against connecting 'posthac' with 'memorabant' is the order of the words; and the argument is convincing, though it cannot be put in the form of a syllogism. Messrs. Church and Brodribb are right in taking 'posthac' with 'missas' though they thus put the affair of Andriscus before the wars with Antiochus and Perseus in point of time, not seeing the chronological difficulty, or leaving Tacitus and the envoys

false, though Pausanias, whose work was written fifty or sixty years later than the *Annals*, admits it (vii. 13. 1: *στρατιά τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἐπ' αὐτῇ Μέτελλος, Ἀνδρίσκῳ τῷ Περγάσῳ τοῦ Φιλίππου πολέμης-σοῦτες ἀφ᾽εστηκότι τῶν Ῥωμαίων*).

¹ The language of Florus, who wrote not long after Tacitus, is an exception which proves the rule: he calls Andriscus 'ille imaginarius et scenicus rex' (ii. 14).

² E.g. by Furneaux: 'as one meanly born.'

³ Livy, Epit. xlix.

⁴ E.g. xv. 70: *exim Annaei Lucani caedem imperat. . . . Senecio posthac et Quintianus et Scaevinus non ex priore vitae mollitia, mox reliqui coniuratorum perire, nullo facto dictove memorando. iii. 62: primi omnium Ephesii . . . proximi Magnetes . . . Aphrodisienses posthac et Stratonicensis . . . exim Cyprii . . .*

from Byzantium to share the blame. But the difficulties of 'degeneri' and 'regem Macedonum' remain.

The best solution I have to offer—since the text looks sound—is that Tacitus has confused Andriscus with Philip V; that somehow or other he had got it into his head that 'the false Philip' was a nickname of Philip V. There seems to be no other trace of this nickname, and it is unlikely in itself, since Philip's legitimacy was beyond doubt, and his worst crime was that he contended with Rome and lost. But was Tacitus incapable of the mistake?

If this postulate is once granted, all else is clear. 'Degener' will have its original sense, 'unworthy of his lineage' ('not a chip of the old block')⁵, and the passage may be translated thus:

'Beginning with the treaty which they had concluded with us when we fought against that king of Macedon who was called the false Philip as unworthy of his forefathers, they mentioned the forces which in later years they had sent against Antiochus, Perseus, and Aristonicus,' etc.

Thus 'posthac' is connected with 'missas' without violence to chronology; the wars are given in their right order; the first treaty between Rome and Byzantium is put where we naturally look for it, in the second Macedonian war; 'regem Macedonum' is justified; and Tacitus' explanation of the name 'false Philip' is no longer absurd.

The parts of the speech are linked by 'orsi,' 'posthac,' 'mox.' This is not a uniform concatenation, since 'posthac' denotes the chronological order of the events enumerated, while 'orsi' and 'mox' denote the order of enumeration. But when the two orders are the same, such a variation as this is legitimate, and even to be expected in Tacitus.

Furneaux says that the Antonius here mentioned is the orator's son, who held an extraordinary command against the pirates of Cilicia in 74. If the Byzantines were referring to the orator himself, who commanded against the pirates in 102, the wars are given in their true order throughout. There seems to be no other evidence that Byzantium sent ships to the Roman fleet in 102 or in 74, so that either date is open to us. But the question is scarcely important. The eastern wars of Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey form a very natural series; the

⁵ Both meanings of 'degener' are found in the *Annals*. For the original meaning see i. 40, iv. 61; for the *degenerate* meaning see xii. 51.

desire of compactness may have led Tacitus to throw these wars into a single clause, leaving the mention of the war against the pirates to stand apart; and the war of 74 is

not more out of place before that clause than it would be after it.

E. HARRISON.

NOTES.

ON HORACE, *Epist.* I. ii. 31.—Mr. Walter's 'cessatam' for 'cessatum' (see p. 203 of the current volume of the *C.R.*) is a correction which was made long ago by Scaliger. It only partly, however, I think, restores the original text, 'curam' being as yet (to me at least) not satisfactorily explained. Now, the chief part of the Phaeacians' sensuality was over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table; perhaps therefore we ought to read 'ad strepitum citharae cessatam ducere cenam,' and in the strange variant 'sompnum' recognise (possibly as 'sompnum') a corruption of a gloss 'symposium.' Compare *de A.P.* 376, 'poterat duci quia cena sine istis;' and *Sat.* I. v. 70, 'prorsus iucunde cenam produximus illam.'

SAMUEL ALLEN.

* * *

ON THE FORM OF PSEUDONYMS IN LATIN ELEGY.—I have lately noted in Prof. J. B. Carter's *Selections from the Roman Elegiac Poets* an error which may very well be prevalent and at any rate wears an air of speciousness particularly likely to mislead. The writer, speaking of the *Lycoris* of Gallus, the *Delia* and *Nemesis* of Tibullus, the *Cynthia* of Propertius, and the *Corinna* of Ovid, says, Preface, p. xxii.:

"These names are, of course, pseudonyms. Acron [Schol. on Hor. *S.* 1, 2, 64] gives us the formal principle on which they were chosen: *codem numero syllabarum commutationem nominum facit*. That is, the poems were originally written with the real name and were in this shape submitted to the subject of them; later, when they were to become public property, and discretion, or mere caprice, dictated the substitution of a fictitious name, one was chosen which agreed with the original name in the number and the quantity of its syllables, so as not to disturb the metre."

The words which I have placed in italics are an incorrect inference from the accurate statement of Acron. How could *Hostia*, which all recent commentators upon Propertius including Prof. Carter

accept from Apuleius as the real name of the poet's mistress, be substituted for *Cynthia* without disturbing the metre in either I. viii. 42, 'quis ego fretus amo: *Cynthia* rara mea est' (Selections, p. 38) or I. xi. 1, 'Eequid te mediis cessantem, *Cynthia* Baiis,' 23 'tu mihi sola domus tu, *Cynthia*, sola parentis,' 26 'quidquid ero dicam "*Cynthia* causa fuit"' (*ib.* pp. 39-40)? One of the commonest collocations in Propertius is *mea Cynthia*; e.g. I. xviii. 5 (p. 42), xix. 1 (p. 43). Did the poet write the real name, *mea Hostia*, in these lines originally, and if so how were they scanned?

The truth is that Propertius when selecting a pseudonym for his mistress paid no regard to the initial sound of the name, nor is there ought to show that others paid more¹: and in the text of their poems, when they were composed, stood not the real, but the fictitious name.

J. P. P.

* * *

MARTIAL IV. viii. 11.—The Lucca MS. has *gressū*, i.e. *gressum* (so the C-family); but since the stroke over the *u* may easily be a later addition, *gressu metire licenti* is quite likely to have been the reading of the archetype of the B-family. It is found in the Palatinus and in the paper MS. of Florence, while the British Museum codex has adopted the Renaissance conjecture *gressu timet ire licenti*. The phrase *gressu metiri* is supported by Plautus *Pseud.* 1048:

quin hinc metimur gradibus militariis?

If Martial actually used it in this passage, he probably made the last sentence a question:

gressum metire licenti
ad matutinum, nostra Thalia, Jovem?

'do you (venture to) march with reckless step?
But the Renaissance conjecture is very attractive.

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ *E.g.* Horace, if we can trust Acron's statement (*l.c.*) that *Villius* is for *Annius*.

REVIEWS.

RZACH'S *HESIOD*.

Hesiodi Carmina, recensuit ALOISIUS RZACH.
Lipsiae. MCMII. 18 m.

THIS fine book is the summing up of thirty years' labour upon Hesiod. In the seventies, after the appearance of Hartel's first *Homerische Studien*, Rzach applied the statistical method to Hesiod, and produced

treatises upon his language and dialect which still hold the field. In 1884 he published a handy text in Schenkls' Bibliotheca, and then and later collected the entire MS. evidence for the text, weighed the value of the codices and established their connection in many articles in *Wiener Studien* and elsewhere. The whole critical instrument,

gathered by a steady and certain method that leaves nothing to undo and little to add, is now given to the reader in this admirable volume. It is remarkable that the same year and publishing firm should have put forth two such monuments of a life's labour as Ludwich's *Iliad* and Rzach's *Hesiod*.

The features of this edition are firstly the complete MS. evidence, including the recent papyri, which, if scanty are remarkable; next the mass of testimonia and imitations, even by themselves excellent and instructive reading; then a very rich apparatus criticus containing besides the variants a great deal of dialectal and grammatical information. The Fragments which with the Certamen and an index of names, complete the book, include the lately discovered scraps of papyrus, conveniently rescued from the periodicals where their editors had interred them. There is no real contentment in the world, and the 'lector improbus' would still like Prof. Rzach to provide him with a complete and uniform edition of the scholia, Proclus' commentary, and exegetical notes on the whole author.

This sort of book cannot be reviewed. All that a reader can do is to note some points that have struck him which involve principles of editing. The Hesiodic text has in most modern editions been cut up into shreds, and these sometimes as in Goettling separated by lines: there seems no justification for this arrangement. It is true the topics of the Works and Days are various, and the subject changes frequently; but the same is the case with Virgil's *Georgics* which as they are usually printed do not present the curious appearance of Hesiod. The reader is prejudiced by such a gaping page and tends to believe he is contemplating an aggregation of proverbs. It is, however, only just to admit Rzach's moderation in this, as indeed in every respect. The commentary contains an inordinate number of the thoughts, the reverse of happy, of previous editors: 'suspicionem movit Paleio,' 'pro insiticio habuit Guyet,' 'uncis inclusit Wolf,' are distressingly frequent, and we know that these critics had no other ground for their suspicions than, like their predecessors Aristarchus and Plutarch, their aesthetic judgment, in other words no ground at all. No doubt the public demands this registration of things better forgotten; but unfortunately though the editor is temperate compared to his predecessors, too many brackets have found their way into the text in obedience to such

authority. A bracket is a doubtful typographical expedient, and hopelessly prejudices most readers against the passage it encloses. To take a cardinal instance, the autobiographical passage, OD. 654 sq., about Hesiod's first and only voyage, and the hymn he recited at the funeral of Amphidamas is gravely damaged in the eyes of the average reader, merely because Plutarch, who possessed about as much historical sense as Cobet or Aristarchus,¹ thought the lines contained οὐδὲν χρηστόν. The like imaginary reasons account for most of the transpositions also, which, though fewer in number, occur in the text.

The editor has been careful about printing conjectures, but those he has accepted are a very doubtful improvement. I mean such as Wachler's τρίποδι βροτοὶ for βροτῶ OD. 533, Usener's ἐξελθοῦσι for ἐξελθοῦσα ib. 218, Peppmüller's ἐν εὐτρήτοις χόανοιςι for ὑπό τ' εὐτρήτου χόανιο Theog. 863, Wilamowitz's σπείρησιν μεγάλας for πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις Theog. 335, Scheer's peculiarly useless αἰθέρα for ἡέρα ib. 697, and Stadtmüller's dreadful δεῦρ' αὖτις for δ' ἑαῖτις ib. 659.

The question how far forms whose existence comparative philology has recovered should be inserted in our current texts is a wide one, and compared to many editors Rzach may almost be called timid. At the same time one may doubt the practical advantage of confronting the reader with such forms as ὠαρίωνα, ἡόα, ἡοσφόρον, ἐξείμεσσε and the like. If we use the post-Euclidean alphabet, why do we try to clothe in it prae-Euclidean forms?

The printing is admirable. The disposition of the page, size of the type, and excellence of the paper may be recommended to the attention of many of our publishers. The book, strange to say, is dated, and—a still more singular circumstance—paged.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Or Hiller who (*Rh. Mus.* 42. 321) thinks the similar autobiographical passage in the hymn to Apollo may be a later addition, to support the attribution of the hymn to Homer. This is philological anthropomorphism; they do not hesitate *et bona dis ex hac scelerala ducere pulpa*. Because they think personal references undignified in epos, they will not allow an epic poet to be personal. But there are signs that this is a pure anachronism; cf. the well-known fragment Hes. 265 ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ θεῖος Ὀμηρος | μέλπομεν κ.τ.λ. and the question and answer between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis which Plutarch (*Conv. Sept. Sap.* 10) gives on the authority of Lescher. It is mere supererogation to invent 'Leschem quendam, non antiquum Pyrrhaeum sed multo recentiorem' here (Götting ed. p. xxviii.) and not to recognise the author of the Little Iliad, speaking of course as Homer.

TYRRELL'S *TERENCE*.

P. Terenti Afri Comoediae: recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit ROBERTUS YELVERTON TYRRELL, Collegii Sacrosanctae et Individuae Trinitatis iuxta Dublin socius. Oxon. [1903]. (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis). 3s. 6d.

THE Delegates of the Clarendon Press were fortunate in securing Professor Tyrrell as editor of Terence for their Series. In his hands the text could not fail to receive a sympathetic and scholarly treatment. To commend the work of the editor of Cicero's Letters is (to vary the proverb) 'laudare laudatum virum'. A reviewer must rather try to discover faults.

A thoroughly satisfactory critical edition of the text is of course impossible until the completion of Dr. Wessner's edition of the Donatus scholia and until the results of Dr. Kauer's and Prof. Minton Warren's researches in the MSS. of Terence have been given to the world. Prof. Tyrrell in his modest preface makes no claim to anything beyond the sifting of readings and emenda-

tions already published. He has added very few conjectures of his own. One could wish there were more of them.

But it is unfortunate that he has here and there 'given occasion to the adversary.' Why does he talk of the first corrections of the Bembinus as 'saec. fort. x^{mi} aut xi^{mi}'? Why does he appeal to the Donatus lemmas as if they had the same authority as the scholia? Why does he speak so curiously in the Preface regarding the form (the normal form of Rustic Capital Script) which the letter H has in the Bembinus? And why, why does he saddle poor Terence with the scansion *inimishas* (sic) for *inimicitias*? It is a pity that there are blemishes like these in so scholarly a production. I know what the German critics will say when they find that the recent re-collation of the Bembinus has been ignored in the Preface and (so far as I can see) in the *apparatus criticus*. They will characterize this attitude towards the MSS. as 'echt Britisch.' But the last Teubner text of Terence has its defects too.

W. M. LINDSAY.

SUMMERS' *SALLUST*.

C. Sallusti Crispi Catilina. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index by W. C. SUMMERS, M.A., Cambridge University Press. 1900. 2s.

C. Sallusti Crispi Jugurtha. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index by W. C. SUMMERS, M.A., Cambridge University Press. 1902. 2s. 6d.

THESE two editions demand little notice beyond a general cordial recommendation. 'Writing, as I have written,' says the editor, 'for passmen and private students, I have not troubled my readers with parallel passages from other authors except when they seemed very necessary, or at least tolerably interesting. In quoting from Greek authors, it seemed best to render into English.' The first part (A) of the Introduction on 'Sallust as a Historian and a Stylist,' is substantially the same in the two works, the illustrations being chosen to suit the works respectively. Then follows, in the *Catilina*, a 'Historical Summary,' a

'Sketch of the Roman Constitution,' and a 'Chronological Summary of the Conspiracy'; in the *Jugurtha*, an 'Account of the Roman Army at the time of the Jugurthine War,' and a 'Chronological Summary of the Jugurthine War'. The difficulties of the chronology in the latter work, where our authorities for checking Sallust's inaccuracies are far more meagre than in the 'Catilina,' are carefully met. Perhaps a reference might have been given to Mr. Pelham's paper in the *Journal of Philology*, vii pp. 91 foll. with its criticism of Mommsen.

Mr. Summers fully shows up Sallust's defects as a historian. As a man he may not have been so black as his enemies painted him. 'I cannot help thinking,' we read, 'that Seneca would have mentioned Sallust's immorality, had he regarded him as exceptionally bad.' But, whatever he was as a man, that he comes out badly as a historian is clear enough. He misplaces events; nor will Mr. Summers accept the theory that

Sallust's transpositions of events are due to political motive or to dramatic art: 'some of the mistakes in Sallust are curiously like those made in history examinations by candidates, whose partial recollection of the facts, eked out by rhetorical adornment, sometimes produces strange results.' (Catilina, *Introd.* p. xvi). Sallust's defects are due to mere carelessness and levity, to his flashiness and love of sensation: 'he does not *wish* to be accurate or to give a good account of the war.' (Jugurtha *Introd.* p. xv). Still he made a great advance on Roman writers before him, and among his countrymen he had a great name. 'The Romans,' says Mr. Summers, 'had not a very clear idea of the functions of the historian.' Nor, it may perhaps be added, had the English, till just the other day. Whether human nature is even yet ripe for pure scientific history, as conceived by Prof. Seeley, is a question. In the meantime the strange hybrid, the *ἐπιδείξις* in which the attraction of historical research is fortified by personal interest and literary charm, will find plenty of readers and readers not unprofited. And charm cannot be denied to Sallust. How fresh and how modern ring the speeches of Memmius and Marius, with their denunciation of aristocratic army mismanagement!

Mr. Summers' notes are studiously brief, and he has not been often led, like his author, by brevity into obscurity. Perhaps the note on Catilina 28. 1, as to the mistake of Appian and Plutarch in stating that

Cethegus was one of the two deputed to assassinate Cicero, might be made rather more explicit (See Reid's *Cic. pro Sulla* *Intr.* p. 17n). And in the note on Jug. 31, 10 'a law had to be enacted requiring that a battle involving a loss of at least 5000 men must have been fought before a triumph could be claimed,' it might be well to make it quite clear that the 'loss' required must be on the side of the enemy. In the note on Jug. 114. 1, 'the Cimbrians, to whom he refers, were of course Germans,' as the temptation to connect Cimbri with Cwmry, Cambria, etc. is strong in one who does not know better, the words 'of course' were better omitted, and a reference might be given to Mommsen III. 178.

The text of both works is mainly based on Jordan. In Jug. 100. 4 Mr. Summers after others reads, with the MSS, *non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavisset*, remarking that 'if the future inf. ever was indeclinable, S. is just the writer to revive the usage.' In Jug. 53. 5 he adheres to the reading of the better MSS *proelio fessi laetique erant, tamen*, etc. He acknowledges that the conjunction of the two conditions of weariness and joy is awkward, and I am sorry he did not see his way to adopt Postgate's *laeti quierant*.

The printing is very careful. In Jugurtha *Intr.* p. xvi, note 5, we should read, I think, instead of "§ 85," "ch 85," with a reference to the §§ in point, perhaps 1, 8, and 32.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great. Translated from the Greek with an introduction by F. M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1902.

PLUTARCH and Basil have found themselves together before now, and, though one may wonder what they have to do with 'Yale Studies in English,' both are such pleasant reading either in English or in Greek that the question need not be raised. We are only indebted to Dr. Padelford for once more coupling them, this time in a very readable and at the same time accurate translation, accompanied by ample notes on a great many points, and in particular by

an introduction which deals with Plutarch's attitude towards poetry and compares it with the positions of Plato and Aristotle. Plutarch has no original or important views to set forth, but he dilates on the subject agreeably enough, and among his many quotations supplies us with quite a considerable number of poetical passages otherwise unknown and often interesting. His own matter, moreover, is always sensible, if not brilliant or profound. Basil's view of pagan poetry as a propaedeutic to Christian teaching, a *σκιαγραφία* of truer virtue, is also interesting and very well written. I have called the translation accurate, and so in most places it is. There are, however, some misconceptions in it. For instance,

ἀπαλλαττόμενον μολίς means not that 'the fellow still clung to him' (p. 109), but that he was reluctantly leaving him: *αἰσχύνῃ μὴ δφλῆσαι* is not 'to lack embarrassment' (p. 107): nor does *ἄτοπος*, which occurs several times in the Plutarch, mean 'absurd.' In the ordinary use it is not *absurd* but *strange, odd*: here in Plutarch it means rather *erroneous*. Cf. Thuc. 7, 30, 2, οὐκ ἀτόπως, not *badly*, an uncommon use.

careful and useful work on Xenophon may have it already in hand.

H. RICHARDS.

P. Cornelii Taciti de Vita et Moribus Cn. Jul. Agricolae Liber erklärt von A. GUDEMAN. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. Preis I Mark 40 Pf.

Xenophontis Hipparchicus. Recensuit PIUS CEROCCHI. Berolini apud Weidmannos. MCM. 2s.

Xenophontis De Re Equestri Libellus. Recensuit VINCENTIUS TOMMASINI. Berolini apud Weidmannos. MCMII. 2s.

THESE are texts of Xenophon's two tractates, prepared with a fuller collation of MSS. than previous editions, and giving us very minute particulars as to MS. readings. The most important of these readings and the conjectural emendations hitherto proposed of which the editors think best are placed below the text, and a much larger collection of *variae lectiones* and critical suggestions follows after it. Each book has a verbal index to Xenophon's Greek, complete except for a few of the commonest words, and even the latter are by no means omitted altogether. The value of these little editions to Xenophontean scholars is therefore considerable, especially as they seem to have been prepared with care and judgment, and it may be hoped that more of the *opera minora* will appear in the same way. It is so long since most of them were edited anew that there has been a great deal of material to bring together; this the editors have done. Their own suggestions on the text are few and slight; seldom, I think, necessary. More are made in the *Hipparchicus* than in the other treatise. 1. 19 the editor reads *εἰκὸς . . μᾶλλον <ἂν> ἀσχεῖν*, but *εἰκὸς* hardly ever has an *ἂν* after it: 4. 5 his *τὸ <μὲν> τῶν προόδων* seems to ruin the sentence: 4. 2 *χαλεπὸν* is quite able to stand by itself without the addition of *<ἂν εἴη>*. 9. 5 Madvig's *ἀπευχόμενων* for *ἀπεχομένων* should have been mentioned. 7. 4 it was not the first but the second *ὁπότε* (*ὁπότε καὶρὸς παραπέσοι*) which I proposed in this *Review* (vol. xi. p. 20) to change to *εἴ ποτε*.

A new text of the *Cynegeticus* would be especially welcome, and I hope one of the two Italian scholars who have begun such

Mr. GUDEMAN has, he says, taken an opportunity of improving his English edition of the *Agricola* (1899), and the result is that he gives us on the one hand a compact and generally helpful introduction and body of notes, and on the other the chief results of a study of the Codex Toletanus. But the desire to be brief, on which Mr. Gudeman lays stress, occasionally makes a note rather meagre. For instance, he tells us that Tacitus' judgments elsewhere of Suetonius Paulinus agree with his verdict in *Agr. c. 5, diligenti ac moderato duci*: but we should expect them to agree, and we would rather hear what other critics think of Suetonius as a military man. On c. 45 we want a fuller proof than is given that *honori* bears the sense of *amori*: the only parallel cited is Virg. *Æ. XII. 57*, itself a passage open to doubt. When Tacitus wishes in c. 46 to speak of affection, he says *amavimus* plainly enough. (Earlier in that chapter *honos* is coupled with *pietas* and left ambiguous). We have not seen any edition of the *Agricola* in which such careful attention is paid to the form of the composition, to the really artistic character of its apparently plain prose. Mr. Gudeman takes the cunning machinery to pieces and shows how it is constructed, what older rules it goes on, and by what means it makes its deep impressions of pathos or of indignation. The *praenomen* of *Agricola*, rightly given elsewhere, is accidentally misprinted 'C.' on p. 30.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

Die Attischen Frauennamen nach ihrem Systeme dargestellt. Von F. BECHTEL. Göttingen. 1902. 5 M.

THE author of this little book presents it to scholars as an instalment, we hope, of a complete collection of Greek female names on the same plan. He has chosen the Attic names as being the most complete series, and

as showing with a clearness not to be always found, the social standing of the owners. References wherever possible are given for each name as used in the families of citizens and of those who were not citizens; the occupation of the persons is given where it is mentioned, and special attention paid to the *hetaerae*. A list of compound names is first given, each followed by its 'pet' or coaxing form (if any), all arranged under the elements in alphabetical order. A study of this list discloses that many of the elements must have been borrowed from male names: such are the compounds of ἵππος, στρατός, ἀγορά, and the lion. Next come those names which contain one stem only; adjectives, feminine or (rarely) neuter; names derived from the calendar (Νουμηνίς, Τριτώ); dedicatory names (Ἀφροδισία Δημη-τρια); names taken from ethnic or local terms, or from the state of life to which providence called them; and lastly with sixteen subdivisions, names containing a 'metonymy,' some metaphorical implication, where persons are called after gods or heroines, after

animals, vegetables, or minerals. After each section, the author sums up its results; if he is at times a little far-fetched (we do not see the point of his quotation from Shakespeare on p. 65) his conclusions are generally just and always interesting. Changing tendencies are to be observed as time goes on; and as might be expected, more conservatism amongst the true-born Athenian than with those of a lower social standing, or slaves. Here, as elsewhere, the fourth century seems to show in many respects the beginning of changes. A consideration of what is not used for these names is also instructive. The arrangement of the book is clear, in that any required name is readily found in its place or by help of the index. If the matter on the page is not so clear to the eye as it might be, that is a fault common to German books. The book is done in a careful and scholarly manner, and throws interesting sidelights on Attic social life, as well as on the feelings which prompt the choice in naming a child.

W. H. D. R.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—LENT TERM, 1903.

ON January 30th, a meeting was held in St. John's College, and papers were read (a) by MR. POWELL suggesting emendations of certain passages in the *Hippolytus* and *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. *Hippolytus*—23 suggested δέω for με δέι: 228 suggested δέσποιν' Ἀρτεμίου λείας λίμνας: 571 suggested τίν' ἀδᾶν θροεῖς; metri gratia; 867 suggested ἐπεισφρεῖ (see the apparatus criticus in Murray, Clarendon Press texts): 1053 τερμόνων must be retained: 1194–95 repunctuation and corrections thus: κᾶν τῷδ' ἐπείγει κέντρον ἐς χέρας λαβὼν πάλοισ <δ'> ὁμαρτῇ πρόσπολοι βιμφορμάτοις πέλας χαλινῶν εἰσόμεσθα δεσπότη. See Murray's apparatus criticus: 1403 suggested τρεῖς ὄντας ἡμᾶς, τρεῖς, μί' ὤλεσεν Κύπρις based upon the vox nihili ἴσημι. *Iphigenia in Tauris*—65 suggested ὅπως τινὸς πάρεσσ' ἔσειμ' ἔσω δόμων: 796 suggested ἐκπεπληγμένος, ὥμως ἀπιστῶ <ν>, περιβαλὼν βραχίονε εἰς τέρψιν εἰμι (a new suggestion ἀπιστῶν being combined with a neglected suggestion of Doederlein, βραχίονε.) (b) by DR. FARNELL on the interpretation of a passage in the fifth century Attic inscription (*C.I.A.* iv, i), concerning the Eleusinian ἀπαρχαί of the Greek states: objections were urged against Dr. Mommsen's theory, put forward in his *Feste der Stadt Athen*, that the ἀπαρχαί were consecrated at the Haloa, and especially against his interpretation of the words τριττοῖαν δὲ βόαρχον—βοῶν χρυσόκερων, as if they referred to animal-
effigies made of dough or paste: it was argued that such a view was difficult to reconcile with the phrases ἱερεῖον τέλεον and βοῶν χρυσόκερων, and with

the opposition of the clauses expressed by μέν and δέ—ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πελάγου . . . τριττοῖαν δέ: that his theory was suggested by the difficulty arising from the absence of any mention of the sale of the corn in the second clause and the mention of it in the third, but that this might be equally well explained if we suppose that custom still allowed, long after coinage was introduced, of simple barter in respect of corn oxen and sheep etc.: in the discussion that followed it was pointed out if the law of the Haloa ritual forbade the sacrifice of real animals, the offering of sham animals would be probably dis-
countenanced also. Dr. Farnell maintained that the Eleusinia was the more probable occasion for the consecration of the first-fruits.

On February 13th, a meeting was held in Balliol College and a paper was read by MR. J. A. SMITH on recent theories concerning 'Ablaut' and Accent in Indo-Germanic speech.

On February 20th, a meeting was held at Merton College and a paper was read by MR. FOTHERINGHAM on the formation of the Julian Calendar with reference to the astronomical year. The Julian Calendar belongs to that class of calendars, which are based on the apparent movements of the sun without reference to those of the moon. In Egypt the heliacal rising of Sirius had been taken as the turning point of the solar year, and the mean interval between two successive heliacal risings, i.e. 365 days, 6 hours, was regarded as the duration of the astronomical year. It does not appear that this value for the period was

ever disputed by the Greek astronomers, though they sometimes adopted different values in order to accommodate the solar to the lunar calendar.

The leading events of the astronomical year were tabulated first in the cycles of Meton and Callippus, and then in the *paraegmata* of various astronomers. The dates assigned to them must be regarded as relative, not as absolute. They moved owing to the precession of the equinoxes, and the want of a fixed point to which they might be referred led to confusion, when they came to be transferred from one table to another.

Sosigenes in constructing the Julian Calendar probably used the Egyptian Calendar as a basis, in which the heliacal rising of Sirius occupied a certain position, as in all probability did the solstices and equinoxes as well. The unduly late dates for these events in Caesar's Calendar may be explained by the adoption of old observations of solstices and equinoxes uncorrected for precession. The Egyptian feast of the heliacal rising of Sirius was probably taken as the starting point of the astronomical computations for the new calendar. In accordance with the mass of Greek tradition, the heliacal rising of Sirius was made to synchronize with the entrance of the sun into Leo, and thus it became possible to transfer to the new calendar the whole series of phenomena recorded in the *paraegmata*. There is no reason to suppose that the dates thus obtained were ever, except by accident, correct dates.

This theory will explain the distinction between the solstices &c., and entrance of the sun into signs in Caesar's Calendar. The former are taken directly from the Egyptian Calendar, the latter are left in their relative position to the heliacal rising of Sirius as fixed for another age and latitude by Greek astronomers.

There is no sufficient evidence to support Columella's statement that the ancient astronomers placed the solstices and equinoxes in the eighth degree of their respective signs. Perhaps Columella only knew these astronomers through *paraegmata*, accommodated to the Julian Calendar, and professing to be based on them.

On February 27th, a meeting was held at Exeter College, and a paper was read by MR. MARETT on the meanings of *δόξα* in Plato: in which he sought incidentally to furnish fresh support to Lutoslawski's theory of the chronological order of the dialogues. His general contention was to the effect that, when all allowance has been made for the influence of dramatic and philosophic context, there remain substantial indications of a forward movement in Platonic thought sustained by various closely allied interests one of which is concerned with the relations of *δόξα* to *ἐπιστήμη*. So long as the notion of an exact knowledge possible for the human mind has not yet arisen ('Socratic' group of dialogues from Apology to Protagoras), *δόξα* (cf. *Crito* 46 c) may stand for that relative ideal of combined intellectual and moral excellence which served the historical Socrates as a foil to the *ἀμαθία* against which he crusaded. With the Meno, Euthydemus, Gorgias begins constructive Platonism, the theory of Recollection providing a basis for the conception of an actually possible *ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν*, or dialectic, in contrast with which *δόξα* appears as infected with imperfection, whether considered as a fixed state of mind in the unphilosophic but otherwise good man, or as a passing stage in the education of the philosophic neophyte. In the next group, Cratylus, Symposium, Phaedo, Republic, a too exclusive consideration of the object of such a dialectic as opposed to its subject, the human mind, gives rise to a dualism

between the world of sense and the world of Ideas, which even in a practical treatise like the Republic causes *δόξα* to be ranked altogether too low, namely as a frame of mind induced by mere sense-perception. From the Phaedrus, however, which is transitional, onwards through the 'dialectical' dialogues, up to the Philebus, the centre of interest shifts from Metaphysic to Psychology and Scientific Method, when *δόξα* in a new aspect, namely as the logical judgement comes to be represented as the characteristic mode in which the activity of thought manifests itself, as, in fact, own sister to *διάνοια*, falling short only of the *νοῦς* which cognises the absolutely elementary. Finally, if, with the Timaeus (perhaps much earlier than Lutoslawski allows; query, just after Republic) and Laws, the old associations of *δόξα* tend to recur, with slight modifications (e.g. collocation of *βέλβαιος* with *δόξα*, Tim. 37 c, Laws 635 A: contrast Polit. 309 c), this may be due to the fact that Plato is dealing with the stubborn relativities of Physics and Politics in a spirit of uncertainty in the one case and of disillusionment in the other. Meanwhile, there is on the whole discernible a law governing the fluctuations in the meaning of *δόξα* that would seem to be in close conformity with a law of advance running right through the Platonic philosophy.

On March 6th a meeting was held in Brasenose College, and a paper was read by Dr. GRUNDY on 'Statistics of Greek Population in the Fifth Century B.C.' He mentioned that the time at his disposal would not permit him to do more than discuss the data and conclusions contained in Beloch's great work on the population of the Greek and Roman world. Since this work was written new and valuable evidence had been furnished by the recent censuses of the modern kingdom of Greece, and by various statistics of agriculture and trade published by the Greek government and in English Consular reports. Their main value consisted in the data which they furnished with regard to the home food supply and its adequacy or inadequacy for the needs of the present population. The general result of this evidence is to show that in actual fact the present home supply is deficient; but that, were all the cultivable land of the country, especially in the plain of Thessaly, brought into cultivation, the supply would be sufficient. He further took the view that the evidence at our disposal points to a cultivation of the country in the fifth century, which in point of quantity, especially on the hill sides, exceeded in area that of the present day, and in point of quality can hardly have fallen short of the very primitive methods at present employed. But there is overwhelming evidence that the supply of that period fell in many regions of Greece far short of the demands of the then population, and only in Thessaly and, perhaps, in Boeotia, afforded a local surplus. He considered thus far that he must conclude that the population in the fifth century was at least 25 per cent. larger than at the present day, and felt compelled to differ on this point from Beloch, who places it at a figure somewhat less than that of the existing numbers. Dr. Grundy took the view that it was this inadequacy of the home food supply which rendered the typical hoplite army an effective military machine in a country peculiarly unsuited, for the most part, to its operations. An invaded state had to fight for the preservation of its annual crops on those alluvial plains on which the crops were grown, and on which alone a hoplite army could operate with effect.

Turning to other data, Dr. Grundy pointed out various details in which one who had a fairly intimate

knowledge of the circumstances of individual districts would be compelled to differ from Beloch. For actual numbers the data were almost exclusively military. Beloch had adopted one ratio between the military levy to the population for all Greek states alike. This method of calculation is defective because a pastoral state (*e.g.* Arcadia or Aetolia) is less burdened by the levy than an agricultural state (*e.g.* Argos, Elis, or Boeotia); and these latter again than a purely commercial state (like Corinth). Taking these data and also the modern statistics into consideration, Dr. Grundy considered that Beloch had understated the population of certain of the states and regions, especially Euboea, Corinth, and the Lacedaemonian territory, as well as that of Elis, but had overstated the population of Arcadia.

With respect to the population of Attica Dr.

Grundy pointed out certain difficulties in accepting Beloch's rejection of the evidence of Thucydides II. 13, especially in view of Diodorus' evidence on the same subject, which, though it agrees with it in the main, differs from it sufficiently to show that it is not derived from Thucydides. He also pointed out the fact that the age limits of liability to active military service in Greek states were in all probability one on paper, and another in ordinary practice. In the dry climate of Greece the limits of life and physical vigour are far more circumscribed than in Western and Northern Europe. This is conclusively shown by comparative statistics.

L. R. FARNELL,
Hon. Sec.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD,
April.

THE CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL SOCIETY.

THIS association of persons interested in the Teaching of Classics in Cambridge was inaugurated at a meeting held in Peterhouse on May 9, with Professor Sir R. C. Jebb in the chair. It is designed to offer facilities for the discussion of methods of Teaching and for the interchange of opinions upon questions affecting classical studies. It is also hoped that the Society will render possible a greater degree of co-

operation in the Teaching system. Some of the speakers at the meeting suggested the further possibility of forming in England a Classical Association on the lines of the Classical Association of Scotland, if the newly formed organisation could combine with other bodies for that purpose. A committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the Society.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(Continued from page 186.)

IN my last paper I dealt with most of the points essential to an understanding of the Dodonaean cult: but one fact of primary importance has still to be considered. There was at Dodona a tradition of human sacrifice. I have already alluded to the legend that a priestess of Dodona was done to death by certain Boeotians, who cast her upon a pyre (Ephorus *ap.* Strab. 401 f.) or into a caldron of heated water (Heraclides *ap.* Zenob. 2. 84). There were also occasions on which the oracle definitely prescribed a human sacrifice. Pausanias (7. 21. 1-5 Frazer) states that Coresus, a priest of Dionysus at Calydon, once loved a girl Calirrhoe, who turned a deaf ear to his advances. Thereupon the priest prayed to his god and so brought upon the townsfolk a common frenzy, from which many died. The rest in their extremity applied to the oracle at Dodona and were told that the

divine wrath would not be appeased 'until Coresus had sacrificed to Dionysus either Calirrhoe herself, or some one who should dare to die for her. Finding no way of escape, the damsel sought refuge with those who had brought her up; but she got no protection from them, so there was nothing left for it but that she should be slain. When the preparations for the sacrifice had been made as the oracle of Dodona had directed, the damsel was brought like a victim to the altar, and Coresus stood ready to offer the sacrifice; but, yielding to the impulse of love rather than of anger, he slew himself instead of her, thus giving proof of the most unfeigned affection that ever was heard of. But when Calirrhoe saw Coresus lying dead she repented, and, touched with pity for him and shame at her own treatment of him, she cut her throat at the spring which is in Calydon not far from the harbour, and which has been called Calirrhoe after her ever since.' The romantic colouring of the story is of course late, but—as in the case of Aristodemus'

daughter and her lover (Paus. 4. 9) or in that of Comaetho and Melanippus (Paus. 7. 19)—behind it lurks a genuine tradition of human sacrifice ordained by a conservative oracle. The same bloodthirsty trait comes out in another myth connected with Dodona. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 19), the Pelasgians, when they invaded central Italy, encamped before Kotyle, *i.e.* Aquae Cutiliae, a city of the Aborigines. On seeing the floating island and hearing the name of its inhabitants they concluded that an oracle once delivered to them at Dodona had at last found fulfilment—

στείχετε μαιώμενοι Σικελῶν Σατόρνιαν αἶαν
ἤδ' Ἀβοριγινέων Κοτύλην, οὗ νῆσος ὀχεῖται·
οἷς ἀναμιχθέντες δεκάτην ἐκπέμψατε Φοῖβω
καὶ κεφαλὰς Κρονίδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε
φῶτα.

Dionysius adds that L. Manilius (Μάμιος MSS.) had seen this oracle inscribed in archaic letters on a tripod set up in the precinct of Zeus. It seems probable, as Mommsen pointed out (*Rh. Mus.* xvi. 284 ff.), that Dionysius is founding on Varro, who (*ap. Macrob.* 1. 7. 28 ff., cp. 1. 11. 48 ff.) tells the same tale together with its sequel, *viz.* that the Pelasgians drove out the Sicilienses, devoting a tithe of their spoils to Apollo, and erected a sanctuary of Dis with an altar to Saturn, whose feast they named the Saturnalia. 'For long,' he continues, 'they thought to appease Dis with the heads of men and Saturn with human victims on account of the line

καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἀιδῇ¹ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα,

but, when Hercules came back through Italy with the oxen of Geryon, he induced—so the story goes—their descendants to change this grim sacrifice for a better by offering to Dis, not the heads of men, but masks made to look like men, and by honouring the altars of Saturn, not with a slain man, but with kindled lights, because the word φῶτα denotes *lights* as well as a *man*. Such surrogates were of course not chosen at random but with a view to maintaining the early features of the ritual in question. The human faces (*oscilla*) swinging from the boughs (Verg. *georg.* 2. 389, cp. figg. in Smith *Dict. Ant.*³ s.v. 'oscilla') point backwards to actual human heads hung on a sacred tree (Bötticher *Baumkultus* fig. 31). The candles (*cerei*) kept burning

at the shrine (Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* i. 869 s.v. 'candela,' 1020 s.v. 'cera') imply a perpetual fire on a sacred hearth.²

It appears then that in early days Zeus of Dodona demanded 'heads and a man'—a demand evaded by the offering of equivocal substitutes. The same principle, in *sacris simulata pro veris accipi* (Serv. *Aen.* 2. 116, cp. 4. 512), is illustrated by the legend of

² Others used the same Dodonaean oracle to account for the ritual of the *argei*. Ov. *fast.* 5. 625 ff. states that Zeus of Dodona (626 fatidici...Iovis) bade sacrifice to Saturn (627 falcifero...seni) every year two human victims (627 duo corpora gentis) by flinging them into the river; and that his bidding was literally carried out till Hercules substituted puppets for men. Ovid perhaps drew upon M. Verrius Flaccus *de fastis* (so H. Winther *de fastis Verrii Flacci ab Ovidio adhibitis* Diss. Berol. 1885 p. 53, Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa i. 692, 62 f.: but see Schanz *Röm. Lit.* II. i. 2 320 f.), as probably did Festus p. 334 Müll. s.v. 'sexagenarios': sexagenarios <de ponte olim deiciebant> cuius causam Mani<lius hanc refert, quod Romam> qui incoluerint <primi Aborigines aliquem h> omnem sexaginta <annorum qui esset immolar>e Diti Patri quot<annis soliti fuerint> quod facere eos de<stitisse adventu Her>culis. sed religio<sa veteris ritus observatione se> irpeas hominum ef<figes de ponte in Tiberim antiquo> modo mittere <instituisse>. Lactantius, indeed (*div. inst.* 1. 21), cites Varro as his authority, when he declares that the practice of flinging a man from the Pons Milvius into the Tiber arose from the oracle καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἀιδῇ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα: but the blunder Milvius for Sublucius makes us suspicious. In all probability, as Wissowa has shown (Pauly-Wissowa i. 692, 66 ff.), it was not Varro, but Verrius, who traced the *argei* to Dodona. Now Verrius, though not such a polymath as Varro, was no fool: and we may even accept his view in the modified sense that that the *argei* were an institution of the Pelasgians or of the Aborigines their kinsmen (Ridgeway *Early Age* i. 255 f.). If, where so much is obscure, a conjecture is permissible, I would hazard the guess that the *argeus* or *sexagenarius* was the superannuated representative of a vegetation god, probably of a tree-Jupiter. This at least would account for the main features of the ceremony—the presence, not only of the *pontifices*, but also of the *flaminica Dialis* with dishevelled hair and signs of mourning (Gell. 10. 15, Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 86); the part taken by the Vestal Virgins (Paul. p. 15, Ov. *fast.* 5. 621); the immersion of the straw puppets from the bridge (*G.B.*² chap. 3); and perhaps the fact that the Ides of May, on which according to Dion. Hal. 1. 38. 3 the *sacra argeorum* took place, were also marked by *feriae Iovi Mercurio Maiac*. It would also suit the probable meaning of the word *argeus*, *viz.* 'white,' *i.e.* white-headed, a grey-beard (L. Lange *Röm. Allert.* i. 3 83, W. Warde Fowler *Rom. Fest.* p. 118 f.), and the Oscan name *casnar*, 'an old man' (Varro *ap. Non.* p. 86 Merc. s.v. 'carnales': vix ecfatus erat cum more maiorum ultro carnales arripiunt, de ponte in Tiberim deturbant, Varro *de l. Lat.* 7. 86, Paul. s.v. 'casnar'), cp. *canus* for 'casnus' (Lindsay *Lat. lang.* p. 307). Mr. Warde Fowler (*Rom. Fest.* p. 118) has remarked that the puppets used in analogous rites throughout Europe are often called 'the old one,' 'the white man with the white hair, the snow-white husband,' or are dressed in a white shirt. Note also that the *flamen Dialis* according to Varro (*ap. Gell.* 10. 15, 32) 'solum album habet galerum.'

¹ Ἀιδῇ for Κρονίδῃ is a noteworthy variation: Zeus at Dodona was telluric (p. 179).

Numa. Plutarch (*v. Num.* 15 Langh.) states that once, when the Aventine 'abounded with flowing springs and shady groves,' it was frequented by Piceus and Faunus, who taught King Numa many things, including 'a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions hair and pilchards, which is used to this day. Others say, 'these demigods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hands, ordered the charm to consist of heads. "Of onions," replied Numa. "No, human"— "Hairs," said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. "Living," said Jupiter: "Pilchards," said Numa. He was instructed, it seems, by Egeria how to manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *ἄλως*, whence the place was called *Ilícium*; and so the charm was effected.' This story is usually connected with the cult-title of Jupiter *Elícivus* (Liv. 1. 20. 7, Ov. *fast.* 3. 327 f., Arnob. 5. 1 following Valerius Antias); but Plutarch's version suggests rather that there was a Jupiter *Ilícivus*, Jupiter of the oak (ilex, iliceus, iligneus, ilignus).¹

The original practice, undisguised by the refinements of a later age, appears in the myth of Phorbas. The elder Philostratus (*imagg.* 2. 19) describes how the Phlegyae chose as their king Phorbas, the biggest and most ferocious member of their tribe. He dwelt apart under an oak, which was regarded as his palace; and the Phlegyae resorted to him for judgment. This oak grew on the road to Delphi, and Phorbas terrorised the Delphic pilgrims. Contending in various athletic feats with the strongest of them, he would cut off their heads and hang them on his oak, where they swung in the wind—a ghastly sight. Apollo thus robbed of his votaries came as a boxer and overthrew Phorbas, while a thunderbolt from the sky blasted his oak. The place still bears the name *Δρυὸς κεφαλαί*. Hdt. 9. 39 and Thuc. 3. 24 further state that it was a pass of Mt. Cithaeron on the way from Athens to Plataea, and that the Boeotians called it *Τρεῖς κεφαλαί*. Now we have

¹ Tarquinius Superbus is said to have 'restored' the Compitalia. An oracle of Apollo ordered 'ut pro capitibus capitibus supplicaretur'; and for some time boys were sacrificed to Mania, mother of the Lares, to secure the safety of the household. On the expulsion of Tarquinius the consul Junius Brutus bade the people substitute garlic and poppy heads, and hang up before their doors puppets for Mania (Macrob. 1. 7. 34 f.).

already seen cause to compare the oak-cult of Dodona with the oak-cult of Plataea (p. 181). It seems reasonable therefore to explain the *κεφαλαί* of Dodona by the *κεφαλαί* of Plataea. We are thus led to conjecture that the priest or priestly-king of Dodona at one time was accustomed to challenge all comers to a contest of strength and, if he worsted them, to slay them and hang their heads on his oak-tree. The conjecture is supported by two² myths, one from Thrace, the other from Elis.

Dryas, the 'oak-man' (*Δρύας*), was a suitor for the hand of Pallene, a princess of the Thracian Odomanti. As such he had a rival, Clitus by name. At the bidding of Sitho, king of the country, their claims were to be decided by a chariot-race, in which the victor should win the princess and the kingdom together. Pallene herself favoured Clitus; and an old servitor of hers induced the charioteer of Dryas to remove the linch-pins of his master's chariot before the race. Dryas fell, and was at once run over and killed by Clitus. Sitho, on realising his daughter's deceit, built a huge funeral pyre for Dryas and was minded to slay Pallene upon it. But a divine portent and a downpour of rain from the sky made him change his mind: instead, he prepared a wedding-feast for the Thracians who were present, and gave Clitus his daughter to wife (Parthen. 6, cp. Con. 10).

In this myth the oak-man had to contend with a rival for the kingdom; but nothing

² Cercyon of Eleusis, who forced strangers to wrestle with him and slew them when they were thrown, also furnishes a parallel to the grim figure of Phorbas. Observe too that his name *Κερκυνών* or *Κερκυανεύς* denotes the 'oak'-man, being in all probability connected with *quercus*. Thus the trial of personal strength is again associated with an oak-king. Perhaps too a trace of the 'heads' can be discovered in his myth. Cercyon of Eleusis is commonly identified with Cercyon of Stympalus: e.g. Charax (*ap. schol. Aristoph. nub.* 508) relates that Agamedes, king of Stympalus, married Epicaste, who brought him Trophonius as a step-son and bore him Cercyon as a son. Agamedes, Trophonius, and Cercyon together plundered the treasure-house of Augeias at Elis. Agamedes was there caught in a trap; and, to prevent discovery, Trophonius cut off his head and fled with Cercyon to Orchomenus in Boeotia. Agamedes pursued them and they parted—Trophonius going to Lebadea, Cercyon to Athens. Pausanias' version of this tale (9. 37. 5) mentions Agamedes and Trophonius, but says nothing about Cercyon. The parallel story of Rhampsinitus' treasury (Hdt. 2. 121) also has two thieves. It seems possible, therefore, that Cercyon is an interloper in the myth, having been imported into it because he too was in the habit of cutting off heads. Again, Apollo may have figured in the story of Cercyon, as he did in that of Phorbas: cp. *U.I.A.* 3. 1203 *ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Κερκυονέως*.

is said about 'heads.' For these we turn to its doublet, the myth of Oenomaüs. It is told at length in the *Epitome* of Apollodorus (2. 4 ff.). Oenomaüs, king of Pisa, had a daughter Hippodamia, for whose hand he instituted a contest on the following terms. The suitor was to take Hippodamia on his chariot and flee to the Isthmus of Corinth. Oenomaüs, clad in armour and mounted on the car of Ares, would (after sacrificing a ram to Zeus: Diod. 4. 73) go in pursuit and, if he caught them, would slay him. In this way he slew many suitors and nailed their heads to his house. When Pelops came to try his luck, Hippodamia fell in love with him and persuaded Myrtilus, son of Hermes and charioteer of Oenomaüs, not to insert the linch-pins of his master's car. Oenomaüs was thrown, and, being entangled in the reins, was dragged along and killed or,

a roof on them. The structure has been erected in order to protect a wooden pillar which is decayed by time and is kept together chiefly by bands. This pillar stood, they say, in the house of Oenomaüs, and when the house was struck by lightning the fire which destroyed all the rest of the house spared this pillar alone.' The same authority states (5. 14. 7 Frazer): 'At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaüs there are two altars; one is that of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaüs appears to have had built himself; the other altar is that of Thunderbolt Zeus, which I suppose they made afterwards when the thunderbolt had fallen on the house of Oenomaüs.' The house of Oenomaüs, whatever its precise site (see Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 621), must have been very close to the great temple of Zeus; so that,



FIG. 1.—OENOMAÜS AND PELOPS: ZEUS ANICONIC.

according to others, was despatched by Pelops, who thereby won his bride and became king of Pisa.

This legend so closely resembles the foregoing one that, when Oenomaüs is substituted for Dryas, we are inclined to ask whether Oenomaüs like Dryas stood in any special relation to a tree. Now a sacred tree was often conventionalised into a pillar (see e.g. A. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' in *J.H.S.* xxi. 99 ff.). Possibly, therefore, the single pillar of Oenomaüs' palace still standing in the second century A.D. was in reality the old cultus-tree of the kings of Pisa. This at least fits in with all that is known of it. Pausanias (5. 20. 6 Frazer) says: 'What the Eleians call the pillar of Oenomaüs is as you go from the great altar to the sanctuary of Zeus: on the left there are four pillars with

if Oenomaüs' pillar represented a sacred tree, that tree was probably a tree-Zeus. The suggestion is confirmed by an Apulian amphora from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (*Cat. Vases* F 331) and here reproduced from the *Arch. Zeitung* 1853, Taf. 54, 1.

This vase (Fig. 1) shows a most interesting variation on the scene represented in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus. The artist has depicted Oenomaüs and Pelops, taking the oath before they start on their race. Only, instead of the anthropomorphic Zeus who forms the central figure in the pediment, he has placed a four-sided pillar, splayed at the foot as if hewn from a tree-trunk and inscribed ΔΙΟΞ. This can be nothing but the aniconic Zeus of Oenomaüs, who is about to pour a libation from a *phiale* over the altar in front of his god. Facing

him stands Pelops in rich attire. The two competitors are flanked by Myrtilus on the one hand, Hippodamia (led forward by Peitho?) on the other: Eros and Aphrodite appropriately complete the group. On the palace wall in the background hangs a white *pilos* with a sword, and to either side of it two human heads—one that of a young man named ΠΕΛΑΓ *i.e.* Πελάγων (Paus. 6. 21. 11) wearing a Phrygian cap with lappets, the other that of a second youth called ΠΕΡΙΦΑΣ, Περίφας—doubtless the heads of Pelops' ill-fated predecessors.¹

Another vase from the same collection (*Cat. Vases*, F 278), an Apulian crater, should be studied side by side with this amphora: the illustration in the text (Fig. 2) is from the *Bull. Nap. nuov. ser. vi.* 1858, tav. 8. Although the names are not here marked, it can hardly be questioned that

closed by two tree-stumps surmounted by a couple of doves.² The tree-stumps alone might be taken to indicate the Altis or Grove. But the two doves, as Minervini argued (*Bull. Nap.* 1858, p. 148 f.), should be identified with those of the Dodonaean Zeus, who spoke his oracles *δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων* (Soph. *Trach.* 172, with schol. *ad loc.*). This looks very much as though Zeus at Olympia had once had an oracular tree-cult comparable to that of Dodona. Strab. 353 observes: 'The sanctuary was originally famous on account of the oracle of Olympian Zeus; when that ceased (*ἐκλειφθέντος*), its reputation none the less continued and reached its well-known height owing to the common festival and the Olympic contest.' The oracle of Zeus at Olympia was consulted by Agesipolis i. (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7), and is alluded to by Pindar (*Ol.* 6. 6) as follows: 'If,' he says, 'one be an Olympic victor and



FIG. 2.—OENOMAÏS AND PELOPS: ZEUS ICONIC.

the subject is again the compact of Oenomaüs with Pelops before the altar of Zeus (so Walters *Cat. Vases*, iv. 136, Reinach, *Rép. Vases. Peints*, i. 495). Zeus is iconic, but stands on the top of the old four-sided pillar with the altar placed as before. The central figures are here too flanked by Myrtilus and Hippodamia; the former bears armour; the latter, a bridal torch. The presence of Heracles marks the spot as Olympia; for a wide-spread tradition made Heracles the founder of the Olympic games (Paus. 5. 7, Apollodor. 2. 7. 2, Diod. 4. 14, *al.*). But the most notable feature of the whole design is its frame-work: it is en-

treasurer (*ταμίας*) to the oracular altar of Zeus at Pisa and one of them that founded glorious Syracuse, what manner of song would not such an one win?' The reference is to Agesias of Syracuse, one of the Iamid clan, which traced its descent from Iamos, son of Apollo (*ib.* 58. 84 f.) and grandson of Poseidon (*ib.* 99 f.), and served the oracular altar of Zeus (*ib.* 119 f.) drawing its omens from burnt-offerings (*Ol.* 8. 3, schol. vet. *Ol.* 6. 7, schol. rec. *Ol.* 6. 119). Possibly before the introduction of the wild-olive the sacred tree had been an oak. Nero dedicated four crowns in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, 'three in the shape of wild-olive leaves and one in the shape of oak leaves' (Paus. 5.

¹ Philostr. Jun. *imagg.* 9. 3 κεφαλὰς ταύτας, τῶν προπυλαίων ἀνημμένη ἐκάστη. So on a sarcophagus in the Vatican (Roscher *lex.* iii. 782) and on another at Naples (Baumeister *Denkm.* 1203). One of these victims was Πρίας (Paus. 6. 21. 11), a name which occurs nowhere else: does it denote the 'oak'-man (*πρίνος*)?

² Cp. a vase at Arezzo (*Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. pl. 3, Baumeister *Denkm.* fig. 1395), which shows Hippodamia on the car of Pelops: in the background are two laurel-trees, and the car is accompanied by two flying doves.

12. 8). Indeed, it seems probable that the Olympic Zeus had at different times been associated with different trees. (1) Originally, as at Dodona, he may have had an oak or an oak-grove. For this the evidence, as cited above, is scanty. But note also that just as Dione superseded the primeval Gaea, as consort of the Dodonaean Zeus, so Hera at Olympia may have been the successor of Gaea, who once gave her oracles there at the so-called Gaeum (Paus. 5. 14. 10). The oak pillar surviving in the opisthodomus of the Heraeum (Paus. 5. 16. 1) would be highly appropriate to the partner of an oak-Zeus. (2) A mythical equivalent for the oak was the poplar, as may be seen from the myths of Erysichthon (Call. *h. Cer.* 37), Dryope (Anton. Lib. 32), etc. This substitution has left its traces on language; for Schrader *Reallex.* pp. 164, 207, points out that αἰγιρος, 'a poplar,' is derived from the same root as αἰγίλωψ, 'the winter- or Valonia-oak,' αἰγανή, 'an oaken spear,' *aesculus* (**aeg-sculus*), 'an ever-green oak,' etc.; and κερκίς, apparently connected with *quercus*, denotes a kind of poplar (Hesych. κερκίς· αἰγιρος) resembling the λεύκη or white poplar (Theophr. *h. pl.* 3. 14. 2). The transition from oak to poplar was probably due in the first instance to an actual change of vegetation. In prehistoric times the oak seems to have been the principal tree throughout Europe (Schrader *Prehist. Ant.* p. 271 f., Frazer *G.B.*² iii. 347 n. 1): nowadays the white poplar is the finest tree in Greece (Leaf on *Il.* 13. 389). But the transition may also have been facilitated by some botanical likeness. Thus at Sicyon in the precinct of Aphrodite leaves of the παιδέρω were burnt along with the thighs of the victims. Pausanias (2. 10. 6 Frazer) says of this tree: 'Its leaves are less than those of the oak, but larger than those of the evergreen oak: in shape they resemble oak leaves: one side of them is blackish, the other is white: their colour may be best likened to that of the leaves of the white poplar.' Frazer *ad loc.* identifies the παιδέρω with the *quercus Ballota* or the *quercus coccifera*. Nicander (*frag.* 2. 55 f. παιδὸς ἔρωτες | λεύκη ἰσαίόμενοι) also compares this species of oak to the white poplar. Perhaps, therefore, it was as a substitute for the oak that the white poplar was venerated at Olympia. Heracles found it growing beside the Acheron in Thesprotis and brought it thence to Greece: 'And I believe,' says Pausanias (5. 14. 2), 'that when he sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia, Heracles himself burned the thigh bones of the victims on

wood of the white poplar.' Henceforward none but this wood was used in sacrificing to Zeus or Pelops (Paus. 5. 13. 3, 5. 14. 2). Also, at Lepreum, some fifteen miles from Olympia, there was a cult of Zeus Λευκαῖος, probably a god of the white poplar (Paus. 5. 5. 5 and Frazer *ad loc.*). (3) The wild-olive, again, seems to have been another substitute for the oak. On the one hand, the species of wild-olive called φυλία was ὁμοιον πρίνῳ (Hesych. *s.v.* φυλείης). On the other, the species of oak called αἰγίλωψ was also known as ἐλαίς (Hesych. ἐλαίς· αἰγίλωψ). The wild olive at Olympia, which was brought by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans to supply a dearth of trees (Pind. *Ol.* 3. 13 ff.), is said to have had this peculiarity, that the upper, not the under, surface of its leaves was white (schol. vet. Aristoph. *Plut.* 586, [Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 51).¹ Whether this was so or not, it is probable that the combination of a light with a dark surface was one reason which led the Greeks to replace the oak alike by the λεύκη and by the κότινος: the word φανλία could denote both the white poplar and a kind of olive (Hesych. *s.v.* φανλία).

Oenomaüs was by no means the only king of Elis who disposed of his kingdom by a race. It was indeed the traditional procedure. The name of the first king of Elis, Aethlius, son of Zeus (Paus. 5. 1. 3), already points to it. He was the father of Endymion, who in turn set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the kingdom (Paus. 5. 1. 4, 5. 8. 1). 'About a generation after Endymion, Pelops celebrated the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a grander way than all who had gone before him' (Paus. 5. 8. 2 Frazer). Later, the claims of Dius and Oxylyus were settled by a single combat (Paus. 5. 4. 1). 'After the reign of Oxylyus who also held the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued down to the time of Iphitus. When Iphitus renewed the games . . . people had forgotten the ancient customs, and they only gradually remembered them' (Paus. 5. 8. 5 Frazer). 'Iphitus presided alone over the games and after Iphitus the descendants of Oxylyus did likewise' (Paus. 5. 9. 4 Frazer). It seems probable therefore that in mythical times the Olympic contest was a means of determining who should be king of the district and champion of the local tree-Zeus. This supposition explains several points about

¹ See further L. Weniger *der heilige Ölbaum in Olympia*, Weimar 1895, p. 8 ff. Cp. also the white olive-branch held by Heracles on a *hydria* in the British Museum (*Cat. Vases*, F 211).

the treatment of the Olympic victor even in historical times. He was feasted 'within the Prytaneum, opposite the chamber in which is the hearth' (Paus. 5. 15. 12 Frazer). His crown was displayed originally on a bronze-plated tripod (Paus. 5. 12. 5), afterwards on a table of ivory and gold (Paus. 5. 20. 2). It was a spray of olive like the wreath of Zeus himself (Paus. 5. 11. 1), and was cut from the *ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος*, which grew behind the temple of Zeus (Paus. 5. 15. 3), with a golden sickle by a boy, both of whose parents were alive (schol. vet. Pind.

many olive-sprays (Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 123 ff. *πολλὰ μὲν κένοι δίκον | φύλλ' ἔπι καὶ στεφάνους* | *πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν πτερὰ δέξατο Νίκας*), while the *agonothetes* adjusts prophylactic fillets to a remarkable helmet¹ on his head.

¹ Nothing can, I think, be inferred from the griffin's head that tops this cap-of-honour. It reminds one at first of the griffins on the helmet of the Parthenos (Paus. 1. 24. 5) and so suggests a Panathenaic victor. But the griffin is most frequently associated with Apollo (see Furtwängler in Roscher *lex.* i. 1774, 12 ff., Dürrbach in Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1672), which would point rather to a Pythian victory. And a whole series of griffin's heads in bronze has been



FIG. 3.—THE CROWNING OF A VICTOR IN THE GAMES.

Ol. 3. 60). Again, the singular ceremony of the *φυλλοβολία* (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 8. 76 *οἱ νικῶντες ἐφυλλοβολοῦντο*, *Etym. mag.* 532, 46 *πάλαι ἐφυλλοβόλουν τοὺς νικῶντας*, other reff. in Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* i. 1084, n. 72) becomes intelligible if the successful athlete was regarded as a sort of Jack-in-the-green, a human representative of the tree-god. As such he is shown on a *kylix* from Vulci now in the Bibl. Nat. Paris: my illustration of it (Fig. 3) is from the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, Taf. 52, 3. The athlete is here depicted holding in his hands not only his wreath but also

ound at Olympia (Furtwängler *die Bronzen von Olympia* pll. 45, 46, 47, 49).

Still, ceremonial head-gear is always of importance and it is worth while to investigate the point further. A very similar helmet is found on an amphora from Capua published in the *Compte Rendu de Saint-Petersbourg* 1874 p. 208, Atlas pl. vii., (here reproduced as Fig. 4). The artist has represented a winged Nike bringing a fillet to a young Isthmian or Nemean victor, who already carries in his hands the *selinon* and olive-sprays and is decorated with the ribbands. He wears a helmet with a curiously elongated spike, from which hangs another fillet inscribed *HO ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*. The nearest parallel to these spiked helmets that I can quote is the *apex* worn *e.*

Further, the statue of the victor was set up in the Altis (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 16); and, on his return home, he was welcomed with hymns and honours of all kinds—e.g. clad in a purple mantle like a king (schol. Ar. *nub.* 70) he was drawn by white horses (Diod. 13. 82) into the city through a breach in its wall (Plut. *symp.* 2. 5, Suet. *Nero* 25, Dio 63. 20). Indeed Lucian (Anach. 10) speaks of the victor as *ισόθεον νομιζόμενον*. And this was no mere figure of speech. Philippus of Crotona, an Olympic victor, was worshipped after his death as a hero by the men of Egesta *διὰ τὸ ἐωντοῦ κάλλος* (Hdt. 5. 47). The statue of Polydamas the athlete at Olympia was said to cure cases of fever



FIG. 4.—AN ISTHMIAN OR NEMEAN VICTOR.

by the *flamen Dialis* at Rome. It was a short wand of olive wood (Paul. *s.v.* 'albogalerus': *virgula oleagina* bound about with a wisp of wool (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 664, Serv. *Aen.* 2. 683, interp. Serv. *Aen.* 10. 270, Isid. 19. 30. 5). Now, if the victor in the moment of his triumph wore on his head a cap recalling the *virgula oleagina* of the *flamen Dialis*, may we not infer that the spike on his cap was in reality the symbol of the sacred tree? Just as the tree once worshipped by English villagers came to be represented by the May-pole with its coloured streamers, so the sacred tree at Olympia and elsewhere may have come to be represented by the rod borne on the victor's head. A similar transition from a sacred bough wreathed with fillets to a ceremonial helmet perhaps underlies an obscure gloss in Hesychius: *Κορυθαλία δάφνη ἐστεμμένη. τινὲς τὴν εἰρεσιώνην. ἄλλοι δὲ ὑπερορί < ὑπερβόρειον > θεόν.* Preller-Robert⁴ 307, n. 2 had already suggested that *Κορυθαλία* might be connected with *κόου*.

(Luc. *deor. concil.* 12). Euthymus the boxer, a native of Locri in Italy, was actually deified during his life-time on account of his unbroken record at Olympia (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 152). It was said that he never died but passed from earth in some mysterious fashion (Paus. 6. 6. 10); the same was said of Cleomedes of Astypalaea, who was heroified by his countrymen (Paus. 6. 9. 8). Theagenes the Thasian, a man who won no fewer than 1,400 crowns (Paus. 6. 11. 5), contrived on one occasion to beat Euthymus (Paus. 6. 11. 4); he too was worshipped as a god both in Thasos and elsewhere (Paus. 6. 11. 8 f., Luc. *deor. concil.* 12). These facts occurring among a people so enamoured of equality can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the *Ὀλυμπιονίκης* was originally and essentially divine.¹

I would here call attention to a fifth century *krater* preserved in the Art Institute of Chicago and published by Prof. E. Gardner in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 1899 iii. 331 ff., pl. 4 (from which Fig. 5 is taken). It represents a male figure holding a wreath and decked out with olive sprays and a variety of woollen fillets. A winged Nike steps before him and a dancing maiden follows him. If this were all, we should regard him without more ado as an Olympic victor. But this is not all. He seems to be in a kind of transport or ecstasy, in which he imagines himself to be Zeus and challenges comparison with the sky-god. He is bearded and wreathed with olive, as Zeus was. He grasps a thunderbolt with his right hand and brandishes a sword with his left. He wears greaves too, one on his right leg, the other on his left arm, perhaps to protect it against a bolt from the upper air. Now this combination of thunderbolt with warlike equipment reminds us of the Zeus worshipped by Oenomaüs. For, on the one hand, the house of Oenomaüs contained an altar of Thunderbolt Zeus (Paus. 5. 14. 7), and, on the other, 'Oenomaüs used to sacrifice . . . to Warlike Zeus whenever he was about to engage in a chariot-race with any of the suitors of Hippodamia' (Paus. 5. 14. 6 Frazer). Here then we have an Olympic victor posing as the local Zeus, Zeus *Κεραύνιος* and *Ἄρειος*. But who is this

¹ Here we find ourselves on the threshold of a broader question. Did the great games of Greece in every case originate in a struggle for the post of priestly-king? Where tradition connects them with the funeral of a local hero, the priestly-king may have been thought to embody the spirit of the deceased hero. But the question is too large to be treated in a paragraph.

victor? I gladly accept the suggestion made to me in conversation by Miss J. Harrison, that he is Salmoneus.¹ The essential features of the composition, *viz.* the triumphant progress of the Olympic victor and his mad imitation of Zeus, exactly fit the description of Salmoneus given by Virgil *Aen.* 6. 588 ff.

per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis
urbem
ibat ovans, divomque sibi poscebat honorem,
demens.

The details are equally appropriate—Nike

remembered that Zeus was not first in the field at Olympia. Pausanias, when discussing the origin of the Olympic games, states (5. 7. 10 Frazer): 'Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronus himself for the kingdom; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus.' This probably implies that the cult of Zeus at Olympia had driven out an older cult of Cronus (M. Mayer in Roscher *lex.* ii. 1508, Ridgeway *Early Age* i. 124). The memory of the older cult was kept up in the royal house; for Pindar (*Ol.* 3. 23) speaks of Κρονίου Πέλοπος, and the βασιλῆαι, the priestly kings of Olympia, sacrificed to Cronus at



FIG. 5.—SALMONEUS THE OLYMPIC VICTOR POSING AS ZEUS.

with down-turned hand deprecating his triumph, the lunatic's notion of wearing a greave on his exposed arm, the upward glance as of one who defies the *non imitabile fulmen*. There is only one difficulty in the interpretation. What is the meaning of the broken fetter on his left ankle? No legend of any imprisonment of Salmoneus is extant. Rather we may suspect that it is part of his disguise as a would-be god. It does not, however, so far as we know, suit his character as Zeus. But it must be

¹ Prof. E. Gardner's explanation of the painting as 'the madness of Athamas,' though supported with much learning and ingenuity, has failed to convince me.

the spring equinox on the top of Mount Cronium (Paus. 6. 20. 1). It would not be surprising, therefore, if a trait which properly belonged to Cronus had become attached to his successor Zeus. The broken fetter, if I am not mistaken, is just such a trait. Once a year, at the Saturnalia, the statue of Saturn at Rome slipped its fetter (Stat. *silv.* 1. 6. 4. *compede exsoluta*, Apollodor. *ap.* Macrob. 1. 8. 5, Arnob. 4. 24, Minuc. Fel. 22. 5); and Lucian says that poets and painters represented Cronus as πεδότης (*Cronosol.* 10). I do not doubt, therefore, that the Chicago *krater* has preserved an early version of the Salmoneus myth, a version in which at

least one feature is borrowed from the cult of Cronus, not Zeus.

The later account of Salmoneus says nothing about the Olympic victory (except for Virgil's allusion) or the broken fetter. It is given with most detail by Apollodorus, who says (1. 9. 7): 'Salmoneus at first dwelt in Thessaly, but subsequently came to Elis and founded a town there. He was a proud man and fain to place himself on a level with Zeus; for which impiety he was punished. For he declared that he was Zeus, and depriving Zeus of his sacrifices he bade men offer them to himself. He attached to a chariot leather thongs with bronze caldrons and trailing them after him said that he was thundering; he tossed blazing torches towards the sky and said that he was lightening. Zeus therefore struck him with a thunderbolt and destroyed the town founded by him and all its inhabitants.' The same mythographer (1. 7. 4.) tells us a somewhat similar tale of Alcyone, the sister of Salmoneus: 'Ceyx, son of Heosphorus, married Alcyone. They perished through their overweening pride. For Ceyx declared that his wife was Hera; Alcyone, that her husband was Zeus. Zeus then changed them into birds, making the one a halcyon, the other a ceyx.' Myths of this type may be taken to imply that, when the divine right of kings had faded into oblivion, posterity in general and alien immigrants in particular treated the explicit claim to be Zeus as sheer impiety calling for the vengeance of the genuine god. At a later date still it merely made the claimant ridiculous: Menecrates of Syracuse, court-physician to Philip of Macedon, prided himself on his life-giving powers to such an extent that he called himself *Μενεκράτης Ζεύς*, and went about wearing a purple robe and a golden crown, followed by a train of patients dressed up as Heracles, Hermes, Apollo, Asclepius, etc. (Athen. 289 A—290 A, Plut. *v. Ages.* 21, Ael. *var. hist.* 12. 51). Pindar's warning *μὴ μάρτυρε Ζεὺς γενέσθαι* (*Isth.* 4. 14, cp. *Ol.* 5. 24) was not so far-fetched after all. The old Pelasgian view that the king was indeed divine has, as we have seen, to be pieced together from scattered indications in local usage and mythology. It has even left its traces here and there imprinted on the earliest extant Greek literature. The Homeric epithets *θεοειδής*, *θεοείκελος*, *ἀντίθεος*, *ισόθεος* have doubtless long since lost their full force; but the significant fact is that they should ever have become current as compliments and not rather have been avoided as

rank blasphemies. When Odysseus promises Achilles that the Messenians shall honour him *θεὸν ὥς* (*Il.* 9. 297) or Phoenix urges (*ibid.* 603) *ἔρχεο Ἴσον γάρ σε θεῶ τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί*, they are of course using the language of contemporary politeness; but the formulae, we may be sure, had a long history behind them, and the latter-day fiction had been the former-day fact.¹

This comes out clearly in the case of Agamemnon. His stock epithet *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν* is suggestive of a divine title (cp. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 65 *divom pater atque hominum rex*, Hes. *theog.* 923 *θεῶν βασιλῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν*) and in *Il.* 2. 478 he is described as *ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἔκελος Διὶ περπικεραῖνῳ*. But it is also known that there was an actual cult of Agamemnon as a Chthonian Zeus in Laconia (Tzetz. in Lyc. 1369, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 38, Eust. 168, 10 ff.) and Attica (schol. vet. Lyc. 1369 *Λαπέρσαι δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐνθα Ἀγαμέμνωνος Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν*). And there are grounds for suspecting that he was once the guardian of a sacred tree² or pole: for Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. states that the god whom the Chaeroneans honoured most was a wooden staff (*δόρυ*) regarded as the sceptre of Zeus, a sceptre possessed in turn by Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon—'There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes' (Frazer's trans.). The priest who kept the sceptre of Zeus in his house for the year was the human Zeus, the priestly-king, the strong man for the time being. I am aware that such divinities as Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων or Zeus Ἀμφιάραος (at Oropus, Dicaearch. 1. 6, cp. Rohde *Psyche*² i. 125 n. 2) are usually explained by the assumption that a later Zeus-cult was grafted upon an earlier hero-cult. But it is at least equally easy to suppose that the hero was a Zeus all along, the local champion or king being as such the embodiment of the god. Indeed, much might be said in support of the view that the early kings were essentially divine

¹ Dr. Frazer (*Enc. Brit.*⁹ xxiii. 18 s.v. 'Taboo') regards the Homeric application of *δῖος*, *θεῖος*, *ἱερός* to men as 'a survival, or at least a reminiscence, of a system of taboo.'

² The plane tree at Delphi was said to have been planted by Agamemnon (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 13. 2, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 238), as was also a plane-tree at Caphyae in Arcadia (*eid. ib.*). At Aulis the plane-tree, under which the Greeks sacrificed (*Il.* 2. 306 f.), was close to 'the bronze threshold of Agamemnon's hut' (Paus. 9. 19. 7): cp. the relief at Lansdowne House (Jahn *Bilderchron.* pl. 3, 1).

The influence of this conception over the whole history of the Greeks and Romans has not, I venture to think, been sufficiently recognised¹ and deserves to be carefully investigated. For example, the frequent apotheoses of the Graeco-Roman age are apparently due to a recrudescence of the primitive belief. The individual may live to a second childhood; and the nation may revert to the faith of its infancy. I much doubt whether the Athenians would ever have deified Demetrius, or the Samians Lysander, or the Romans Julius Caesar and Augustus, had there not been all along a dormant belief in the divinity of the victor. It is a lower stratum; but it crops up on both sides of the landscape.

We are recalled to Dodona by the circumstance that among the brethren of Salmoneus were Athamas, father of Helle, and Perieres, founder of the Dodonaean oracle (Apollodor. 1. 7. 3). In view of the myths above considered I would maintain, not only that the priestly-king of Dodona had to undergo a periodical duel or contest of personal strength, after which the head of the vanquished was nailed to the sacred oak or to the palace-wall (cp. Phorbas, Oenomaüs), but also that this contest gave rise to the local games, the *Náia* (cp. the origin of the games at Olympia), and that the victor becoming *ipso facto* the priestly-king was treated as an incarnate Zeus. I had already shown, on the one hand, that the victor in the *Náia* was rewarded with a prize-jar symbolising a perpetual lamp; on the other, that the priestly-king had in his Prytaneum a sacred hearth. It now appears that this was no mere coincidence. The victor was indeed identical with the priestly-king; and, if my suggestion on p. 185 was correct, he kept up the undying flame in order to feed the fires of a solar Zeus.

Having thus arrived at what I take to be the truth of the Dodonaean cult, I shall next examine various other centres of Zeus-worship round the Aegean basin in order to test the accuracy of my view.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

HARRINGTON AND TOLMAN'S GREEK AND ROMAN MYTHOLOGY.

The Student's Series of Latin Classics. Greek and Roman Mythology, based on Steuding's 'Griechische und Römische Mythologie.' By K. P. HARRINGTON, Professor of Latin in the University of North Carolina, and H. C. TOLMAN, Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University. American School and College Text Book Agency, 9 Arundel St., Strand. 2s. 3d.

IN many respects this compendium of mythology is a useful book. The facts are given with brevity and clearness, and a special feature are the lists of classical quotations which follow each division of the subject. The reader ought to be warned, however, that the subject is approached with certain theories ready made. Too much symmetry is assumed for the pantheon, and as a necessary result, it is taken for granted that the original functions of gods were special; but it is at least possible to maintain that the gods were largely of local origin, each having been originally supreme in his own district, and a local god-of-all-work. Allied with this is the statement that the worship of Pan 'spread from Arcadia' (p. 64), whereas it was found where the tribe which worshipped him set foot. The relation of ancestor worship to the worship of the gods is not made clear; or rather, since it is not possible to make that clear in all points, the problem is not recognised as one to be solved. Then again, it is assumed that the gods and their legends can be always or nearly always, explained by natural phenomena: even the lameness of Hephaistos (=forklightning) and the peplos of Athena (=mist). Some points of detail may be added. The earliest images of a female deity known in the Greek area are naked; the contrary statement as to Aphrodite (p. 81) should therefore be modified. 'Archon Basileus' was not a Greek title (p. 66), but Basileus only. *Agroteira* should be *Agrotera* (p. 44). Pythia need not be derived from *πυθ-έσθαι* (p. 41). Iuppiter is not for *Diovis* + *pater* (p. 18).

W. H. D. R.

¹ See the recent articles on 'Apotheosis' by Prof. L. C. Purser in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*³ 1890 and by Dr. F. F. Hiller v. Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa 1896; also that on 'Consecratio' by Wissowa *ibid.* 1900; E. Beurlier *de divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores eius*, Paris 1890; E. R. Bevan 'The Deification of Kings in the Greek Cities' in *The English Historical Review*, Oct. 1901.

MAU-KELSEY'S *POMPEII*.

Pompeii, Its Life and Art. By AUGUST MAU, translated into English by FRANCIS W. KELSEY. New York and London, Macmillan, 1902. New Edition. Pp. xxiv., 558. With 13 plates, 6 plans and 275 cuts. 10s. 6d. net.

As it does not appear that this work was noticed by the *Classical Review* on its first appearance in 1899, nor yet the subsequent German edition, we make no apology for reviewing the new edition in some detail. It may now be said to have established its position as the standard work, both in England and Germany, on the subject of Pompeii; and its importance is greatly enhanced by the fact that this is a subject which interests a much wider circle of readers than the scholar and the archaeologist. It is an eminently satisfactory thing to have a work of this kind from the pen of the greatest living authority on the subject, a work which is at the same time scholarly and popular in its treatment. The book comprises no less than 59 chapters, divided under the main headings of Introduction, Public Places and Buildings, Houses, Trades and Occupations, Tombs, Pompeian Art, and Inscriptions, with a concluding chapter added by the translator. In the Introduction an interesting account is given of the ancient city and its fate, of its re-discovery, and of the systematic excavations carried on from 1738 down to the present time, and even now not within sight of completion. The reader is next taken *seriatim* through the various temples and other public buildings, and the most important of the private houses, the works of art found in each being discussed in connexion with them, such as the paintings in the house of the Vettii and the bronze objects used for household furniture. A good account of the typical Pompeian house forms the subject of a separate chapter.

More illustrations might perhaps have been given of the Vettian paintings, which were only discovered in 1894–5; as for instance the remarkable pictures in the dining-room marked *n.*, of Dirce bound to the bull, Pentheus torn to pieces by the Maenads, and Herakles strangling the snakes. These are hardly as yet generally known—except for Mr. Talfourd Ely's description in Vol. xvi. of the *Hellenic Journal*—and justice is hardly done to them in the few lines on p. 339. The alternative explanation of the painting of Cupids as

goldsmiths, viz. that they are engaged in coining, might perhaps have been mentioned, although it has now been generally given up. Among other paintings we may call attention to the curious representation of the Judgment of Solomon on p. 17, which supports the theory of a Jewish colony at Pompeii.

The section on Pompeian Art is by no means the least important portion of the work, with its brief but lucid account of the various styles of wall-decoration. A photograph is given of one of the most important of recent discoveries, a bronze statue of a youth, apparently a Greek original; Professor Mau does not attempt to place it, but it is probably not later than the fourth century. We are glad to see that on p. 167 the Doryphoros statue found in the Palaestra appears under its rightful name, not as a Hermes, as in the first edition; but the correction of the text by the mere insertion of a negative is hardly adequate, and results in obscure English. It is perhaps unavoidable in dealing with Pompeii, but there seems to be some slight inconsistency in the use of Greek and Roman names for deities.

The get-up of the volume is all that could be desired—the name of Macmillan is a guarantee of this—and the illustrations are without exception admirable. But the choice of the singularly hideous bust of Caecilius Jucundus for the adornment of the cover seems a little unfortunate.

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Argos.—In addition to the discoveries mentioned in the Feb. No. of the *Class. Rev.*, p. 89, the site of the temple of the Pythian Apollo has been found. On the south slope of the hill called Aspis was a terrace, on which a large Byzantine church had been built; numerous fragments of columns and architectural ornaments in terracotta found here indicated the proximity of a temple. From one of two large cisterns, which were found near the church, three inscriptions relating to the temple of Apollo came to light. They are dedicatory inscriptions and contain an allusion to the oracle mentioned by Pausanias (II. 24). On a level piece of ground on the west slope of the Aspis and near the temple terrace, the

stadion was found, which, according to Pausanias, lay near the sanctuary of Apollo. East of the Byzantine church, at the end of the terrace, are the remains of a Tholos enclosed within a rectangular temenos.¹

Orchomenos (Boeotia).—Prof. Furtwängler reports that he has discovered here the remains of a palace with Mycenaean fresco-paintings. At a lower depth than the palace were found traces of the oldest town, with round buildings, and graves of the neolithic type. The discoveries include numerous vases and inscriptions in characters similar to those found by Mr. Arthur Evans at Knossos.²

Kos.—Prof. Herzog gives a preliminary account of the excavations carried on here during 1902. Near the village of Kephalos was found a Doric temple *in antis*, the pronaos of which occupied about half the entire length. Here a colossal male statue of Roman workmanship, a pretty female statue of the Hellenistic period, both draped and headless, and several inscriptions were discovered. The building of the sanctuary and its terrace cannot have been earlier than the fifth century B.C. The deity, to whom the temple was dedicated, was probably, to judge from inscriptions, Demeter.

Near the village of Kardamena on the south coast inscriptions relating to a sanctuary of Apollo had previously been found. On this occasion more inscriptions were obtained, together with architectural fragments from a Doric temple of the Hellenistic period. The temple had, however, been completely despoiled in the building of an early Byzantine church. Of antique sculptures the most important is a mutilated marble stèle with relief, the style of which has affinity to that of the Attic funeral reliefs of the second half of the fifth century. The deceased is seated and presses his little daughter to his breast, while an older boy stands behind. The inscriptions found here are important for the history of the island at about 200 B.C. and also in imperial times.

But by far the most important discovery was that of the long-sought temple of Asklepios. Mr. W. R. Paton had expressed his belief that the remains of a large marble temple, situated near a ruined convent called Παγιά Τάρον, at a distance of over 2 miles west of the town, belonged to the sanctuary of Asklepios. Excavations on this site proved that his opinion was correct.

The temple is peripteral, with six Doric columns at either end and eleven at the sides. The ground plan is perfectly clear, as is also the elevation as far as the pediment. In the pronaos parts of the wall and the massive threshold of black marble are preserved.

Below the flight of steps leading up to the temple terrace are remains of an older and smaller temple *in antis*. The altar, which stood on the east of this building, appears to have resembled in plan the great altar of Pergamum, though on a simpler scale. Near the altar are the bases of statues dedicated to Asklepios, which are referred to in the fourth mime of Herondas. On the east of the altar stood an Ionic peripteral temple, apparently of Roman date. The remains of this building are numerous and well preserved.

The great temple was probably built about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. on the site of earlier temples. Traces of Pergamene influence can be noted, and possibly Eumenes II. gave assistance in erecting the sanctuary. The inscription on the base of a statue runs—*ἰέρεια Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ὑγίειας Ἡπίονας Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου Λατοῦς βασιλέως Εὐμένους*. Many inscriptions from statues erected in honour of Roman pro-consuls and their wives have been found. Some inscriptions are as late as the third century A.D.

Among the fragments of sculpture are some belonging to figures of snakes, one of which must have been of colossal size; there are also many statues of men, women, and children. Bronzes, terracottas, and coins have been found. The inscriptions include decrees from foreign states in honour of Coan judges, a list of victors in the Asklepieia (of about 200 B.C.), and a very interesting letter from the Knossians in the Cretan dialect. This letter contains the thanks of the people of Gortyn for the services rendered by Hermias, a Coan physician, to those wounded during the Cretan civil wars of 221—219 B.C.³

Crete.—The Italian archaeological expedition has discovered a magnificent palace near Herakleion and numerous objects of interest.¹

Mr. H. R. Hall, writing from Knossos, reports that an important discovery has been made at Agia Triada of a number of great talents of copper or bronze: each is over a foot in length, oblong in shape, with the sides slightly concave. He thinks that this find is of importance with regard to the

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* April 11, 1903.

² *Ibid.* May 9, 1903.

³ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1903 (1).

Keftiu, since similar talents are represented in the tomb of Rekhmara at Thebes (date about 1550 B.C.).

EGYPT.

Abusir.—The German Oriental Society continued their excavations here this last

winter. Several more Greek sarcophagi, dating from about the time of Alexander the Great, have come to light. They are of various forms and in an excellent state of preservation.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 31, 2. 1903.

S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem* (continued). H. T. Karsten, *De Plauti Pseudolo*. Contamination need not be suspected. The faults in Act I. are due to Plautus who interpolated a letter in Sc. 1 and the part of Pseudolus in Scenes 4 and 5. Plautus' model is of the best Greek and worthy of Menander. H. J. Polak, *Paralipomena Lysiaca* (continued). J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea* (continued). H. v. H. *Emendatur Fronto* ep. 259, 11. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. Emends *Sull.* c. 35. J. C. Naber, *Observationes criticae de iure Romano*. 'De pignoris historici origine.' J. Vürtheim, *De Carneis*. An account of the festival with especial reference to Alcestis 446 sqq.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum etc. Vol. xi., 1. 1903.

W. Kroll, *Unsere Schätzung der römischen Dichtung*. Kroll seeks to show by many examples that the comprehension of many a simple poem is not possible without a number of presumptions of various kinds. O. I., *Das älteste griechische Buch*. On the 'Persians' of Timotheus found on a papyrus in Abusir. W. Becher, *Eine äsopische Fabel auf einem römischen Grabstein*. C. Fries, *Das schwimmende Haupt*. A criticism of Gruppe's art. 'Orpheus' in Roscher's *Myth. Lex.*

Part 2. W. Nestle, *Kritias, eine Studie*. Seeks to reconcile the admiration of Plato and Aristotle for Kritias with the hatred of Lysias by a consideration of the different political standpoints. The remains of the writings of Kritias are also considered. H. Lamer, *Forum Romanum 1898—1902*. C. Fries reviews Winckler's *Die babylonische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zur unsrigen*.

Part 3, 1903, A. Deissmann, *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus*. The Septuagint is the document of the Hellenization of Hebraism. It was excellently adapted for mediating between the Jewish and the Greek modes of thought. W. Nestle, *Kritias Eine Studie* (concluded). The prose writings of Critias are considered. In Thessaly he came under the influence of Gorgias and the Tyrant Thrasymachus. A. Wahl, *Einiges über historische Objectivität*. If love and hatred are dangerous in historical investigation, it must be admitted that these feelings can also lead to a deeper knowledge of the truth.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

4 Feb. *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculanensis*, ed. S. Mekler (H. Schenkl), I. C. Pascal, *Di una fonte del Somnium Scipionis di Cicerone*

(Hoyer), favourable. *Die Epitome des Julius Exuperantius*, herausg. von G. Landgraf und C. Weyman (Th. Opitz), favourable. *Codices Latini Bybliothecae Universitatis Messanensis ante saec. XVI. exarati*, deser. V. Ussani (J. Tolkiehn).

11 Feb. R. Holland, *Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros* (H. Steding), favourable. *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculanensis*, ed. S. Mekler (H. Schenkl) II, favourable. O. Dahm, *Die Feldzüge des Germanicus in Deutschland* (Wolfstieg), unfavourable. J. Koch, *Römische Geschichte*. 3 Aufl. (A. Höck). 'Much improved in this new edition.'

18 Feb. L. Sütterlin, *Das Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. G. Schäfer, *Die Philosophie des Heraklit und die moderne Heraklitforschung* (H. Schenkl), unfavourable. A. Gentile, *Del poema di ostio sulla guerra istriana* (J. Tolkiehn). E. K. Rand, *Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat De fide catholica* (Th. Stangl). 'Makes a most favourable impression.'

25 Feb. E. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*. 3. Aufl. C. Pascal, *Commentationes Vergilianae* (M. Sonntag), favourable. *Taciti de vita et moribus Agricolae liber* erkl. von A. Gudeman (C. John), unfavourable. L. Preud'homme, *Première étude sur l'histoire du texte de Suéton de vita Caesarum* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable.

4 Mar. F. Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen nach ihrem System dargestellt* (P. Kretschmer), favourable. A. Torp, *Etruskische Beiträge*. I. (E. Lattes), very favourable. *Ovidii De arte amatoria libri III*, erkl. von P. Brandt (K. P. Schulze), favourable. J. Sörn, *Einige Bemerkungen zum liber memorialis des Ampelius* (Th. Opitz), favourable.

11 Mar. J. Jessen, *Quaestiuunculae criticae et exegeticae* (K. Busche). Some places of Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and Euripides considered. N. Nilsson, *Das Ei im Totenkultus der Griechen* (H. Steding), favourable. *Aeli Donati quod fertur commentum Terenti. Accedit Euphrati commentum et scholia Bembina*. Rec. P. Wessner. I. (W. Heraeus). 'Could not be in better hands.' A. Sānda, *Die Aramäer* (J. V. Prášek), favourable.

18 Mar. E. Maass, *Griechen und Semiten auf dem Isthmus von Korinth* (C. Fries), favourable. A. Polaschek, *Studien zur grammatischen Topik im Corpus Caesarianum* (G. Landgraf), favourable. J. Führer und P. Orsi, *Ein altchristliches Hypogäum im Bereich der Vigna Cassia bei Syrakus*, favourable.

25 Mar. Th. Reinach, *L'histoire par les monnaies* (K. Regling), favourable. A. Müller, *Das attische Bühnenwesen* (A. Korte). 'Can be warmly recommended.' G. L. Hendrickson, *The proconsulate of Julius Agricola* (C. John), favourable. *Glos-*

sarium mediae et infimae latinitatis regni Hungariae, Condidit A. Barta (W. Heraeus).

1 Apr. *The Republic of Plato*, edited by J. Adam (O. Apelt), very favourable. *Philostrati minoris imagines et Callistrati descriptiones*, rec. C. Schenkl et Ae. Reisch. (Fr. Spiro), favourable.

8 Apr. A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Welt-literatur III. Die griechische und lateinische Literatur des Klassischen Alterthums*. 3 und 4 Aufl. (A. L. Feder), favourable. J. N. Svoronos, 'Ερμηνεία τῶν μνημείων τοῦ Ἑλευσινιακοῦ μυστικοῦ κύκλου καὶ τοπογραφικὰ Ἑλευσίνιος καὶ Ἀθηνῶν (H. Stueding). 'Has essentially furthered our knowledge.' J. Schreiner, *Elysium und Hades* (St.), unfavourable. K. Budde, *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen* (J. V. Präsek).

15 Apr. *Egypt Exploration Fund*. Archaeological Report 1901—1902. ed. by F. L. Griffith. (A. Wiedemann). L. Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie* (Bartholomae), favourable on the whole. H. Ebeling, *Schulwörterbuch zu Cäsars Kommentarien über den gallischen Krieg und den Bürgerkrieg*. 5 Aufl. von. J. Lange (Ed. Wolff), very favourable. *Senecae tragoediae*, denuo rec. R. Peiper et G. Richter (W. Gemoll), favourable. E. Ciccotti, *La guerra e la pace nel mondo antico* (R. Lange).

22 Apr. F. H. M. Blydes, *Spicilegium Aris-tophanicum* (O. Kaehler). 'Will not increase his reputation.' *Ciceronis epistulae*, Vol. III. Rec. L. C. Purser (W. Sternkopf), favourable. *Servii qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* rec. G. Thilo et H. Hagen. Vol. III. fasc. 2. Rec. H. Hagen (P. Regell), very favourable. J. J. Esser, *De pauperum cura apud Romanos* (A. Müller), very favourable. M. C. Sutphen, *A Collection of Latin Proverbs* (C. Weyman). 'Shows diligence and extensive reading.'

29 Apr. *The Tebtunis Papyri*, I. ed. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly (W. Crönert) I. *Palmephati περί ἀπίστων, Heracliti qui fertur libellus περί ἀπίστων, excerpta Vaticana*, ed. N. Festa, (F. Spiro). 'A work of extraordinary patience.' F. M. Padelford, *Essay on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great*, translated with an introduction (J. Ziehen), rather unfavourable. J. Tomiņsek, *De compositione Terenti Phormionis* (Fr. Hüffner), unfavourable.

6 May. G. Mellin, *De Tus fabula capita selecta* (H. Stueding), very favourable. *The Tebtunis Papyri*, I. ed. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly (W. Crönert) II. *Catonis de agricultura liber, Varronis rerum rusticarum libri III ex recens. H. Keilii*. III. *2. Index in Varronis libros*, comp. B. Krumbiegel (C. Weyman), favourable. A. P. Ball, *The satire of Seneca on the apotheosis of Claudius, commonly called the Ἀποκοκύντωσις* (W. Gemoll), favourable. V. Ussani, *Di una doppia redazione del commento di Benvenuto da Imola al poema di Lucano*. V. Ussani, *Catullo mimografo e uno scolio lucanico* (J. Tolkiehn).

13 May. E. R. Bevan, *The house of Seleucus* (K. Regling), favourable. A. Flasch, *Die sogenannte Spinnerin*, Erzbild in der Münchener Glyptothek, (B. Sauer), favourable. C. Pascal, *Fatti e leggende di Roma antica* (A. Höck). 'Learned and stimulating.' H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Études sur l'ancienne poésie latine* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Results small in proportion to the contents.' *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. II, 1 (M. Ihm), very favourable.

20 May. R. Preiser, *Zum Torso von Belvedere* (B. Sauer), favourable. P. J. M. van Gils, *Quaestiones Euhemericae* (J. Tolkiehn), unfavourable. A. Gudeman, *The sources of Plutarch's life of Cicero*

(A. Höck), favourable. G. Lodge, *Lexicon Plantinum* I, 1 (P. Trautwein).

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 27, 2. 1903.

J. Delamarre, *Notes épigraphiques : Amorgos et les pirates*. L. Havet, *Un vers anapestique de Lucilius*, L. Havet, *La prose métrique de Martial*. Emends the five short prefaces to books 1, 2, 8, 9 and 12, in accordance with the rules applicable to metrical prose. A. Misier, *Origine de l'édition de Bâle de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*. This edition is a faithful, if not complete, reproduction of the Palatinus 402. V. Mortet, *Notes sur le texte des Institutions de Cassiodore IV*. Observations on the Geometry of Cassiodorus. M. L. Earle, *Sophocle*, O. R, 10—11. L. Havet, *Plaut.* Aul. 437—439. Reads in 437 *angulos usu omnis* and in 439 *Tu* for *id* where most read *ibi* (others *id ubi*). H. Bornicque, *Le texte de l'Orator*. E. Cavaignac, *Le § 7 du papyrus de Strasbourg*. On the *κωλακρέται* of B.C. 404 or 403. Furnishes a new indication of the difference which separates the institution described by Aristotle from that of the fifth century. F. Gaffiot, *Études Latines II. Le subjonctif de répétition*. Maintains, after an examination of the chief Latin prose writers, that the subj. never expresses the idea of repetition. With this idea the proposition remains what it was without it, temporal, conditional, or relative, and its normal construction, is not changed. Repetition is contented with the indic. and has not a syntax of its own. P. Mayen, *Timothée de Milet. Les Perses*. A translation.

Hermes. Vol. 38, 1. 1903.

F. Leo, *Vergils erste und neunte Ecloge*. Seeks to free both poems from allegory. R. Bürger, *Eine Elegie des Gallus*. By a comparison with Vergil's 10th eclogue seeks to show the contents and nature of the elegy of Gallus which was its foundation. Rejects the identification of Lycoris with Cytheris. W. Sternkopf, *Die Senatssitzung vom 14. Januar 56* (Cic. ad fam. I. 2. 2). Reads *Perspiciebant enim... ituros, quamquam aperte, <ut> Volcacio adsentirentur, multi rogabantur, atque id...* P. Stengel, *Οὐλοχόται*. Maintains the old view of this word's meaning in opposition to L. Ziehen in last vol. p. 391. J. L. Heiberg, *Paralipomena zu Euklid*. Publishes the results of the new material upon the Elements, from the Herculaneum papyrus No. 1061, and fragments discovered in Egypt. E. Schwartz, *Zu Clemens Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*. Compares the variations in the old parchment MS. of the Escurial and the large excerpt in Eusebius' Church Hist. 3, 23 and makes some conjectures on the text. Th. Mommsen, *Stilicho und Alarich*. Deals with the two Illyrian expeditions and the invasions of Italy by Alaric and the relations of Stilicho to Alaric. M. attributes to St. more talent as a statesman than as a general. *Das neugefundene Bruchstück der capitulinischen Fasten*. Refers the mention in the fragment of nine Military Tribunes in the college to the carelessness of the composer of the calendar. *Bruchstücke der Saliarischen Priesterliste*. J. Beloch, *Zuden attischen Archonten des III. Jahrhunderts*. Contests the combination of Gomperz, and answers the objections of Kirchner (see the last vol. p. 435) to his own list. Fr. Vollmer, *Zur Überlieferung von Statius Silvae*. Defends, against Engelmann, the Matritensis (M) as the only and oldest source of the tradition. Br. Keil, *Ἐκατόνφυγος*. Explains this word taken from the remarkable inser. in the Tauric Chersonesus as a contraction from *ἐκατοντ-όφυγος* i.e. 'of a hundred

fathoms.' H. Schrader, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der Schrift* *περί τῆς καθ' Ὁμήρον ἱστορικῆς*. Puts this, on the authority of a passage in Syrianus, not earlier than 150–155 A.D. S. Selivanov und F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Über die Zahl der rhodischen Prytanen*. The Collitz-Bechtel inscr. shows that these were *five* in number, not *six*. W. Radlke, *Cratinerum*. On a line of Cratinus in Pollux VI. 68. Th. Mommsen, *Iumentum*. Rejects the interpretation of *ioumenta*

on the archaic cippus in the Roman forum as=*iumenta* which word M. connects with *iurare*, not with *iugum*. A. Wilhelm, *Zu Zwei athenischen Inschriften*. Ch. Huelsen, *Aemilius Probus*, Identifies the Memmius Aemilius Probus mentioned on the podium of the Colosseum with the man of that name who dedicated his extracts from the Lives of Cornelius Nepos to Theodosius II. C. Robert, *Zu Aristophanes*, in Aves 1701 reads *καὶ φίλοιποι Κοργίου*.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

Abbott (G. F.) Macedonian Folklore. 8vo. Cambridge. 1903. 9s. net.
Aeschylus. Die Schutzfliehenden, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von N. Wecklein. 8vo. Leipzig. 1902. Mk. 1.60.
Apuleius. Kirchhoff (A.) De Apulei clausularum compositione et arte quaestiones criticae. 8vo. Lipsiae. 1902. Mk. 2.40.
Beran (E. R.) The House of Seleucus. 2 vols. 8vo. xii. 330. 333 pp. London. 1902. 30s. net.
Boegel (T.) De nomine verballi latino quaestiones grammaticae. 8vo. Lipsiae. 1902. Mk. 4.80.
Bury (J. B.) A History of Greece for Beginners. Cr. 8vo. xv. 471 pp. London. 1903. 3s. 6d.
Cacser. Chieco (M.) and G. Ferrari. Dizionario Cesariano (de bello gallico—de bello civili). 8vo. Torino. 1903.
Cicero. Schlittenbauer (S.) Die Tendenz von Ciceros Orator. 8vo. Leipzig. 1903. Mk. 2.80.
Collignon (M.) et L. Couve. Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Index. 8vo. Paris. 1903.
Cook (E. T.) Popular handbook to the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. Cr. 8vo. xxii. 794 pp. London. 1903. 10s. net.
Curtius (G.) and W. v. Hartel. Griechische Schulgrammatik. 24. Auflage bearbeitet von F. Weigel. 8vo. Wien. 1902. Mk. 3.20.
Diels (H.) Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. 8vo. Berlin. 1903. Mk. 15.
Dieterich (A.) Über Wesen und Ziele der Volkskunde.—Usener (H.) Über vergleichende Sitten und Rechtsgeschichte. (Sonderabdruck aus den Hessischen Blättern für Volkskunde. Band I. Heft 3). 8vo. Leipzig. 1902. Mk. 1.80.
 *. Both essays deal with the relation of classical to folklore research.
Ellis (Robinson) The Commonitorium of Orentius. 8vo. 21 pp. Oxford. 1903.
Euripides. Hippolyt für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von Dr. C. Altenburg. Crown 8vo. xxiv. 56 pp. Leipzig. 1903.
Gellii (A.) Noctium atticarum libri xx post Martinum Hertz edidit C. Hosius. Vol. I. Lipsiae. 1903. Mk. 3.60.
Geyer (F.) Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia I. Bis zum peloponnesischen Kriege. (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte. Heft 6). 8vo. 121 pp. Berlin. 1903. Mk. 4.
Helbig (W.) Les *innéris* Athéniens. 4to. 112 pp. Paris. 1902.
Hill (G. F.) Coins of Ancient Sicily. 8vo. ix. 256 pp. Westminster. 1903. 21s. net.
 ——— Illustrations of School Classics. Crown 8vo. vi. 503 pp. London. 1903. 10s. 6d.
Hölscher (G.) Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit. (Quellen und Forschungen zur

alten Geschichte und Geographie. Heft 5). 8vo. xii. 99 pp. Berlin. 1903. Mk. 3.
Juvenal. Thirteen satires translated into English by S. G. Owen. Cr. 8vo. xix. 120 pp. London. 1903. 2s. 6d.
Kaerst (J.) Die antike Idee der Oekumene in ihrer politischen und kulturellen Bedeutung. 8vo. Leipzig. 1903. Mk. 1.20.
Kemmer (E.) Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Literatur. 8vo. viii. 263 pp. Würzburg. 1903. Mk. 6.
Kirchner (J.) Prosopographia Attica. Vol. 2. 8vo. vi. 660 pp. Berlin. 1903. Mk. 28.
Klussmann (R.) Systematisches Verzeichnis der Abhandlungen welche in den Schulschriften sämtlicher an dem Programmtausche teilnehmenden Lehranstalten erschienen sind. Vol. IV. 1896–1900. 8vo. Leipzig. 1903. Mk. 8.
Kneuth (H.) Übungsstücke zum Übersetzen in das Lateinische für Abiturienten. 8vo. Leipzig. 1902. Mk. 1.50.
Legge (H. Edith) Short History of the Ancient Greek Sculptors. Cr. 8vo. xvi. 267 pp. London. 1903. 6s.
Livy. Book XXII with introduction, notes, &c. by George C. Loane. 12mo. xix. 221 pp. London. 1903. 2s. 6d.
Lucretius. De rerum naturae liber tertius, edited with introduction, notes, and index by J. D. Duff. 12mo. xxiv. 111 pp. Cambridge. 1903. 2s.
Makers of Hellas: a critical inquiry into the philosophy and religion of ancient Greece by E. E. G. With an introduction, notes, and conclusion by F. B. Jevons. 8vo. xxix. 711 pp. London. 1903. 10s. 6d.
Meillet (A.) Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes. 8vo. xxiv. 434 pp. Paris. 1903. Fr. 10.
Moulton (J. H.) Two lectures on the Science of Language. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge. 1903. 1s. 6d. net.
Nepos (Cornelius). Twenty Lives, edited by J. E. Barss. Crown 8vo. xiv. 316 pp. New York. 1900.
Pallis (A.) A few notes on the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew based chiefly on modern Greek. 8vo. vi. 47 pp. Liverpool. 1903.
Philo Byzantius. Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques, édité d'après les versions arabes d'Oxford et de Constantinople et traduit en français par le Baron Carra de Vaux. 4to. 211 pp. Paris. 1903.
Plautus. Bosscher (H.) De Plauti Curculione disputatio. 8vo. Lugduni Bat. 1903.
Stickney (T.) Les sentences dans la poésie grecque d'Homère à Euripide. 8vo. Paris. 1903.

- Tacitus*. Boissier (G.) *Tacite*. Cr. 8vo. iv. 335 pp. Paris. 1903. Fr. 3.50.
- Tennyson*, *Passing of Arthur*, in *Greek Heroic Verse* by H. Hayman. 12mo. Eton. 1903. 1s. net.
- Thucydides* *Historiae recensuit* C. Hude. Vol. II. Libri v-viii. Editio minor. 12mo. Lipsiae. 1903. Mk. 1.20.
- University of Colorado* Quarto-Centennial Celebration, Nov. 13-15. 1902.
- Wachsmuth* (C.) *Athen*. 8vo. Stuttgart. 1903. Mk. 2.
- Wächter* (A.) *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrhundert*. 8vo. Leipzig. 1903. M. 2.20.
- Wroth* (Warwick) *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia* by Warwick Wroth (British Museum Catalogues). 8vo. lxxxviii. 289 pp. London. 1903.
- Xenophon*. *Cyropaedia*. Book II. with introduction and notes founded on those of H. A. Holden, and a complete vocabulary by E. S. Schuckburgh. 12mo. Cambridge. 1903. 2s.
- Xenophon*. *Memorabilia*. Edited on the basis of the Breitenbach Mücke edition by J. R. Smith. 8vo. Boston. 1903.
- Book I., edited by G. M. Edwards. 12mo. xlii. 80 pp. Cambridge. 1903. 2s. 6d.

The Classical Review

JULY 1903.

A NOTE ON THE *MUTINENSIS* MS. OF THEOGNIS.

(PARIS BIBL. NAT. COD. GR. SUPPLEMENT. 388.)

WE have as yet no satisfactory information about the best MS. of the Theognidean poems. Our only reliable source is the second edition of Immanuel Bekker's *Theognidis Elegi* (1827), where the text is based on the *Cod. Mutin.* (A), and the critical notes contain selections from the readings of sixteen other MSS. of inferior worth. Owing to the meagreness of the information supplied by Bekker, we are frequently left in the lurch where we most need help; his conciseness is often misleading, and his statements are not always quite accurate. His notes have been corrected and supplemented in the collations published by H. van Herwerden (*Animadversiones Philologicae ad Theognidem*, Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1870), H. van der Mey (*Studia Theognidea*, Leidae, 1869, which contains a collation, not made by Mey himself, of A 1-528, 1032-1038, 1054 to end, and in *Mnemosyne*, vol. viii., a facsimile of 529-1032, 1041-1055), Pressel (a collation made by him for Schneidewin and published by E. von Leutsch in *Philologus*, xxix., Heft 3). Unfortunately these correctors frequently 'correct' Bekker where there is nothing to correct, they often contradict one another, and their collations are full of the most flagrant errors, due undoubtedly to the carelessness of the transcriber and occasionally, perhaps, to 'corrections' made by the proof-reader: for instance, out of ninety-five readings given by Herwerden as corrections of Bekker or Mey forty-two are incorrect.

It is desirable that a new and trustworthy collation of A should be published; without this we can never have a satisfactory text and *apparatus criticus* for the poems. I visited Paris in March last and compared the statements of Herwerden, Pressel, and Mey with the manuscript itself; they are utterly untrustworthy.¹

The editions of Theognis based on these collations are still more misleading, as the editors have not shown sufficient discrimination in using the information at their disposal. Among others may be mentioned J. Sitzler: in his *Theognidis Reliquiae* (Heidelbergae, 1880) he has transferred readings from the *text* of Bekker (*i.e.* the MS. reading with the accents and breathings correctly placed and a few obvious mistakes tacitly corrected) and given them a place in the *critical notes* side by side with extracts from Mey's notes which profess to give all the peculiarities of the MS. in the omission of accents and breathings, spacing of words, &c. The result is confusion.

I add a note on one important crux. In v. 104 A has τοῦ μετ δοῖναι θέλοι with traces of other letters as explained below. Between the ε and δ of μετ δοῖναι there is an erasure

¹ After the National Library was closed for the Easter vacation I was able to see a copy of another collation published by E. Hiller in *N. Jahrbücher für Phil. u. Päd.*, 1881; this seems to be remarkably accurate, but no information is given on many important points.

which extends below the line on the right side of the vertical stroke of τ and widens out considerably above the line so that part of the Latin interlinear translation has been removed, thus: L. trans. above τοῦ, *hoc*; above ϵ — δ an erasure, then a fragment of n or m (? *magnum*) closely followed by *dare*; above θέλοι, *velit*. There can be no doubt that the original reading was *μεγαδοῦναι θέλοι*. The change must have been made after the L. trans. was written. The whole of γ except the right prong of the fork still remains. In making the erasure the right prong of γ was scratched out (as we can clearly see on inspecting the MS.), and also the a of which little is left but its final curve: the knife also scraped away the corner of the upper curve of δ so that it now

almost looks like δ (σ with a grave accent). Then the lower vertical part of γ (the handle of the fork) was prolonged upwards in a redder ink (probably the same as that of the Lat. tr.) to form the upstroke of τ and a cross-stroke added in the same ink at right angles to it from ϵ . Bekker has (cr. n.) τοῦ μεταδοῦναι θέλοι A, τοῦ μέγα δοῦν' ἐθέλει BDEFHLMN, τοῦ μεγάλου δοῦναι θέλει O, δοῦναι θέλει τὸ μέγα K. ἐθέλει etiam CGI. μεταδοῦν scribendi auctor Buttmanus.

A has v. 111 οἶδ' ἀγαθοὶ το μέγιστον *επαυρίσκουσι παθόντες* with L. tr. *boni maximum gaudent patientes*.

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SOME PASSAGES OF AÆSCHYLUS AND OTHERS.

EUMENIDES.

361 ἀτέλεια ordinarily implied ἀλειουργησία, and it is worth suggesting that Aeschylus may have used λιταῖς in the sense *leitourgias* 'on my public services to pass exemption of the Gods Above'. I had thought of θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐνάσια ταῖς (the *μερίμναις*) ἐπικραίνειν.

476 σὺ μὲν κτηρτυκῶς...αὐταὶ δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέμπειον 'but the character they are endowed with is far from mild and gentle'. It appears to be still thought that εὐπέμπειος was derived from πέμπω: but those who will consider Πέμπειος the proper name and the uses of the adjective πέμπειος will hardly think with the old grammarians that πέμπω can account for them. The derivation must be from πεπ- and the meaning εὐπέπαντος, πέπων (which is the opposite of ὠμός), *ripe* or *over-ripe*, hence like πέπων *soft*, *flabby*, *flaccid*. δυσπέμφειος was probably from a different root originally. In Anacreon 15, οὐδ' εὐπέμπελός εἰμι, οἶδ' ἀστοῖσι προσηγῆς seems a very probable correction of Bergk's for οὐ δεῦρ' ἔμπεδός εἰμι.

491 must be the final line of Athena's speech: 492 I take to be a marginal illustration of 486, the Areopagites' inviolable oath.

508 λῆξιν ὑπόδοσίν τε μόχθων is from the vocabulary of Ionic medicine, which spoke of ληξιπύρετος, and it is used in the medico-astrological verses of Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 254 μειότερον τελέσειε πόνον λῆξιν τ' ὀδυνάων. Since few examples are recorded with the

sense 'cessation', add also to the *Thesaurus* Nicet. Eugen. vi. 89, ix. 43, 93, 184, schol. Hom. I. 97.

532 παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὥπασεν, ἄλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεύει 'though there are various forms of government'? cf. Pind. P. ii. 86, Ar. Pol. iii. 17.

661 The only begetter is the male; the female performs merely the office of a 'host'. Diod. Sic. I. p. 91 says this was the Egyptian view, and it was also the Pythagorean: Metopius (Stob. Flor. i. 64) τὸ θῆλυ ἔνεκα τοῦ ἄρρενος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σπεῖρει τὰν ψυχὰν γεννῶν, τὸ δὲ μόνον τὰν ὕλαν (*material*) παρέχεται τῷ γεννωμένῳ.

910 καὶ τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν· τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων δ' ἐκφορωτέρα πέλοις· στέργω γάρ, ἀνδρὸς φτυποίμενος δίκην τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ἀπένθητον γένος. So Heath corrected the MS. τῶν δυσσεβοῦντων δ' which probably arose from the same cause as ἀτιμον δ' εἶναι δ' in Theb. 1015 and other examples I gave in C.R. 1902 p. 246, the tendency either to transpose or to omit a particle (as some of the copies omit δ' here) when it occurs in later than the normal place. All this language is of *produce* from the earth, in which the Eumenides have power; and it is strange that so many editors and the Dictionaries have failed to recognise the sense of ἐκφορωτέρα in that connexion: it means *fertilior*, *feracior*; see the *Thesaurus* s.v. ἐκφέρειν (Aesch. fr. 99. 9, Trach. 824, ἐξάγουσι in Soph. fr. 750), ἐκφόριον, ἐκφόρημα. It might of course be an error for εὐφορωτέρα

(Davies), as ἐκφάτως in *Ag.* 708 may very likely be for εὐφάτως (Karsten), i.e. εὐφήμως, as δυσφάτω in 1150 means 'dysφήμῳ though in Apolline strain'.

914 τῶν ἀρειφάτων ἀγώνων: hence in Hesych. ἀριθάτων: τῶν πολέμων the explainer is explained if you correct ἀρειφάτων ἀγώνων: τῶν πολέμων.

941 Possibly φνγῶν τὸ μὴ...Heindorf on Plat. *Parm.* 147 A.

991 ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶνδε προσέρπον μέγα κέρδος ὁρῶ τοῖσδε πολίταις, as *Aj.* 1255 καὶ σοὶ προσέρπον τοῦθ' ὁρῶ. The MS. προσώπων 'great advantage from these dreadful faces' seems to me absurd; τῶνδε are 'these dreadful powers', as in 993, 973, 931, 936.

998

χαίρετ' ἀστικὸς Λεώς, ἵκταρ ἡμένας Διὸς
παρθένου φίλας φίλοι, σωφρονούντες ἐν χρόνῳ.
Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς ὄντας ἄζεται πατήρ.

So Bothe for ἡμενοί, and the word 'seated' seems to me appropriate only to the goddess: cf. Eur. *fr.* 620, Lobeck *Aglaoph.* p. 396, *Eum.* 229. Athena sits at the right hand of Zeus: Hom. *Ω* 100, Pind. *fr.* 146 πῦρ πνέοντος ἃ τε κεραυνὸν | ἄγχιστα δεξιᾷν κατὰ χεῖρα πατρὸς | ἵζειαι. She alone employs her Father's lightning (*v.* 830 etc.), being herself of course originally the storm-cloud (*αιγίς*) and the lightning, born from the sky.¹—ἀστικός should perhaps be Ἀκτικός, i.e. Ἀττικός.

1029 φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδύτοις ἐσθήμασι
τιμᾶτε καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πάρος

I think, for πυρός: if I am not mistaken, you could say πυρός τὸ φέγγος, but not τὸ φέγγος πυρός in that order. Torches precede: 1006 πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν ἵτε. Ar. *Plut.* 1194 ἀλλ' ἐκδότω τις δεῦρο δᾶδας ἡμένας, ἵν' ἔχων προηγῇ τῷ θεῷ σύ. Eur. *Hel.* 864 ἡγοῦ σύ μοι φέρουσα λαμπτήρων σέλας. . . 869 κροῦσον δὲ πεύκην, ἵνα διεξέλθω, πάρος (Reiske for πυρός). There is the same corruption in *Agam.* 1040 τὰ μὲν γὰρ

¹ Darmesteter *Zend-Avesta* I p. lxiii 'The same myth in the Vedas was described as a feat of Traitana or Trita Ἀπῖτα, 'Trita, the son of waters,' who is both in the Vedas and in the Avesta a name of the fire-god, as born from the cloud in the lightning. The same tale is told in the same terms in the Avesta: Thraëtona Athwya killed the fiendish snake. . . There surely you have the origin of Ἀθήνη, which is merely a feminine form like Σελήνη, Ἀλκμήνη (*C.R.* 1901 p. 402), and of Τρίτων, Τριτωνίς Ἀθήνη, Ἀτρυτώνη (and Τιθρώνη?): she is the feminine of this Trita or Thrita (who in many respects corresponds to Apollo, see *ib.* p. 219). For αἰγίς and αἰχμή, which as the 'spear' remained Athene's attribute, see *ib.* p. lxvii.—cf. Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* s.v. Τριτογένεια.

ἐστίας μετομφάλου ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πάρος (Musgrave for πυρός). πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός could only mean that fire was to cut the victims' throats or that the victims were to cut the throat of fire: and there would be no construction for the genitive ἐστίας. Musgrave's correction removes both these blemishes and gives precisely what we want; Eur. *H.F.* 912 ἱερὰ μὲν ἦν πάροιθεν ἐσχάρας Διὸς. *Ion* 388 προβωμίους σφαγαῖσι μύλων.—πάρος usually follows its case, with a word intervening *Trach.* 724, and may surely have as much intervening as other prepositions; see Fritzsche on Theocr. 16. 109: so *Agam.* 133 πάντα δὲ πύργων κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημιό-πληθῆ.² . . .

The punctuation of *Eum.* 1029 is uncertain; it is not clear whether the Eumenides are to be decked with crimson robes or whether the escort is to wear them; perhaps both, but in any case the colour must be appropriate to this worship. They cannot of course wear white, nor can the people don white surplices; but if on a festal occasion anything but black is to be worn, then crimson or blood-red is the colour. Hom. *Σ* 538 ὀλοή Κῆρ in the midst of battle, εἶμα δ' ἔχ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισι δαφνοῖνδ' αἵματι φωτῶν. Verg. *A.* 6. 555 *Tisiphone palla succincta cruenta.* Ov. *Met.* 4. 481 *Tisiphone madefactam sanguine sumit importuna facem fluidoque cruore rubentem induit palla.* Menedemus the Cynic in Diog. Laert. 6. 102 Ἐρινύος ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα περιήει ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ἐσθὴς αὐτῇ χιτὼν φαῖος ποδῆρης, περὶ αὐτῷ ζώνῃ φοινικὴ κτε. From Lysias *In Andoc.* § 52 (quoted by Paley) we see that it was used on the occasion of a solemn curse at Athens: ἱερεῖς στάντες κατηράσαντο πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ φοινικίδας ἀνέσεισαν, κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον. Burton says: 'The red habit is a sign of wrath and vengeance, and the Persian Kings, like Fath Ali Shah, used to wear it when about to order some horrid punishment. White robes denoted peace and mercy as well as joy.' See the Plataean war-sacrifice in Plut. *Aristid.* 21 when the Archon puts on a crimson garment to sacrifice to Zeus and Ἐρμῆς χθόνιος and the fallen warriors, though never at other times does he wear anything but white.

1045 In this very troublesome passage it is possible the arrangement of the sentence was λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι καθ' ὁδὸν . . . σπονδᾷ τ' 'with torch and libation.'—For

² Does this oracular phrase imply that the general, the common herd of men will be wasted and reduced before the capture of the walls?

Ζεὺς οὕτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβη compare Pind. O. 7. 64-7, Soph. *Philoct.* 1466, Eur. *El.* 1244, Nonn. *D.* 7. 106.

THEBAE.

460 κόμπων ἐν χερσὶν ἔχω: Plaut. *Truc.* 482 STRATON. *ne expectetis, spectatores, meas dum pugnas praedicem, manibus duella praedicare soleo ego, haud sermonibus.* 541 ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὄρα τὸ δράσιμον. This is the idea in Soph. *fr.* 768: Plut. *de colubenda ira* 10 p. 458 D καὶ τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ὁ Σοφοκλῆς καὶ τὸν Εὐρύπυλον ὀπλίσας 'ἐκόμπασ' ἄλοι-δόρητα' φησὶν 'ἐρρηξάτην ἐς κύκλα χαλκῶν ὅπλων'. τὸν μὲν γὰρ σίδηρον ἔνιοι τῶν βαρ-βάρων φαρμάσσουσιν, ἡ δ' ἀνδρεία χολῆς οὐ δείται βέβηται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου· τὸ δὲ θυμικὸν καὶ μαυικὸν εὐπερίθρανστόν ἐστι καὶ σαθρόν. Though Nauck says of it 'medelam desidero,' I cannot think the second line corrupt, but it certainly requires explanation. The Dictionaries take it to mean 'irruerunt in orbem virorum armatorum', or 'broke through' (ἐς!) masses of armed men. ῥῆξαι φάλαγγας or στίχας no doubt means 'to break the enemy's line', *aciem per-ruptere*; but ῥῆξαι ἐς φάλαγγα would be wholly different, 'to break forth against the battle', and there is no warrant for ῥῆξαι in that sense. And ὅπλων does not mean 'armed men', but 'arms', and the natural meaning of κύκλα χαλκῶν ὅπλων is 'round shields' as ἀσπίδος κύκλος, κύκλοι προσώπου, κύκλα παρείης. Therefore I think we are reduced to two interpretations: (1) *they broke the boasts (e.g. ἐκκομπαστὰ λουδορητά) of their enemies against their brazen shields*; or (2) *they dealt unavailing, unreviling blows (ἀκομπ', ἀκόμπαστ', ἀνεκκόμπαστ') upon their enemies' round brazen shields.* In (2) there would be a play upon the phrase ῥῆξαι or ἀναρρήξαι φωνήν, ἔπη, λόγον: blows and wounds were all they uttered: in *N.* 8. 28 Pindar contrasting Ajax, the man of acts (ἄγλωσσον μὲν ἦτορ δ' ἄλκιμον) with Odysseus, the man of words, says of them ἡ μὲν ἀνόμοιά γε δαίσιον ἐν θερμῷ χορὶ ἔλκεα ῥῆξαν.¹ To do that, you have to break down the defence, δι' ἀσπίδος θείειν Eur. *Heracle.* 683, 737, *fr.* 282. 20²; Theocr. 22. 193 πολλὰ μὲν ἐς σάκος εἰρὴ καὶ ἱππόκομον τρυφάλειαν Κάστωρ, πολλὰ δ' ἐνυξεν ἀκριβῆς ὄμμασι Λυγκεύς τοιοῦτο σάκος.

While touching on that famous competition I cannot refrain from noticing

¹ Henry V iii, 2 'For Pistol, he hath a killing tongue and a quiet sword; by the means whereof a breaks words and keeps whole weapons'.

² δι' ἀσπίδων ποσὶ θείοντες: cf. Anacharsis in Lucian ii. 912.

another passage in Pindar, because the sense of it has never been established and has been mistaken by so many modern critics, and some ancient (see Bergk's note) who ought to have known better: *Isthm.* 4 (3). 31 ἔστιν δ' ἀφάνεια τύχας καὶ μαρναμένων . . . καὶ κρέσσον' ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων ἔσφαλε τέχνη καταμάρψαισ' ὅστε μὲν Αἴαντος ἀλκὰν³ φοῖνοιον, τὰν ὅψια ἐν νυκτὶ ταμὼν περὶ ᾧ φασγάνῳ μομφὰν ἔχει παίδεσιν Ἑλλάνων ὅσοι Τρῶανδ' ἔβαν. ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων ὅς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὀρθώσας ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν θεοσπεσιῶν ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθῆρειν. 'The tricks of worse men seize and trip the better: well ye know the valiant bulk of Ajax dyed in blood, which in the far-spent night he pierced upon his own sword's blade, and hath complaint therefore perpetually against all the children of the Hellenes that went forth to Troy. Nevertheless hath Homer made him honoured throughout all the world, hath raised up his merit to the full, and by the wand of his divine lays set it forth, to be a theme for other singers after him.' That, as Dr. Fennell argues, is the only meaning admitted by μομφὰν ἔχει with the dative (*P.V.* 461, *Or.* 1069, *Phoen.* 1774); and that the phrase is sound here we shall see if we recall the story, and the idea which Ajax signified. Being worsted in the contest for Achilles' armour by Odysseus, the intriguing rhetorician, he became the type of unrewarded ἀρετά: Asclepiades *A.P.* vii. 145 Ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἂν πλάμων Ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῷδε κᾶθημαι Αἴαντος τύμβῳ κεραμένα πλοκάμους, θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβλομένην εἰ παρ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἂν δολόφρων Ἀπάτα κρέσσον ἐμοῦ κέκριται. The decision of his judges filled him with such bitter mortification that he cursed the whole Greek army (Quint. v. 472-477) and committed suicide; and even after death would not abate his deep resentment; when Odysseus visited the underworld, ὁ μέγας βαρυνάμιος ἦρως (Theocr. xv. 138) refused to speak to him (*Odys.* λ 543-565), still κεχολωμένος, still hating him and all the Greeks; nay and the whole race of men: Plat. *Rep.* 620 B εἰκοστὴν δὲ λαχοῦσαν ψυχὴν ἐλέσθαι λέοντος βίον· εἶναι δὲ τὴν Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμονίου, φεύγουσαν ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι, μεμνημένην τῆς τῶν ὅπλων κρίσεως: but of course Odysseus and the Atridae most: Nicephorus (Walz *Rhet.* I p. 474 τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ Αἴας ἰδὼν ἐν Ἀΐδῃ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά μετὰ σώματος) 'ὦ πάντα δόλον πρᾶττων ἄνθρωπε, κινδυνεύω μηκέτι μ' ἐμ φ ε σ θ α ι τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδας· ἔργον σοι τῆς ἀπάτης γεγόνασι'.

³ Eur. *Ion* 205 τὰν πῦρ πνέουσιν ἐναίρει τρισώματον ἀλκὰν.

A.P. vii. 150 Ἀἶας ἐν Τροίῃ μετὰ μυρίον εἶδος ἀέθλων μ' ἐμφεταὶ οὐκ ἔχθροῖς κείμενος ἀλλὰ φίλοις.

But that miscarriage of justice has been righted, Pindar says, by 'Homer'; such is the power of poetry for keeping fame alive. κατὰ ῥάβδον means, I suppose, primarily the ῥάβδος of the epic poet (see *e.g.* Donaldson's note); but it suggests something further. John Webster seems to have had the phrase in mind at the end of *A Monumental Column* (for he quotes Pindar by name at the beginning of it):

A poet's pen like a bright sceptre sways,
And keeps in awe dead men's dispraise or praise.

But I think what Pindar meant to suggest in the connexion of this contest and arbitrament is the ῥάβδος of the *υμπίρη*, ῥαβδούχος or ῥαβδονόμος as he was called: Plat. *Protag.* 338 A, Thuc. v. 50, Pollux iii. 145, Schol. Ar. *Pax* 733. Hesych. (s.v. ῥάβδοι) καὶ ὁ βραβευτὴς ῥαβδονόμος.¹ Soph. *Trach.* 515 μόνα δ' εὐλεκτρος ἐν μέσῳ Κύπρις ῥαβδονόμει ξυνοῦσα (ἐβράβευε schol.), as other writers make Eros act on similar occasions: Heliod. iv. 1 ὁ μὲν Πυθίων ἀγὼν ἔλγειν, ὁ δὲ τῶν νέων ἐπὶ κμαῖεν, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος, οἶμαι, καὶ βραβεύοντος Ἐρωτος. Nonn. *D.* 48, 106 καὶ τότε κύπρις ἔην ἐναγώνιος· ἦν δ' ἐνὶ μέσῳ γυνὸς Ἐρωτος... 10. 336 ἀμφοτέροις δ' ἔρις ἦεν ἐπὶ ῥατος· ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσῳ ἴστατο μαργὸς Ἐρωτος πτερόεις ἐναγώνιος Ἑρμῆς, playing the part of Ἑρμῆς ἐναγώνιος, who might use his ῥάβδος for the purpose.

Hermes is to perform that office in *Cho.* 722 νῦν γὰρ ἀκμάζει Παιθὼ δολίαν ἐνγκαταβῆναι χθόνιον δ' Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὸν νύχιον τοῖσδ' ἐφορεῦσαι ξιφοδηλήτοισιν ἀγῶσιν, where the MS. has ἐφοδεῦσαι, but that would mean 'to act as ἐφοδος', one who goes the rounds patrolling, visiting the watch': the sense is unsuitable, the word itself is not found elsewhere in poetic diction, and it surely could not be constructed with a dative case. The suggestion of ἐφορεῦσαι is due to Conington, who says of ἐφοδεῦσαι 'It is difficult to see its fitness here, unless we generalise the notion of patrolling into that of surveying. A comparison of the parallel vv. 581-2 might suggest ἐφορεῦσαι as the equivalent of ἐποπτεῦσαι, though neither the aorist nor the construction with the dative seems usual. ἐφεδρεῦσαι, too, would be an easy

correction,² whether taken of Hermes lying in wait as the god of Stratagem, or acting as ἐφεδρος, as he might well be called.' ἐφορεῦσαι is 'to come and act as ἐφορος' at the contest, just as δεῦρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι in 581 is 'to come and act as ἐπόπτης', words synonymous and technical in that connexion: Poll. iii. 140 ἄθλων ἐφοροι, ἐπίσκοποι, ἐπόπται .. ἄθλα ἐφορᾶν. That is the function of Ἑρμῆς ἐναγώνιος. And the dative means 'at', 'on the occasion of', as commonly with feasts and ceremonies, *e.g.* τοῖς πεντάθλοις Plut. *Mor.* 1140 D, τοῖς μονομάχοις *gladiatoribus* Artemid. v. 58.

To return now to Ajax and his μομφήν after death: so in *Cho.* 39 it is declared that Agamemnon lies complaining in his grave, μ' ἐμφεσθαι τοῖς γὰς νέρθεν περιθύμως τοῖς κτανούσι τ' ἐγκοτεῖν: because it was the notion that a murdered man θυμῶνται, νεοθνῆς ὢν, μνήμην σύμμαχον ἔχων Plat. *Legg.* 865 D. But I doubt whether this can be the notion in *Ag.* 357, where I give my reading:

θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκηντος εἰ μὲν στρατός,
εὐήγορον³ τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων
γένοιτ' ἄν,—εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.

But only let them come without offence
Toward Heaven, the soreness of the slain
may learn
Fair language,—if they meet no sudden
stroke.

εὐήγορον (Eubul. 'Oδ. 1) is a synonym of εὐφημον, as εὐαγορία (Callim. *Lav. Pall.* 139) of εὐφημία: and some such word of favourable sense appears to me to be demanded by the order of the words. The MS. reading is supposed to mean 'And (even) if they came without offence towards Heaven, (yet) the soreness of the slain might become wide-awake, even supposing no sudden accident befel them'; except that ἐργηγορὸς γένοιτ' ἄν is usually slurred over and taken as though it were ἐργηγορὸς εἶη 'would be on the watch'. ἐπὶ ἡγορον... γένοιτ' ἄν, if we read it, would be 'might turn accuser'; the φθονερὸν ἄλλος of the Argives on account of their bereavements (457) might give its discontentment voice; but my objection to

¹ This, I suspect, is actually the derivation of βραβεύς: it is merely 'a wand-bearer.' For the initial Aeolic β we may compare βρόδον, βραΐδιον, βράκος.

² L. Dindorf in *Thesaur.* s.v. ἐφοδεῦω: 'Insidior. Aquila Psalm. 5. 9 διὰ τοὺς ἐφοδεύοντας. Pro quibus LXX ἐνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου. Clem. Al. *Protr.* p. 4 ἰοβόλους τινὰς καὶ παλιμβόλους ὑποκριτὰς ἐφοδεύοντας δικαιοσύνη γιννήματα ἐχιδνῶν εἰρηκὲς πον.' *insidiantes* is the meaning, certainly; and you will obtain that meaning in the Greek when you have restored ἐφεδρεῦοντας in both places.

³ MS. ἐργήγορον.

that sense is still the same, that the Greek should then have been *εἰ δὲ καὶ θεοὶς ἀναμ-πλάκητος μῶλοι στρατός, ἀλλὰ τῶν γ' ὀλωλότων ἐπήγορον* (or *ἐρηγορός*) *γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ πῆμα*. I think therefore that she does not say 'there is every chance against them', but that like the Herald in 676—684 after suggesting what is to be feared for them (and what in fact was realised, offence against the Gods) she holds out ground of hope, qualifying it by the afterthought *εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά*. The phrase *τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων* is vague designedly: the difficulty is to know what is the ostensible meaning: the soreness of the Trojans killed in war was surely not a cause of fear in any case; was there anything to be feared from the resentment of those Greeks themselves who have been sacrificed? I am not aware of any warrant for the notion. But what is dangerous and what the Chorus chiefly dwell upon with apprehension in 437—476 is the bitter discontent at home on their account:

A people's voice when wroth has dangerous weight;
Does the office of a curse decreed by State.

That voice, those murmurings and curses which *σῖγά τις βαῦζει* (456), will abate, it may be hoped, and give good words, *εὐήγορος γένησεται*, *εὐφημον κοιμήσει στόμα*. But for herself her thought is that the wound in her own heart, the death of Iphigenia, that sore *πῆμα* (856), will give good words indeed and long-drawn smiling welcome and laudation, *εὐφροσιν δέξεται λόγοις*, *Ag. 1227 οἷα γλῶσσα λέξασα κάκτείνασα*¹ *φαιδρόνους τεύξεται*, but only from the tongue; which is what the Chorus hint to Agamemnon in 779—800, and what he understands, 821—831.

It is plain that this must be the meaning of *Eum.* 634

ἀπὸ στρατείας² γὰρ νιν, ἡμποληκότα
τὰ πλείστ' ἄμεινον, εὐφροσιν δεδεγμένη
635b λόγοις, παρέστη θερμὸν ἐν ἀργυρηλάτῳ
δροίτῃ περῶντι λουτρά, καπὶ τέρματι
φῆρος περυσκίνησε κὰν ἀτέρμονι
κόπτει πεδήσας³ ἄνδρα δαιδάλῳ πέπλῳ.

There may be more than one line missing, but if only one line has been lost, it must have been near to what I have supplied; for these reasons: (1) *εὐφροσιν* has no construction without *λόγοις* or *μύθοις*, while 'to receive, greet, welcome (*δέξασθαι* and syn-

onyms) with (kind) words' was a common phrase: as Pind. *P.* 4. 129 *μελιχίοισι λόγοις αὐτοὺς Ἰάσων δέγμενος, ξείν' ἀρμόζοντα τεύχων, πᾶσαν εὐφροσύναν τάννεν* (cf. 29—31, 9. 73 *εὐφρων δέξεται: πρόφρων, προφρόνως, προθύμως, φιλοφρόνως δέχεσθαι* are the usual expression-). Pausan. ii. 16. 2 *λόγοις τε χρηστοῖς καὶ ἔργοις δεξιόσασθαι*. Nicet. Eugen. i. 194, vi. 283. Hom. *K* 542, *η* 72, σ 111. Apoll. Rhod. i. 884, iv. 1072. Quint. vi. 158, ii. 233. Soph. *El.* 976. (2) *ἐν* is required before *δροίτῃ*: scolion (Ath. 695 e) *ἐν ταυτῷ πνέλω*. . . *λόει, Ar. fr.* 360 *σμώνμενον ἐν τῇ πνέλω*: and is restored on that account by Dobree in *Ar. Lys.* 913 *λουσαμένη <'ν> τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ* and by Koek in *Ar. fr.* 107 *ἐκεῖ <'ν> τῷ χαλκίῳ λελουμένους*, this elided *'ν* being very frequently omitted (Blaydes on *Eg.* 367). (3) A finite verb as *παρέστη* or *ὑπούργει* is required before *καπὶ τέρματι*: she stood by him or assisted him while he was performing his ablutions, and on the completion of them (*λουτροῖσι φαιδρόνασα Ag.* 1095) enveloped him in the fatal robe. But *τοιαύτην εἶπον* in *Eum.* 641 perhaps implies that he had named her with opprobrious epithet; if so, the loss is more than one line.—There had been, of course, unfortunate incidents; he had wasted countless lives, had lost his fleet, and sacrificed his daughter; but in *τὰ πλείστα* (*Theb.* 784) the balance of success was his; *ἐνικά τὸ κέρδος*, as the Herald says, *Ag.* 556—579.

670 *εἶπερ κακὸν φέροι τις, αἰσχύνῃς ἅτερ ἔστω· μόνον γὰρ κέρδος ἐν τεθνηκόσι· κακῶν δὲ κάσχωρῶν οὐτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρείς.*

'Evil that a man endures should be without dishonour; that alone (*i.e.* the absence of dishonour) shall profit in the grave; but in evil with disgrace (shame and dishonour) there is no honour you can name.' Heliod. v. 29 *ὁμόσε τῇ ἀκμῇ τοῦ κινδύνου χωρήσωμεν, ἢ τὸ εἶναι γενναῖος καὶ ἐλευθέρως κατωρθώσαντες ἢ τὸ τεθνάναι σωφρόνως καὶ ἀνδρείως κερδήσαντες*.—*αἰσχύνῃ* and *αἰδώς* (though Archidamus distinguishes in Thuc. i. 84 *ὅτι αἰδώς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνῃς δὲ εὐψυχία*) were usually interchangeable when they meant what we call 'honour'; strictly the conception was 'regard for public opinion,' 'fear of reproach, disgrace, or bad report,' *τοῦ δοξάζεσθαι κακοί*, as is fully explained in Plat. *Legg.* 646 E sqq.—*ἵνα γὰρ δέος, ἔθθα καὶ αἰδώς*, a doctrine much stressed in the *Eumenides*. Plut. *Cleom.* 9 is worth referring to, where he says that the Lacedaemonian constitution was held together by that principle of fear, and adds, *καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφοβίαν ἀλλὰ*

¹ Plat. *Protag.* 329 A *ὥσπερ τὰ χαλκία πληγέντα μακρὸν ἤχει καὶ ἀποτείνει*.

² 'Returned from the field' as *Ag.* 608, *Thesm.* 1169. *ἀπὸ στρατοῦ* in *Ag.* 543 means the same, but is commonly misunderstood.

φόβον ψόγον καὶ δέος ἀδοξίας οἱ παλαιοὶ νομίζουσιν. It is by that notion we can understand Timotheus' αἰδῶ σύνεργον ἀρετᾶς δοριμάχων and Pind. *O.* 7. 43 ἐν δ' ἀρετᾷ ἐβαλεν ἀνθρώποισιν αἰδώς and *N.* 9. 33 αἰδὼς ἃ φέρει δόξαν, and *P.* 4. 173: the sons of Boreas volunteered for the Argo αἰδυσθέντες ἀλκὰν 'obeying honour's call to action.' He says that all the heroes were inflamed by Hera with that spirit, μή τινα λειπόμενον τὰν ἀκίνδυνον παρὰ ματρὶ μένειν (as a 'μαρμάκουθον') αἰὼνα πέσσουντ', ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ θανάτῳ φάρμακον¹ κάλλιστον ἑὰς ἀρετᾶς ἄλιξιν εἰρέσθαι σὺν ἄλλοις: that is 'to find in their own prowess the noblest medicine even against death,' i.e. εὐκλειαν, δόξαν, what Aurora prays for Memnon in *On. Met.* 13. 598, *da precor huic aliquem, solacia mortis, honorem.* The Chorus plead with Eteocles κακὸς οὐ κεκλήσθαι βίον εὖ κηρήσας: μελάναιγες ἔξεισι δόμων² Ἐρινὺς ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν θεοὶ θυσίαν δέχωνται, when he tells them that the Curse suggests to him a κέρδος preferable to death deferred, i.e. τὸ εὐκλεῶς τεθνάναι, see *Agam.* 1299–1303.—It should be remarked that Eteocles feels here that honour compels him to accept his brother's challenge to a duel; Lucian iii. 273 μονομαχήσω πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα: προκαλείται γάρ με καὶ ἀναδύναι πάντως αἰσχύρην. Ancient duels would be worth investigating, but it would be found that the ideas and practices of modern duellists derive from what we are accustomed to call barbarous times. A man may be divided in his mind upon the matter or feel differently at different moments; moments, for example, of annoyance; but we shall agree that to Eteocles we may apply the language of the Athenians in *Thuc.* v. 111 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ πρῶτοις κινδύνους πλείστα διαφθείρουσαν ἀνθρώπου αἰσχύνην τρέψασθα. πολλοὶς γὰρ προορωμένοις ἔτι ἐς οἷα φέρονται τὸ 'αἰσχρὸν' καλούμενον ὀνόματος ἐπαγωγῇ δυνάμει ἐπασπασατο, ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος, ἔργῳ συμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ἐκόντας περιπεσεῖν καὶ αἰσχύνην, αἰσχύω μετ' ἀνοίας ἢ τύχης, προσλαβεῖν. It was an old proverb that Αἰδὼς μέγα σίνεται ἡδ' ὀνίνησι.

ἔστω in 671 means 'let freedom from dishonour be the condition, limitation, definition,' as in *Agam.* 389 φλεόντων δωμάτων

¹ Archil. 9. 5 ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γὰρ ἀνηκέστοισι κακοῖσιν ὦ φίλ' ἐπὶ κρατερὴν τλημοσύνην ἔθεσαν φάρμακον.

² The MSS. vary between δόμων and δόμων and are otherwise corrupt: I suspect δ' εἰσι was a misreading of ἔξεισι (cf. *Agam.* 1189, 1564, 1570, *Med.* 1248), and οὐκ an insertion to make sense; if, that is, the meaning was 'the Erinyes will leave the house'; if it was 'will not come to the house' we must read δόμωνδ' or δόμων. The MSS. of the three popular school-plays, the *Prometheus*, *Persae*, and *Seven against Thebes*, are not all derived from the Medicean.

ὑπέρφεν ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον³ ἔστω δ' ἀπήμαντον ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα, which means 'beyond due Measure (ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον); of which the definition should be Sufficiency, clear of harm, with an ample endowment of understanding (σύνεσις),' as Pythagoras μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον according to Empedocles; or 'sufficiency for one well-endowed with sense.' ἀπήμαντον ἀπαρκεῖν means ἔχειν ὅσον ἀποζῆν ἀβλαβῶς (*Theognis* 1153), as ἐξαρκέων κτεάτεσσι in *Pind. O.* v. 24.

SUPPLICES.

C.R. 1900 p. 111: Burton says the men in Egypt now consider that they have a right to marry the daughters of their father's brother. Why should the sons of Aegyptus be so anxious to exert this right? Even in Egypt surely it is not a normal thing for fifty brothers to be inspired with passion for their fifty cousins. Doubtless it was from considerations of family and economy, as Pelasgus suggests in v. 340: σθένος μὲν οὕτω μείζον αὔξεται βοροῖς. *XO.* καὶ δυστυχύντων γ' εὐμαρὴς ἀπαλλαγὴ. *Plut. Ael. Rom.* 6, p. 265 D says πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐγάμον τὰς ἀφ' αἵματος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νῦν τηθίδας οὐδ' ἀδελφὰς γαμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅψε συνεχώρησαν ἀνεψιαῖς συνοικεῖν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. ἀνὴρ χρημάτων ἐνδεής τὰ δ' ἄλλα χρηστός . . . ἐπικληρον ἀνεψιὸν ἔχειν ἔδοξε καὶ πλουτεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. He was accused in consequence, but because of his popularity the δῆμος refused to try the case, and voted a general extension ἀχρὶ ἀνεψιῶν. *Ib.* 108 p. 289 D he asks διὰ τί δὲ τὰς ἐγγυς γένους οὐ γαμοῦσι: suggesting as one reason γ' ὅτι πολλῶν βοηθῶν τὰς γυναῖκας ὀρώντες δι' ἀσθένειαν δεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τὰς ἐγγυς γένους συνοικίζειν, ὅπως, ἂν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀδικώσιν αὐτάς. οἱ συγγενεῖς βοηθῶσιν; which is the argument of the Danaids.

754 πολλοὺς δὲ γ' εὐρήσουσιν ἐν μεσημβρίας θάλπει βραχίον' εὖ κατερρινημένους

καταρρινῶν is used in precisely the same sense by Antyllus (*Stob. Flor.* 101, 16), and the best illustration of the whole is Lucian *Anacharsis* 25 (ii. 906). Practice for the games and the games themselves took place, like cricket, in the heat of the day; afterwards they dined and the winners were celebrated with the κῶμος, in the evening. Therefore in the Locrian account of the

³ Weil reads μέτρον τὸ βέλτιστον and that is in any case the meaning; see *Paroem.* II p. 80–2 Leutsch for the proverb πάντων μέτρον ἄριστον, *Lucian* i. 756, and *Aristotle Indec.* s.v. μέσος for βέλτιστον

original Olympia, Pind. *O.* 10 (11), I commend this punctuation :

72 μάκος δὲ Νικεὺς ἔδике πέτρῳ χέρα κυκλώσαις
 ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων καὶ συμμαχία¹ θόρυβον
 παραίθυξε μέγαν· ἐν δ' ἔσπερον
 ἔφλεξεν εὐώπιδος
 σελάνας ἐρατὸν φάος,
 αἰεῖτο δὲ πᾶν τέμενος τερπναῖσι θαλαῖς
 ἐπαδ.
 τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον.

(or αἰεῖτο τε) : just the same division between stanzas as *O.* 3. 19

ἦδη γὰρ αὐτῷ, πατρὶ μὲν βωμῶν ἀγισθέντων,
 διχόμηνις ὅλον χρυσάρματος
 ἐσπείρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε μῆνα,
 καὶ μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἀγνὰν κρίσιν καὶ πεντα-
 ετηρὶδ' ἄμᾳ ἀντιστρ.
 θῆκε ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς Ἀλφειοῦ.

Heracles, that is, established the Olympia at the time of the full-moon, and this the scholiasts take to be the meaning in *O.* 10 (ἐρατὸν δὲ φάος σελήνης, τὸ πανσέληνον) ; for it is absurd, one says, to imagine that they continued the contest until sunset ; though the statement of the season, they admit, should have come at the beginning. But if Pindar meant 'full-moon,' he chose a singularly ineffective way of saying it ; there is nothing whatever about 'full' ; all that he says is 'the moon shone in the evening,' and according to this punctuation (which Mr. Myers adopts in his translation) that is what he meant.

The *Anacharsis* gives us valuable details about the games. ἀμφέπλεκτοι² κλίμακες in Soph. *Trach.* 520 'Hermann explains thus ;—the wrestler turns his adversary round, seizes him from behind, and springs on his back so as to force him down. He relies on *On. Met.* 9. 50–54, where Heracles shakes off the embrace of Acheloius, and then, with a strong push from his hand, *protinus avertit, tergoque onerosus inhaesit*. This may be the κλίμαξ : but it is uncertain' Jebb. The trick of jumping on the back is described in the *Anacharsis* 31 in terms which seem to make it probable : ἡ περιπηδήσαντες, ὡς κατὰ νότον γένησθε, περιπλέξῃτε αὐτοῖς τὰ σκέλη περὶ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ διάγχητε ὑπὸ τὸ κράνος ὑποβαλόντες τὴν πῆχυν.

¹ Cf. Bacchyl. 8. 35 : there is a *v.l.* συμμαχία, but the particle then should have been δέ.

² Those who will refer to Poll. ii. 172–3, Greg. Cor. p. 548, Soph. *fr.* 539, Cobet *V.L.* 135, *N.L.* 310, Blydes *Acharn.* 217 will see that the true reading may be ἀμφέπλεκτοι : it is the same word I suppose originally (Lat. *plico*), though the senses often as in διαπλίσσειν, πλῆξ, πλῆξας 'the fork,' correspond to those of the English *split*.

From *Anacharsis* 32 we see that the ἀκόντια or ἀποτομάδες thrown in the games were little slender darts, κοῦφα καὶ οἶα διαφέρεισθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνεμον : so that Liddell and Scott are somewhat from the mark in rendering ἀποτομάς 'a pole used in athletic games.' In Simonid. *A.P.* xiii. 19 (*C.R.* 1900 p. 8) where τομίδων means ἀποτομάδων or ἐκτομάδων, perhaps we ought to read οὐτ' ἐγένοντο ἀκτινών³ (or ἀκτεινών) τομίδων (or τομάδων) ποτ' ἄθλοι as κρανεῖον in *Hom. h. Herm.* 460, ὀπωρῖνος, μεσημβρῖνος, ὀρθρῖνος al., because the 2nd line in all the other couplets begins with — — — ; but Horace uses either — — — or — — — in *C.* i. 7 and 28.

Aesch. *fragm.* 71 Bekk. *An.* 346. 10 Ἀδριαναὶ γυναῖκες : Αἰσχύλος Ἠλιάδην (Ἠλιάδην cod.) 'Ἀδριαναὶ τε γυναῖκες τρόπον ἔξουσι γόνων.' Perhaps this should be Ἀδριανᾶς τε γυναικὸς τρόπον ἔξουσι γόνων, as *Cho.* 422 ἔκοψα κορμὸν Ἄριον ἔν τε Κισσίας νόμοις ἱαλεμιστριάς. . . Cf. Suid. Ἀδριανοί : πόλις Μυσίας, τῆς νῦν Βιδυνίας and *Pers.* 940 schol., 1055.

124 in the *Lycurgus*, καὶ τῶνδ' ἔπινε βρῦτον ἰσχυαίνων χρόνῳ, καὶ σεμπνοκοπτεῖ τουτ' ἐν ἀνδρεία στεγγῇ. This could only mean 'thereby (*i.e.* by the act of drinking it) eventually making the beer thin'. I think ἰσχυαίνων must be wrong, and the true reading comes with the minutest alteration, ἐκ τῶνδ' ἔπινε βρῦτον ἰσχυαίμων χρόνῳ 'beer *thin-blooded* with age' as ξηβον χρόνῳ in *Theb.* 11, an adjective like ὀλγαιμος. The speaker is a wine-drinker, οὐ πίνων τις ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ *Supp.* 964, scoffing at a beer-drinker ; 'with that he fell to drinking old thin-blooded ale, and boasted of it' (Prof. Herwerden's τοῦτ' ἐν ἀνδρεία τιθείς is probably near the meaning) ; if it had been new full-bodied wine, the notion is, he might perhaps have bragged. 'The blood of the grape' is αἷμα Βακχίου θεοῦ, as in Timotheus and the riddle in *Plut. Mor.* 676 ε χθὼν ἱπνοπλάστη⁴ πυρὶ κατηθαλωμένη κεύθει κελαινὸν αἷμα Διονύσου θεοῦ : and discussing strained wine⁵ in *Quaest. Conv.* vi. 7 Plutarch says αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν οἶνον 'αἴθοπα' καὶ 'ερυθρὸν' εἰώθε καλεῖν ('Ὀμηρος)· οὐχ ὥς Ἀριστίων ἡμῶν ὠχρίωντα καὶ χλωρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς καθάρσεως παρέχεται. καὶ ὁ Ἀριστίων γελάσας 'οὐκ ὠχρίωντ' εἶπεν 'ὦ τάν, οὐδ' ἀναίμωνα, ἀλλὰ μειλίχιον καὶ ἡμερίδην.'

³ Theophrast. *H.P.* v. 3. 3. μανὰ (loose-grained) τὰ ἄκτινα : see iii. 13. 4.

⁴ As I conjecture for χθὼν ἢ παλᾶσ γῆ : 'by the fire of the potter's furnace.'

⁵ What could σακτὸς οἶνος mean in Eupolis *fr.* 439 Kock (*Pollux* 6. 18 σακκίας δὲ ὁ διυλισμένος : καὶ σακτὸς παρ' Εὐπόλιδι) ? σακτός is from σάττω : I could understand σακ(κ)ιστός 'strained' (= ὑλίτης), or σακτός : Hesych. στακτόν : τὸ διυλισμένον.

152 εἶση (or εἶσει) κάμακος γλώσσημα δικοῦν for εἶσι. In Timocles 9. 6 p. 455 Kock τὸν παραμασῆτην λαμβάνειν δίκρον ξύλον, the meaning is δίκελλον λαβεῖν, as Timon λαβὼν διφθέραν, δέκελλον, ἀγρότης ἦν ἐργάτης Tzetz. *Chil.* 7. 278.

206 κοῦλλαζοίεις ἀτμοί for κοῦδιὰζοής ἀτμοί I restored in *C.R.* 1901 p. 18, giving some examples of this form of plural termination with adjectives in -οεις and -ηεις: to which should be added Plut. *Mor.* 299 E τίνες οἱ παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς ψολοεῖς;...κληθῆναι τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ψολοεῖς...and a contracted form in Hesych. φοινίκους μαστίγας: διὰ τὸ τὰ νῶτα φοινίσσειν. This is rightly accented in the *Thesaurus*, but wrongly taken to come from φοινικός: for μαστίξ is feminine and we should have had φοινικᾶς. But φοινικοῦς (or perhaps the other form, φοινικιοῦς) is φοινικ-οεῖς contracted, a plural feminine as ἀμπελοεῖς ἑλικας and πόσιες φαρμακόμεναι in Nicander. — Since φοινίξαι is a heightened synonym of μαστίξαι (*Aj.* 110, *Achurn.* 320 with stones) and cooks delight in ornate language, perhaps the most probable reading in Diphilus 17, 12 (Ath. 132 e) is ἀψινθίω φ ο ί ν ι ξ ο ν ἄτ' ἂν παρατιθῆς 'whip, slash, flog': σφοιριδεῖον cod. A. Cooks in Alexis say, 188. 4 σιλφίω πυκνῷ πατάξας and 133. 4 τῷ σιλφίω μαστίξον. Kock objects to both these words as not pure Attic, but to talk plain Attic is exactly what the cooks could never be induced to do. Think of all the faneiful synonyms for ἐπεισηγήθε 'a dish followed'.

270 Hesych. ἀρυτόν: τὸν ὀλκὸν τοῦ Ἑκτορος, ἢ τὸ ἀντίσταθμον. Αἰσχύλος Φρυγί. So in *C.R.* 1901 p. 404 I corrected the MS. ἀροτόν, comparing schol. A. Hom. X 351 οὐδ' εἴ κεν σ' αὐτὸν χρυσῷ ἐρύσασθαι ἀνώγοι Δαρδανίδης Πριάμος] ὑπερβολικῶς λέγειν ὁ δὲ Αἰσχύλος ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἀντίσταθμον χρυσὸν πεποίηκε πρὸς τὸ Ἑκτορος σῶμα ἐν Φρυγίῳ. The word is as natural a formation from ἀρυ- as φορυτός from φορυ-, κοκνυτός from κοκν- or πιυντή from πιυν-, but since it is not in the Dictionaries I did not know that it was extant elsewhere. It is recorded however by Theognostus *Can.* p. 76. 1 φορυτός: ἀρυτός: Βηρυτός: κοκνυτός: Κορυτός: ὠρυτός: Κολλυτός: and it would seem now that Iobbeck *Proll.* p. 288 and Lentz *Herodian.* I p. 221 were mistaken in supposing it corrupt. ὠρυτός indeed (see Lentz) may be an error for γωρυτός, but γωρυτός may have been omitted, for ὠρυτός would be just as good a substantive as κοκνυτός: Liddell and Scott wrongly take it for a verbal adjective.

400: in Stob. *Flor.* 115. 10 γῆρας γὰρ ἡβης ἐστὶν ἐνδικώτερον. They said that ἡβρις

and the like belonged to youth (Plat. *Euthyd.* 273 A, Dem. *Conon* 21 p. 1263); a man must ἀφνέρισθαι and settle down like wine (Alexis *ib.* 7), and so arrive at the proper virtues of old age, σωφροσύνη and δικαιοσύνη, the opposites of ἡβρις: Iunecus in Stob. 117. 19 ἔπειθε τὸ μὲν νέον ἅπαν σκιρτᾶν τε [καὶ] πεφυκέναι, ἀκρατές ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ταρατ-τεσθαι τὸ δὲ πρεσβύτερον καὶ κατηρτυμένον δίκαιόν τε εἶναι καὶ εἰλικρινές: Opp. *Hal.* i. 681 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὅπισθεν ἐπίσκοποι ἐγγὺς ἔπονται, αἰδοῦς τε πραπίδων τε νοοῦ τ' ἐπιτιμητῆρες, πρεσβύτατοι γῆρας γὰρ ἐναίσμιον ἄνδρα τίθησιν, that is, δίκαιον, law-abiding. But the Dictionaries copy a mistake of Stephanus, and explain that here alone ἐναίσμιος means 'honoured'. If people would only study the ideas! This is the notion in Theognis 1325, to Aphrodite: μερμήρας δ' ἀπόπαυε κακάς, δὸς δ' εὐφρονη θυμῷ μετ' ἡβης τελέσαντ' (i.e. τελέσαντι¹) ἔργματα σωφροσύνης: and in Soph. *fr.* 718 ἡβρις δέ τοι οὐπόποθ' ἡβης εἰς τὸ σῶφρον ἔκετο, ἀλλ' ἐν νέοις ἀνθεί τε καὶ πάλιν φθίνει: it is a blossom of which ἡβη is the flowering-season; for ἡβης is on the analogy of ἔαρος, θέρεος, χειμῶνος. Sophocles was a philologist, and from the old Ionic writers whom he copied saw that prepositions were not originally essential: and like the Alexandrians he has the courage of his theories.

In *adesp. fr.* 529 p. 943, αἰσχρόν γ' ὅταν τις ἐπὶ γέλω σὺν εὐφνεί γλώσση ματαίους ἐξακοντίσῃ λόγους for ἐπὶ γλώσση φνείς is perhaps better than my previous conjecture δεινὸν δ' ὅταν τις ἐπὶ γέλῳτι γ' εὐφνεί, but in any case ἐπὶ γέλῳτι and εὐφνής 'witty' (which F. W. Schmidt had suggested) in some form are just the proper words.

For Eur. *fr.* 331 κεί μ' ἔρωσ ἔλοι ποτέ, cf. *Rhes.* 852 for the phrase and Plat. *Rep.* 403 for the idea.

Among the fragments of Sophocles:

153. 6-7 would be intelligible if they ran

τέλος δ' ἔχει νιν οὐθ' ὁ παῖς ὅπως ἀφῆ,
οὐτ' ἐν χεροῖν τὸ κτῆμα σύμφορον μένειν:

or τέλος δ' ὅπως ἀφῆ νιν οὐθ' ὁ παῖς ἔχει. What the MS. gives, τέλος δ' ὁ χυμός οὐθ' ὅπως ἀφῆ θέλει, appears to be a bit of patching after ὁ παῖς (which Kock would read) had been passed over, and ὁ χυμός I suppose to be a gloss on τὸ κτῆμα below. Certainly θέλει was the natural word (add Plut. *Mor.* 508 D ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες τὸν κρύσταλλον οὔτε κατέχειν οὔτε ἀφεῖναι θέλουνσι), but ἔχει seems to be demanded by the construction; οὐκ ἔχω

¹ Supposing that the text has not been mutilated; for in many places the text of Theognis seems to have suffered from being carelessly abridged.

ὅπως is common enough, as *Rep.* 368 D, and Sophocles combines that construction with the infinitive in *Aj.* 428, *Ant.* 271.

263 Herodian ἔνθεν θηλυκὸν παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Ἰνάχῳ 'καὶ σάρχ' ὑγρύνων λαρὸν' (for σασχυτρίνων λάρος), [εὔτατ' ἐπὶ κῆμα which follows is an interpolation of Hom. ε 51 σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῆμα λάρω ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς] '< λαρὸς > ἐκρούς ἐπώμοσα' (ἐκ ροῦς ἐπώμοσα MS.), 'λαρὸς ἀνὴρ.'—There appears no reason why ὑγρύνω should not have been used, as ἀβρύνω, ἄδρ-, λαμπρ-, φαιδρ-, σκληρ- and many others.

299 Hesych. χερσεύει: Σοφοκλῆς Ἴωνι κείμενος μὲν βουσταδὰς αὐλὰς ἐπὶ χέρσον ἢ διὰ χειρῶν ἔχει ἢ οὕτως ἐμβατεύει. Anapaests, I think: χεμώνος μὲν βουσταδὰς αὐλὰς ἐπι χερσεύει (or ἔπι χερσεύει).

In the text of Sophocles:

Philoct. 41 κῶστ' οὐχ ἐκάς πον· πῶς γὰρ ἂν νοσῶν ἀνὴρ κῶλον παλαιᾷ κηρὶ προφθαίῃ μακράν; 'how 'could he quickly get far abroad?' is the meaning; *quickly*, because it is evident that he has only lately left these rags behind him: but the MS. προσβαίῃ would mean 'come to us' not 'go from us.' *προβαίῃ* would be an easy error for the unexpected form *προφθαίῃ*, because φ was frequently mistaken for the long-tailed β (so was θ: all these three letters are confounded); then *προσβαίῃ* was to prop the metre or else, as in *Aj.* 1512, due merely to the habitual confusion of *προ* and *προσ*.

827 Ὑπὺν δόδυνας ἀδαῆς, . . . ἴθι ἴθι μοι παίων. This passage is addressed to healing Sleep, while Philoctetes lies sleeping in the sun; and the clue to it is that both the rhythm and the language are *paemonic*: 829 εἰαίων εἰαίων ὄναξ are both special epithets of Apollo, as Eur. *Ion* 125 ὦ Παιὰν ὦ Παιάν, εἰαίων εἰαίων εἰς, ὦ Λατοῦς παῖ, a refrain in the same *paemonic* spondees; and τάνδ' αἴγλαν in 831 is also a *paemonic* word; for αἴγλη, Αἴγλη and Αἰγλήτης see Bekk. *Anecd.* 354–5, Hesych. i. p. 70 (and 24 Ἀγλαόπης), Isyllus of Epidaurus, *Apoll.* *Rhod.* 4. 1714, Herm. *Alterth.* 2 p. 475. It means, I suppose, *sunshine*, the quality that Apollo (or Asclepius, who assumes Apollo's epithets) possesses and imparts, the radiance of health.

1113 ἰδοίμαν γε μὴν τὸν τὰδε μισάμενον τὸν ἴσον χρόνον ἐμᾶς λαχόντ' ἀνίας, as in *Aj.* ἰδοίμι <μὴν> νιν . . . The MS. reading is ἰδοίμαν δέ μιν τὸν . . . which you will find it easier to argue for than to produce a parallel; I think γε μὴν more likely because it is often corrupted in this way: e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1340
^{μὴν}
 τούς γε μὴν κακούς: v.l. δέ γε. Polyb. vi. 25

γε μὴν: v.l. δέ μὴν. Aesch. *fr.* 99. 2 τοιον-
 τεμεν Ζεὺς κλέμμα . . . ἤνυσεν λαβεῖν is prob-
 ably for τοῖόν γε μὴν (or τοῖόνδε μέντοι if Ζεὺς
 is a gloss). And the following corrections
 seem clearly right: Plut. *Mor.* 461 A ἀνα-
 κραγόντος ὅτι 'Ἀθηναῖός εἰμι,' σύ γε μὴν
 οὐκ εἶ Ἀθηναῖος' τὸν ὄνον λέγων ἔτυπτε
 Bernardakis for σὺ δέ μιν. Schol. Aesch.
Eum. 700 συμβουλευσὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολίταις
 δημοκρατεῖσθαι μὲν, ὑπὸ φόβον γε μὴν εἶναι
 Ἀβρῆσθαι for δέ μὴ. Lucian i. 234 ὑμεῖς γε
 μὴν ἐφίσθε τῶν καλῶν' μὴ τοῖνον ἐμὲ αἰτιάσθε
 τούτων Hemsterhuis for δέ μὴ. And in *Eum.*
 933 Linwood reads ὃ γε μὴν κύρσας for ὃ δέ μὴ.
 So in Simonid. (Clem. Alex. 585) *fr.* 58
 Bergk, if his view of the meaning is correct,
 I would suggest ἔστι τις λόγος <ποτέ> τὰν
 ἀρετὰν ναίνειν δυσαμβάτοις ἐπὶ πέτραις, νῦν γε μὲν
 οὐρανίαν χώραν ἀγνὸν ἀμφέπειν (just as ποτε...
 νῦν γε μὴν in Pind. *P.* i. 74) for MS. νῦν δέ μιν
 θυὰν, through the usual compendium, as e.g.
 in Pind. *fr.* 132 (Clem. Alex. 640) ψυχὰ δ'
 ἀσεβέων <μὲν> ὑπουράνιοι γαίᾳ ποτῶνται
 there is a v.l. ὑπ' ὧν τοι: the μὲν I have
 inserted here is required both by the anti-
 thesis εἰσεβέων δέ and by the dactylo-epitrite
 metre: scan (or write) ἀσεβῶν and εἰσεβῶν.

Ajax 384, the place just now referred to,
 should be punctuated thus:

AI. ἰδοίμι <μὴν> νιν, καίπερ ὧδ' ἀτόμενος,—
 ἰὼ μοί μοι
 XO. μῆδ' ἐν μέγ' ἔπης.

They do not pray that they may merely see
 their enemies, but that they may see them
 damned, or in some other uncomfortable
 situation: *Philoct.* 1113, *Trach.* 1038, *Cho.*
 266, *P.V.* 1004, *Med.* 164, *Acharn.* 1156,
Dem. 800. 18, Lucian iii. 305: but what
 makes it certain that his sentence is un-
 finished is μῆδ' ἐν μέγ' ἔπης. This is an
 important piece of grammar, about which
 the current notions cannot be too soon
 corrected. In general instructions or com-
 mandments, as 'thou shalt not steal', you
 could say either μὴ κλέπτειν or μὴ κλέπτε or
 μὴ κλέψῃς,— except that μὴ κλέπτειν was
 Ionic¹; the infinitive (as *nicht rauchen*,
faire bouillir) was retained as traditionary
 in writings of Ionic character as the medical
 works of Hippocrates and the *Cynegetica* of
 Xenophon. But in particular injunctions,
 when there is any reference to time, neither
 'frequency' nor 'vividness' has anything
 whatever to do with the distinction. The
 aorist subjunctive (which is close to the
 future in form, and in Homer and the

¹ φάσκειν in Soph. *El.* 9, *O.T.* 462, *Phil.* 1411,
 is Ionic for νόμιζε or δόκει.

general mass of Greek which comes to the surface later was used like the future indicative) is in effect a future perfect; and always refers, more or less, to future time: just as ὅταν τοῦτο ποιήσης is *hoc cum feceris*, so μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσης is *hoc ne feceris* (like ὅπως μὴ ποιήσεις) 'see that you do not do this' at whatever future time, next moment or a hundred years hence. Whereas μὴ τοῦτο ποίει is 'do not do as you are doing', 'do not continue doing so', 'cease to do so'.¹ Thus μὴ σπεῦδε in Theocr. v. 31 elicits the rejoinder ἀλλ' οὔτι σπεύδω, and μὴ μ' ἐκδίδασκε in Soph. *El.* 395 elicits the retort ἀλλ' οὐ διδάσκω, because it implies οὕτως ὥσπερ διδάσκεις, but this would not

¹ This I had from Dr. Henry Jackson years ago, who had it as he told me from Shilleto, who derived it probably from Heimmann; see the quotation from him in Greg. Cor. p. 864.—In Latin Comedy, translating Greek, *ne* with the present imperative is not uncommon, *ne fte, ne plora* for *μὴ κλαίει* but I fancy Latin normally preferred to say *noli flere*.—In Herodas iv. 52 our choice is therefore limited to καρδίη βάλλειν or καρδιηβόλει (W. R. Paton) or καρδιηβολεῖ.

have been implied by μὴ μ' ἐκδιδάξῃς: in the famous fragment (136) of Euripides, σὺ δ' ὦ ... Ἐρως, ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι κακά, the substitution of διδάξῃς would destroy the sense. ἄ μὴ μέγα λέγε in Plat. *Πιρρ. Maj.* 295 λ is 'O don't boast so!' as in Theocr. x. 20 μὴδὲν μέγα μυθεῖ, with the rejoinder οὐ μέγα μυθεύμαι: but μὴδὲν μέγ' εἶπῃς and μὴδὲν μέγ' αὐτῇς *El.* 830 are interruptions in anticipation. By the same rule I would punctuate *O.T.* 325: TE. ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲ σοὶ τὸ σὸν φώνημ' ἰὼν πρὸς καιρόν' ὥς οὖν μὴδ' ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ὅν πάθω,—(*I will depart without speaking*) OI. μὴ πρὸς θεῶν φρονῶν γ' ἀποστραφῆς,... Lucian i. 655 ὥς οὖν τό γε ἡμέτερον ἀναίτιον ἢ μὴδὲ ἔχῃς λέγειν ὥς... ὅπως μὴ ταῦτα λέγῃς, ἀκουσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Perhaps *Cho.* 771 should be punctuated ἀλλ' εἰ τροπαίαν Ζεὺς κακῶν θήσῃ ποτέ,—'Well, if Zeus ever means to end our troubles', (now is the moment): cf. Electra's exclamation in Soph. *El.* 411 on hearing of her mother's ominous dream, ὦ θεοὶ πατρῷοι, συγγένεσθέ γ' ἀλλὰ τὴν.

W. HEADLAM.

TEXTUAL NOTES ON PLATO'S *REPUBLIC*.

I. 335 A κελεύεις δὴ ἡμᾶς προσθεῖναι τῷ δικάῳ ἢ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέγομεν . . . νῦν πρὸς τούτῳ ὧδε λέγειν ὅτι ἔστιν δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.

Obviously ἢ is out of place here; and Madvig and others have done well to eject it. As the words πρὸς τούτῳ ὧδε λέγειν serve to resume προσθεῖναι, I suggest that, in place of ἢ, we should insert the words καὶ ὅτι, which the ὅτι following λέγειν will then serve to resume. After δικάῳι, καὶ ὅτι might easily have been lost.

III. 410 E τί δέ; τὸ ἡμέρον οὐχ ἢ φιλόσοφος ἂν ἔχοι φύσις; καὶ μᾶλλον μὲν ἀνεθέτος αὐτοῦ μαλακώτερον εἴη τοῦ δένετος, καλῶς δὲ τραφέντος ἡμέρον τε καὶ κόσμιν.

Does αὐτοῦ mean τοῦ φιλοσόφου, or τοῦ ἡμέρου? Either alternative is difficult (see Adam's n. *ad loc.*), and emendation seems required. I venture to suggest μᾶλλον μὲν ἀνεθὲν τοσοῦτον μαλακώτερον . . . καλῶς δὲ τραφέν <όντων> ἡμέρον κ.τ.λ.

IV. 439 A τὸ δὲ δὴ δάψος . . . οὐ τούτων θήσεις τῶν τινὸς εἶναι τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἔστι δὲ δήπου δάψος;

If the text is correct we seem compelled to make εἶναι do double duty: 'Will you not state, as to thirst, that it is one of these relative objects, (and that it is) that which it is.' Accordingly, Adam proposes to

insert καὶ τινὸς after τῶν τινός. To my mind a more attractive correction would be οὐ τοιούτων θήσεις τι οἷον τινὸς εἶναι κ.τ.λ.

IV. 440 C ὅταν ἀδικεῖσθαι τις ἡγήται, οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ ζεῖ τε καὶ χαλεπαίνει . . . καὶ διὰ τὸ πεινῆν . . . καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα πάσχειν ὑπομένων καὶ νικᾷ καὶ οὐ λήγει τῶν γενναίων πρὶν ἂν ἢ διαπράξῃται ἢ τελευτήσῃ κ.τ.λ.

Many suggestions for emending this difficult passage will be found in Adam's Appendix *ad loc.* I cite two: (1) 'If the best MSS. are right in placing καί after ὑπομένων, it is possible that ὑπομένων is corrupt, and conceals ὑπό with a genitive (cf. πάσχων ὑπ' ἐκείνου in the parallel passage just before)' (Adam). (2) 'Τῶν γενναίων is most feeble. Plainly Plato wrote οὐ λήγει ἀγανακτῶν' (Richards). Somewhat on these lines, with the conviction, further, that νικᾷ is quite incompatible with its context, I propose to emend the passage thus: πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἀνόμων καὶ ἀδικία καὶ οὐ λήγει τῶν γε μανίων πρὶν ἂν κ.τ.λ. For ζεῖ . . . μανίων, cp. μανιόμενος . . . ζεῖ *Laus* 773 D.

V. 452 E καὶ καλοῦ αὐτὸ σπουδάζει πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ σκοπὸν στησάμενος ἢ τὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

στησάμενος can hardly be construed (with Jebb) 'having set himself to some other

aim'; and it is awkward to supply (with Adam) αὐτόν, i.e. τὸν σκοπόν. It is obvious to conjecture στοχασάμενος, but I suspect rather that Plato wrote συστησάμενος, 'in his compositions.'

V. 473 c εἰ καὶ μέλλει γέλωτί τε ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ κύμα ἐκγελῶν καὶ ἀδοξία κατακλύσειν.

The simile is bad. It is not the 'wave' that will laugh—if the 'wave' here is the same as that already mentioned, viz. the coming statement of Socrates—but some hostile spectator. Hence Adam proposed to eject the words ἀτεχνῶς . . . ἐκγελῶν. A less drastic remedy would be to insert τις after γέλωτί τε: 'although someone is sure to drown me in laughter, roaring just like a breaker, and in disgrace.' Cp. Eurip. *fr.* 981 ἀλλ' ἔστι, κεί τις ἐγγελά . . . λόγῳ.

VI. 488 D ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει ἕαν τέ τινες βούλονται ἕαν τε μή, μήτε τέχνην τούτου μήτε μελέτην οἰόμενοι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικήν.

This passage is carefully discussed by Adam, Append. I *ad loc.* He adopts Schneider's view and leaves the text unaltered. One difficulty is the ambiguity of ἡ κυβερνητική in the sentence: it may be either 'navigation' in the sailors' sense, i.e. 'the art of making themselves master of the ship' (cp. κυβερνητικόν above), or 'navigation' in the proper scientific sense of the term. If we take the former of these meanings, we might, I think, simplify the passage by either inserting εἰ μή before ἅμα or changing ἅμα καὶ to ἄλλην ἢ. But I am strongly of opinion that ἡ κυβερνητική is here used in its correct sense, 'navigation' as a technical science; and I suspect that in the words following λαβεῖν we should look for a reason why the sailors hold this opinion. Accordingly, I propose to restore, for ΑΜΑΚΑΙ τὴν κ., ΑΜΑΘΙΑΙ τῆς κυβερνητικῆς.

VI. 507 B καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ καλὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ οὕτω περὶ πάντων ἃ τότε ὡς πολλὰ ἐτίθεμεν, πάλιν αὖ κατ' ἰδέαν μίαν ἐκάστων, ὡς μιᾶς οὔσης, τιθέντες, ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον προσαγορεύομεν.

Adam pertinently asks 'if κατ' ἰδέαν is genuine, what is the grammatical object of τιθέντες?' Plainly we require an expressed

antithesis to πολλά; and the simplest mode of obtaining it is to insert ἐν after ἐτίθεμεν. 'With regard to the various things, in themselves which we formerly posited as pluralities,—now, conversely, positing a unity, according to the unitary idea of each, assuming that such a unitary idea exists, we entitle each "essential being."' This seems to be the manner in which Schneider takes the passage; though he is content, apparently, to supply ἐν.

VII. 515 B εἰ οὖν διαλέγεσθαι οἰοί τ' εἶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ ταῦτα ἡγεί ἂν τὰ παρόντα αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ὀνομάζειν, ἄπερ ὀρῶεν;

A large variety of explanations and corrections is recorded by Adam in his Append. IV. The interpretation I venture to propose is, I believe, new. The prisoners are supposed to be conversing with one another; but inasmuch as they know nothing of one another beyond their shadows, each one of them fancies that his neighbour's voice proceeds from one of these shadows. The translation then will be: 'do you not suppose that they imagine that it is these present objects, just those which they see, which address them by name?' Plato has spoken above of two kinds of shadows, viz. (1) ἐαντῶν τε καὶ ἀλλήλων . . . τὰς σκιάς, and (2) τῶν παραφερομένων. In the sentence following (τί δ'; εἰ καὶ ἡχώ κ.τ.λ.) he deals with sounds connected with the latter, whence it is natural to suppose that it is sounds connected with the former class of shadows of which mention is made in the present sentence. This is confirmed by the choice of the words διαλέγεσθαι—ἀλλήλους.

VIII. 562 A φέρε δὴ, τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος, ᾧ φίλε ἑταῖρε, γίγνεται; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας μεταβάλλει, σχεδὸν δὴλον.

Stallbaum's suggestion τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος φ, ᾧ φ. ἐτ., γίγνεται; is, I believe, on the right lines; but it strikes me as more like Plato to write τίς τρ. τυραννίδος <ᾧ φιλεῖ>, ᾧ φίλε ἑταῖρε, γίγνεσθαι; Cp. Phil. 37 B τῷ τρόπῳ δόξα . . . φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι; and for the corruption of infin. ending, 407 c (ἀσκεῖται for ἀσκεῖσθαι).

R. G. BURY.

ADVERBIAL FORMS IN PLAUTUS.

I.—NOUNS AND ADVERBS.

(1) Accusatives:—

hoc commodum, Trin. 1136.

usque ad fatim, Poen. 534, and probably Men. 91; *adfatum* alone, 6(8?) instances.

nunc ipsum, B. 940.

(2) Ablatives singular:—

forte fortuna, B. 916, Mil. 287.

immerito meo, As. 608, Cas. 919; *immerito tuo*, Men. 371; *immerito*, alone, as adverb, S. 16, 28. Similarly, *merito*, clearly a noun, 10 instances; indeterminate, 23; *merito*

magis, Cas. 182; *meritissimo eius*, As. 737; *meritissimo*, adverb, E. 430.

a mani, Am. 253, Most. 767; *a mane*, Mil. 503, Most. 534; *mane septimi*, Men. 1157; *mane* alone as adverb, 10 instances.

hac noctu, Am. 272, 404, 731, Trin. 869; *noctu hac*, Am. 412, Mil. 381; *nec noctu nec diu*, Aul. frag. 4; *noctueque et diu*, Cas. 823; *neque . . . noctu neque dius*, Merc. 862; *noctu*, alone, 21 instances; *nox*, adverb, As. 597, clearly, and perhaps also (Fleckeisen in Jahrb. 1894, 850) R. 111, 417, Trin. 864, Truc. 546, though the MSS. give *nox* in all five places.

nudius, 10 instances (best written separate from the ordinal, as Most. 956 shows) viz:—*tertius* 5 times, all at end of verse or colon; *quartus*, Curc. 206, 438; *quintus*, Truc. 509; *sextus*, Cist. 230, Trin. 727. *neque noctu neque dius*, Merc. 862; *interdius*, once med. vs. (Capt. 730), once in cretic verse (Ps. 1298), and four times at end of colon or verse. If *interdius* be a genitive, compare *interuias*, which Nonius (496, 21) calls a genitive (Aul. 379; add Poen. 1162, where B and C give it as one word). *nec noctu nec diu*, Aul. frag. 4; *noctueque et diu*, Cas. 823, anapaestic. *diu*=a long time, 18 instances at end of colon or verse, 49 med. vs. (*iam diu* 17, *tam diu* 13, otherwise modified 16, alone 21).

magno opere, Truc. 937; *magnopere*, Pers. 241; *opere magno*, Cas. prol. 21; *opere tam magno*, Cas. 430; *maiore opere*, Cas. prol. 73, Most. 763; *máxumō* | *opere*, Cas. 992,
7 8
 Most. 420; *opere máxumō*, Mil. 75, Most.
5 6

752, Ps. 897, S. 248; *tanto opere*, B. 1171 (B only), Cas. 370, Most. 565, S. 608; *tantopere* [B. 1171, all but B], Cas. 531 (B), E 134; *opere tanto*, B. 178, Cist. 713, E. 721; *opere* otherwise, 6 instances.

in peregre, Frag. 40, Caecus (Charisius 212, 20); *peregre*=from, 27 instances, all -e; *peregre*=to, 7 instances, all -e (but Most. 957, -ei, A); *peregre*=in, Am. 352, Trin. 596; *peregri*=in, Am. prol. 5(B,D), Pers. 29, b, twice (-i Charisius 212, 21, but -e MSS. Plaut.).

tempore, As. 733, Men. 1020 (both elided); *tempore*, E. 406; *tempori*, Capt. 183 (elided); *temper*<e> *edepol*, Merc. 990; *temperi*, 15 instances (-ei Men. 467 [A] and Ps. 1182 [A], both at vs. end).

de uesperi suo, Mil. 995; *de illarum uesperi*, R. 181; *uesperi* alone, 4 times (in Poen. prol. 114 MSS. give -e, but Charisius -i).

(3) Ablatives plural:—

amborum ingratiis, Cas. 315; *tueis ingratiis*, Merc. 479; *ingratiis*, adverb, 10 instances; *gratiis* in Plautus is never modified by adjective or by genitive.

miris módīs, twice at beginning of vs., three times at vs. end; *míri[s]modīs*, $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$, Trin. 931, (corr. Guyet); *múltimodīs*, $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$, B. 385 (corr. Camerarius), Mil. 1190 (B only), Most. 785 (A only), Pers. 706 (A only); *omnibus modis*, Cas. 940, Ps. 1074, R. 290; *ómnib[us]modis*, $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$, S. 684 (corr. Scaliger); *modis* otherwise, 3 times med. vs. (Cas. 944, Merc. 919, Trin. 264, anapaestic) and 21 times at vs. or colon end.

II.—ADJECTIVAL FORMS.

(1) Interchange of -e and -ter:—

aequiter, Frag. Fab. Inc. 73(83), Priscian. *aeque*, 39 times.

amiciter, Pers. 255, end of colon.

amice, 7 times.

ampliter, B. 677, Cas. 501, Cist. 598, Merc. 99, Mil. 758, S. 692,—all at vs. end.

ample, not Plautine.

asperiter, Frag. Fab. Inc. 73(83), Priscian.

aspere, not Plautine.

auariter, Curc. 127, (anap., other form metrically possible), R. 1238 (vs. end).

auare, not Plautine, so we should hesitate to emend *auarā* to *auare* in Truc. 459.

benigniter, Cist. 448 (gloss).

benigne, 17 times; *magis benigne*, Poen. 752.

blanditer, As. 222 (vs. end), Ps. 1290 (cretic).

blande, 9 instances.

firmiter, Cas. 132 (vs. end), E. 83 (vs. end), Ps. 901 (med. vs.).

firme, Mil. 1015, Pers. 451, Trin. 335 (A?).

largiter, E. 485 (med. vs.); and, at vs. or colon end, Most. 438, R. 1188, 1315, Truc. 903.

large, Aul. 196.

maestiter, R. 265 (med. vs.).

maeste, not Plautine.

munditer, Poen. 235 (bacchiac).

munde, Poen. 1178.

prognariter, Pers. 588 (vs. end).

prognare, not Plautine.

properi<ter>, Am. 215 (med. vs.) by emendation.

propere, 27 times.

saeviter, Poen. 335 and Trin. 1060, vs. end; Ps. 1290, cretic.

saue, not Plautine.

Of these unusual forms in -ter, 18 are at vs. or colon end, or in bacchiac or cretic

verse; 5 are in the interior of the verse, and 3 are known to us only from glosses.

celere, Curc. 283 (elided).

celeriter, 10 times.

fidele, Capt. 439, according to Nonius.

fideliſſe, 4 instances, all at the end of vs. or colon.

hilarare, Merc. 99, Poen. 1367.

hilariter, not Plautine.

(2) Comparison:—

magis benigne, Poen. 752; *benignius*, Aul. 114, vs. end.

magis facete, Mil. 539.

magis facilius, Men. 978.

magis lubenter, Most. 157; *lubentius*, Capt. 119, E. 80, 380, Men. 979, R. 780,—all at end of colon or verse.

magis merito, Cas. 182.

magis saepe, Most. 197; *saepius*, Capt. 240, med. vs.; and, at vs. end, Am. 704, Capt. 975, Poen. 585, *saepiuscule*, Cas. 703.

magis uorsute, Ps. 1517.

magis (sc. *efflictim*), Merc. 445.

magis melius?, Merc. 898.

nitidiſſcule, Ps. 774.

plusculum, Am. 283, Pers. 21.

saepiuscule, Cas. 703.

impuniſſumē, Poen. 411.

meritiſſumo, E. 430; cf. As. 737, Capt. 936.

paeniſſumē, Aul. 466, 668, Most. 656.

(3) Centiens, deciens, etc., or centies, decies?

-iens attested by best MSS., 24 times (S. 501, -es A).

-ies attested by best MSS., 4 times: Am. 577, 725 (yet *-iens* in Am. 619), Aul. 70, Mil. 354 (*toties* here appears as *tolles* in BCD).

The reading of Men. 1161 is corrupt, but *quinguagesies* (Ba) looks as if it were meant for a numeral adverb. Of the similar adjectives we have *centesumam*, Capt. 421 (-s- B, D, E, -ss- J, O), Mil. 763 (-s- B, C, D) and *uicenisimus*, Capt. 980 (-us- B, E).

(4) *Eādem*, *cādem* *operā*, *unā* *operā*; *promiscam*.

eādem alone, with future indicative, 10 instances; with future perfect, 5; with imperative, 1 (Pers. 445).

eādem operā, with future indicative, 2 (B. 60, Capt. 450); with future perfect, 1 (Most. 1039); with present, 1 (As. 640).

Scansion of *eādem*: with synizesis, 18 times; without synizesis, 2 (B. 60, S. 438).

una opera, with potential subjunctive, 5 times; with *ut* and subjunctive, once (Men. 525); with future indicative, once (Ps. 223); with imperative, once (Cas. 309). Against these 8, we get *una opera sunt*, Capt. 563. Of all these instances, note Capt. 563, *una opera—qua*; Cas. 309–311, *una opera—qua opera*; Ps. 318–319, *qua opera—una opera*.

promiscam: As. 366, *operam sese prō-*
miscām darē (MSS. *promissam*); Ps. 1062,
prōmiscām siēt (B); R. 1182, *operam prō-*
miscām damūs (B).

(5) Miscellaneous:—

ex pēnitīs faūcībūs, As. 40; *penitissumō*, Cist. 63; *penitissumā*, Pers. 522, 541, vs. end; *penitissumae*, Frag. Dub. 16, Nonius.

penitus adverb is not Plautine (cf. Ps. 132).

saepissumā, adj., not advb., Pers. 633 (A).

III.—PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

<i>hīc</i> (or <i>heic</i>)	611	<i>istic</i>	64	<i>illic</i>	47
		<i>isti</i> , before vowels	15	<i>illi</i> , before vowels	22
		„ consonants	0	„ consonants	11
				doubtful which	1
<i>huc</i>	380	<i>istuc</i>	11	<i>illuc</i>	23
<i>hoc</i> (= <i>huc</i>)	12	<i>istoc</i>	10	<i>illoc</i>	1
<i>horsum</i>	2	<i>isto</i> , before vowels	4	<i>illo</i> , before vowels	14
		„ consonants	1	„ consonants	6
<i>hinc</i>	323	<i>istinc</i>	(17 ?) 18	<i>illinc</i>	15
		<i>istim</i> ?, before vowel	1	<i>illim</i> , before vowels	2
				„ consonants	2
				<i>olim</i> , before vowel	1
<i>hac</i>	84	<i>istac</i>	5	<i>illac</i>	9
				<i>illa</i> , before consonants	2

heic, Men. 375, Merc. 307, 468, 773, Poen. 713.

isti, shown by MSS., Cas. 546, E. 721, Mil. 255, Most. 764, 1143, Pers. 405, R. 1078, S. 628 (total 8).

isti[c], shown by metre, Curc. 434, Most. 741, 1064, R. 1082 bis, 1109, 1133 (total 7).

illi, shown by MSS., Am. prol. 133, Am. 744, 761, 780, Capt. 323, 334, 341, E. 217, Men. 996, Merc. 97, 584, Mil. 850, 1279, Most. 315, 327, Pers. 190, 191, Poen. 336, 337, 343, 1195, R. 541, S. 471, Trin. 530, Trin. 555 (total 25).

illi[c], shown by metre, Am. 249, 534, 594, Capt. 94, 278, Mil. 288, Pers. 746, Ps. 758, 1273 (total 9).

hoc (= *huc*), alone, attested by MSS., Capt. 480, Cas. 817, Merc. 321, 871, Poen. 1359, R. 1403, Truc. 531 (total 7).

hoc and *huc* attested, B. 1151, Pers. 605, Ps. 654, Truc. 282, 304 (total 5).

horsum, R. 172, and, by emendation, Mil. 304.

istoc, B. 220, 382, Most. 1098, Pers. 504, Ps. 265, Trin. 551, Truc. 613, 717, 740, 752 (total 10).

isto, shown by MSS., Mil. 455, Most. 837.

isto[c], shown by metre, Cas. 543, Poen. 615, R. 1401.

illoc, Truc. 647.

illo, shown by MSS., Am. 197, 203, 603, Capt. 359, 1002, Curc. 340, 646, E. 287 (290), Merc. 462, Mil. 1193, Most. 105, Pers. 575, Poen. 263, 1083, S. 185, 250, 265, Trin. 495 (total 18).

illo[c], shown by metre, Aul. 705, Merc. 567.

istim? Capt. 658.

illim, Men. 799, Merc. 511, Poen. 455, 987.

olim (= *illim*), B. 963.

hac, in the combination *sequere hac*, 42 times; with other forms of *sequor*, 5; *hac* otherwise used as adverb, 37.

istac, E. 660, Merc. 219, Pers. 444, Trin. 383, 598.

illac, As. 742, Cas. 968, Cist. 679, Merc. 1009, Mil. 308, Most. 931, Pers. 679, R. 213, Truc. 248 (total 9).

illa, Mil. 67, Most. 1045.

IV.—VERBS AND ADVERBS.

(1) The words *fortasse*, *ilicet*, *scilicet*, and *uidelicet*, though they show no aberration in form, appear occasionally with verbal function, governing the infinitive, or being

followed by an accusative of limit of motion. So are found :—

fortasse, As. 36, B.Frag. xxi. (Donatus), E. 296, Merc. 782, Poen. 1004, Truc. 680; *fortasse* otherwise used, 14 instances.

ilicet = *ire licet*, Capt. 90, 469; otherwise used, 7 times. **ilicēbit* was conjectured by Studemund in Ps. 1182, metri gratia, but seems unlikely—MSS. *ire licebit*.

scilicet = *scire licet*, As. 787, Curc. 263, Ps. 1179, R. 395; *scilicet* otherwise used, 10 (11?) instances.

uidelicet = *uidere licet*, As. 599, S. 555, 557; *uidelicet* otherwise used, Capt. 286, Mil. 1283, Most. 980.

(2) Compounds of *uorsus*.

(a) Interchange of *-us* and *-um*.

aduorsus, Men. 487, Most. 897, Trin. 724.

aduorsum, 24 instances, according to Lodge.

pro<uo>rsus, Ps. 955 (so Varro, and metre).

prorsus, As. 236, 748, Aul. 397.

prosus, As. 748 (?), E. 582, Most. 307, Trin. 730.

prorsum, Cist. 700, Curc. 681, Mil. 1193, Pers. 677, Frag. 39, Caecus.

prosum, Pers. 477, Poen. 1393, S. 720 (718), Trin. 1130.

rursus, Merc. 1001, Pers. 71, Poen. prol. 79, Ps. 871.

russus, Cist. 754 (B¹).

rusus, Cist. 754 (VE), Poen. 1000.

rusum, 23 instances.

russum, B. 146, Trin. 182.

rusum, Aul. 649, Cas. 557, Curc. 603, Men. 625, Merc. 68, 296, Mil. 525, 592, 702, 773, 1151, Pers. 810, Truc. 111 (total 13).

sorsus, R. 1314.

sorsum, As. 362, Capt. 710, E. 402.

(b) Syncopation of *-u*, or lack of it.

aliouorsum, Aul. 287.

a<l>iorsum, Truc. 403.

aliquouorsum, Cas. 297.

aliquosum, Mil. 221 (so Leo).

deorsum, *u* *u*, Aul. 367.

deorsum, *u* *u*, Am. 1108, Aul. 708, R. 179.

<h>or<sum>, Mil. 304.

horsum, R. 172.

pro<uo>rsus, Ps. 955 (so Varro, and metre).

prorsus (3), *prosus* (3 or 4?), *prorsum* (5), *prosum* (4), see above, under (a).

quorsum, Poen. 684, [Ps. 217?].

[*retro(u)rsum*, Cas. 443??]

rursus (4), *russus* (1?), *rusus* (2 or 1?), *rursum* (23), *russum* (2), *rusum* (13), see above, under (a).

sorsus (1), *sorsum* (3), see above, under (a).
sursum, Am. 1000, Aul. 366, Capt. 656, Mil. 1150; *susum*, Am. 1008, Cist. 622.

(c) *rs>ss>s*.

aliquosum, Mil. 221 (so Leo).

prorsus (3), *prosus* (3 or 4?), *prorsum* (5), *prosum* (4), see above, under (a).

rursus (4), *russus* (1?), *rusus* (2 or 1?), *rursum* (23), *russum* (2), *rusum* (13), see above, under (a).

sursum (4), *susum* (2), see above under (b).

Conversely, in Pers. 740, *persum* will make a pun (MSS. *pessum*), and can be paralleled by a gloss.

(d) Separable compounds.

ālio uōrsum, Aul. 287 (as two words BDJ).

āliquo uōrsum, Cas. 297 (as two words BEF).

āltro uōrsum, Cas. 555 (as two words BVE).

dēxtro uōrsum, Curc. 70 (as two words BEJ).

dēxtro uōrsum, R. 176 (as two words CDF).
dēxtrouōrsum, R. 368 (as one word in MSS.).

utrōque uōrsum Capt. 368, the only instance in these compounds showing *-ō-*.
utroque alone, S. 452.

Add the collocations *rursum uorsum*, Am. 1112, E. 248; and *sursum uorsum*, Capt. 656.

V.—PREPOSITIONAL COMPOUNDS.

āntidhāc, 9 instances—8 at verse end and probably so also in E. 539: Am. 711, Aul. 396, B. 539, Cas. prol. 88, Cist. prol. 198, E. 539, Poen. 752, Ps. 16, 620.

antehac, 20 instances. Always spondaic; written as two words in 18 instances (Truc. 83 and Frag. 19 not so). Am. 458, 566, As. 861, B. 1209, Capt. 244, Cist. 1, E. 12, 99, Mil. 841, 1366, Most. 32, 731, 933, Poen. 955, R. 967, 993, S. 759, Truc. 83 (corr. Bücheler), 165, Frag. 19, Bacaria.

inibī, Pers. 125.

intēreā, 8 times, *intēre(a)* 3 times; *intērea* 6, *intēre(a)*, 9; total 26.

interibī, 9 instances: As. 891, Capt. 951, 953, Mil. prol. 104, Pers. 165, Poen. 617, Ps. 573, b (A), R. 1224, S. 371.

pōsthac, 17; *posthac*, 7; accent doubtful, 1. *posthac* before consonants 18, before vowels 4, at vs. end 3. *posthac* as two words in MSS. 19; as one, 6.

postid, 12 instances (in 8 places written as two words): Aul. 749, Cas. prol. 33, Cas. 120, 130, Cist. 293, Poen. 144, R. 299, S. 86, Trin. 529, Truc. 421, 661, 762.

postideā, Aul. 118, Cist. 784, S. 97, 758,—written as two or as three words in MSS.

poste, As. 915, Cist. 525, Men. 839, Merc. 370, Most. 290, S. 380, 383, 568, 623, Truc. 910.

postea, at vs. end, 34 instances; *pōsteā*, med. vs., 4; *pōste(a)*, med. vs. 7; text corrupt in Most. 744; total 46. Of these 46 instances, 18 occur in questions.

pōstibī, Cist. 620, Mil. 1418, Poen. 108, 902, R. 600, 1263,—all 6 at verse or colon end (elision in Mil. 1418). This word is said to occur only in Plautus.

postillac, Capt. 118 (?), Men. 685, 1117 (?).

postilla, Capt. 118 (?), Cas. 119, Curc. 529, Men. 342, 1117 (?), Most. 141, Poen. 467 (-ā), 750, Ps. 298, S. 529, Truc. 485.

praeētereā, 2 instances; *praeētere(a)*, 2; *praeētereā* before consonants, 4, and in hiatus, 2 (Capt. 331 medial, Truc. 445).

praeterhac, Men. 112, 725, Most. 75, R. 1117, S. 345,—written as two words in MSS.

prōptereā, Mil. 1257; *prōptere(a)*, 2 instances; *proptērea*, 6; *proptēre(a)*, 8; *proptērea*, in hiatus, Mil. 1323 (medial), and Cas. prol. 59; add Men. 977, metre uncertain ('*propterea*' *delendum*, Leo),—total 20.

VI.—SYNCOPE, APOCOPE, SYNZESIS, HARDENING.

(a) Syncope:—

extēmpulō, at verse or colon end, 7 instances; so in MSS. 3 times (B. 968, Cist. 572, Poen. 183); *extemplo* in MSS. against metre, 4 times (Aul. 93, Cist. 96, Mil. 461, 890). *Extemplo*, med. vs., 66 instances.

manip[u]latim, Ps. 181.

prōsp[e]rē, or *prōspērē*, Ps. 574? (anapaestic verse, cf. Mil. 1024); *prōspērē*, cretic verse, Most. 734; *prōsp[e]re* or asyndeton, Am. 463? Adj. *prōspērāē*, E. 397, verb

prōspērō Cas. 1005, *prosperābo*, Pers. 263.

similiter, Men. 146, *adsimiliter*, B. 951; but *simulter*, Ps. 382, Nonius.

ualide, 10 instances: Am. 1062, 1130, Merc. 42, 50, Mil. 852, Most. 974, Pers. 427, Ps. 145, 364, R. 303; *ualde*, Cist. 298, Merc. prol. 103, Ps. 344, Frag. 99, Nerualia.

For syncope in compounds of *uorsus*, see above, under IV, 2, b.

(b) Apocope :—

With the exception of the statistics for *forte*, the figures in the following table are

BEFORE CONSONANTS OR VOWELS.		
<i>deinde</i>	8	7
<i>exinde</i>	2	1
<i>forte</i>	13	29
<i>inde</i> and compounds ...	15	39
<i>proinde</i>	1	30
<i>unde</i> and compounds		
except <i>undique</i>	15	93

dein, Am. 1008, B. 967.

exinde, Curc. 363, Ps. 680, Truc. 82.

evin, Most. 227; *exim*, E. 49, Poen. 754.

fort', As. 794, Curc. 271; in Mil. 720 either *forte* or *fort'* will scan. [With *forte* we may group *forte fortuna*, B. 916, Mil. 287; *fortasse*, before vowels 7, before consonants 13 times; *fortassis*, As. 493, B. 671; *fors fuat an*, Ps. 432 (A). *Forsitan* is not Plautine, as is shown by the metre in Ps. 432.]

proinde before a consonant, Am. 973, emended by Skutsch.

Similarly, apocope is found with the words *nempe* and *quippe*; and probably in a few other words, in scattered instances.

(c) Synizesis :—

antehac, always spondaic; 20 instances, see above, under V.

dehinc, monosyllabic, 8 instances.

dein, monosyllabic, Am. 1008, B. 967.

deinde, dissyllabic, 15.

deorsum, see above, under IV, 2, b.

eādem, see above, under II, 4.

praet, monosyllabic, 6.

proin, monosyllabic, 18 (19 ?—Cist. 488 in doubt).

proinde, dissyllabic, 31.

(d) Hardening :—

diūtius, cretic, Trin. 865; in R. 93 we get $\textcircled{\text{diūtius}}$, the only instance anywhere of such scansion of the word. In R. 1241 we find a similar adverb *diūtine*, $\textcircled{\text{diūtine}}$, and in Mil. 503 the adjective *diūtivām*, $\textcircled{\text{diūtivām}}$.

nunc iam, spondaic, is required in Aul. 451, Capt. 266, E. 135, instead of *nunciam*; in Poen. 374, either form is metrically possible. Per contra, Leo has suggested that *quid iam* should perhaps be scanned as a tribrach, *quidīām*; there are at least 18 instances of *quid iam*.

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based on the collections given by Skutsch in his *Forschungen*, I, pp. 64 ff.

BEFORE CONSONANTS ONLY.

<i>dein</i>	2
<i>evin</i> (or <i>exim</i>)	3
<i>fort'</i> (or <i>fors</i> ?)	(3?) 2
<i>ind'</i> and compounds	12
<i>proin</i>	18
<i>und'</i>	10

VII.—QUANTITY.

contrā, Am. 217; elsewhere *cōtra* or *contr(a)*. In Ps. 156 $\textcircled{\text{cōtrā}}$ $\textcircled{\text{m(e)}}$ $\textcircled{\text{ēt}}$, *contra*

is a preposition, as also in Pers. 13, bis.

fortuito, Aul. 163.

frustra: *ne frustra sis*, Capt. 854, Men. 692, Pers. 140, R. 969; *ne tu frustra sis*, Merc. 528, R. 1255; *frustra sit*, Truc. 754,—all 7 at the end of vs. or colon. *Frustra* with the quantity of *-a* indeterminate, 15 instances.

hōdie, Ps. 1071, very doubtful.

ibidem, 20 instances; *ibīlem*, B. 756, Cist. 529, Pers. 614, Ps. 923, R. 847, S. 756; *ibīdem*, Ps. 1271 (bacchiac), R. 396 (iamb. septen.).

innō, with *-ō*, at least 13 times.

ita, with long *-a* possible but not probable in Am. 635, 1077, 1081, Aul. 69, Capt. 372, Cas. 343, Curc. 667, Mil. 1356, Poen. 566, Truc. 276.

longiūs, Men. 527; similarly *meliūs*, R. 1332, MSS.; *ociūs*, Curc. 312 (at change of speaker, however); *priūs*, Most. 326 (cretic vs. syllaba anceps ?); but $\textcircled{\text{sātiūs}}$ $\textcircled{\text{ést}}$, Poen. 1337, Ps. 449.

māxumē, Mil. 1024 (anap.).

prosperē? Ps. 574, see above, under VI a.

proterue, Am. 837; probably to be explained by the reading of D, *propterue*; cf. B. 612, *propteruo*, abl. masc. (BCD), Truc. 256 *propterue* (A). In R. 414, *proterue*, quantity indeterminate.

sonnūculose, Am. 622, Capt. 227; cf. *metūculosus*, Am. 293, *-sa*, Most. 1101.

statim, Am. 239, 276 (E. 567 ?), but the quantity is not indicated; Nonius says that in the sense of standing one's ground *statim* has long *-a*.

tēr, B. 1127, cf. *terrunci*, Capt. 477; quantity indeterminate in Pers. 153, Ps. 705, 705 a.

ne utiquam as tribrach, i.e. as two words,

Capt. 586, Mil. 631, Poen. 199; in Merc. 599 we may read either *ne utiquam huius* or *neutiquam huius*. Of the similar words *neuter* and cases and *neutrubi*, we get in all 10 instances; in all 14 places *ne u-* is permissible (6 times without elision, 7 with), and in the above three places *ne utiquam* is required.

VIII.—PARALLEL FORMS.

demus, Truc. 245 (BCD; *demum* A); *demum* before vowels, 17 instances (*demus* will prevent hiatus in Trin. 781); *demum* before consonants, 16.

heri, 33 instances; *here*, Mil. 59 (◡ ◡), Pers. 108 (vs. end), R. 940, gloss (◡ ◡). Quantity of *heri* or *here*: ◡ —, 6; ◡ ◡, 7; ◡ ◡, 23.

insanum magnum, B. 761; *i. bene*, Mil. 24, Most. 761; *i. bonam*, Most. 908; *i. malum*, Trin. 673; *insanum ualde*, Frag. 99, Neruolaria, Nonius; *insane*, Curc. 176.

mage, before *a*, As. 66, Men. 386, Truc. 177, 682, 887, 918; before *e*, Poen. 461, Trin. 1153; before *i*, As. 394, Poen. 276.

postriduo, Mil. 1082; *postridie*, Am. 256, B. 300, Merc. 104, Pers. 106, S. 122.

præf[ci]scini, As. 491; *præf[ci]scinē*, R. 461.

protinus, Capt. 510, Mil. 1193, Ps. 587; *protinam*, B. 374, Cas. 959, Curc. 363 (*protenam*, Nonius), Pers. 680, Frag. 15, Astraba, Nonius.

sat, before *est*, 23; before other forms of *esse*, 6; before *habeo* and its forms, 8; before *scio*, 7; before other letters (*a, b, e, h, l, m, s, t*), 19 times,—total 63.

sedulum, Frag. 41, Caecus, Charisius, *sedulo*, at vs. or colon end, 24; med. vs. 8.

semul, at vs. end, 10 times; med. vs., twice (Aul. 625, Merc. 788).

simitu, before main caesura, 7 instances; med. vs. 1 (Merc. 118); in bacchiac verse 2 (Most. 792, Trin. 223); text corrupt, and in A only, S. 590. *simitu* with *cum* and an ablative, 5 instances; *simitu* alone, 6.

IX.—MISCELLANEOUS.

aliquonde, Ps. 317 (A); *alicunde* alone is elsewhere attested, 7 instances (Cist. 135, *aliquonde* F).

altrinscūs, at vs. end, Merc. 977, Mil. 446, Ps. 862; *altrim scūs*, Ps. 357;

altrinsecūs[es]²₃*t*, or *altrim*⁴₃ *secus*² *est*³?, R. 1158.

cumprimis, Truc. 660.

disperii ‡ *Bis peristi*, Most. 376 (cf. *totus—patus*, S. 749); other puns involving adverbs, Pers. 103, Truc. 422.

enumquam, Cist. 86, Men. 143, 925, R. 987, 1117, Trin. 590.

Negatives: *hau*, before *m*, 18; *s*, 13; *p*, 12; before 9 other consonants, 28,—total 71.

nec=non: *neglegere*, Poen. 823 (B); elsewhere *negl-* in noun and verb, 7 instances.

nec quoquam, Most. 562.

nec recte, As. 155, 471, B. 119, 735, Most. 240, Poen. 516, Ps. 1085.

nec ullum, Trin. 282; probably to be restored in Capt. 104, Truc. 461.

nec umquam, Truc. 231; *neque umquam*, Poen. 231, Trin. 533 (probably no conjunctive force), Truc. 240?

neque=non, Am. 279.

nequedum, Curc. 57, Mil. 641, Ps. 624; *nec dum*, Ps. 730; *nil dum*, Ps. 957, 1028.

ne=non: *nefacere*, Truc. 877 (re- BCD, ne- F); *nefaceres*, Ps. 437 (D).

nepareunt, Most. 124 (B²D).

ne utiquam, *neuter*, *neutrubi*, see above under VII.

neuis, at vs. end, 6; med. vs., Merc. 150, Poen. 1079, Trin. 328.

neuolt, at vs. or colon end, 4; med. vs. Trin. 364.

noenum, Aul. 64, B. 34.

otiosse, Trin. 1077, but *otiose* Truc. 168; *obnoxiosse*, E. 695, vocative? Hybrid *sucophantiose*, Ps. 1211.

pauwillatim, E. 248, R. 929; *pauwillum*, Curc. 176, Truc. 686; *paussillisper*, Truc. 913 (-s- BCD); *paussilulum*, B. 833 (-s- B¹), R. 729 (-s- D). Similar interchange of *s* and *x* in the adjectives *pauwillus* (6) and *pauwillulus* (7); total on the stem, 20.

preimum, E. 600.

publicitus, Am. 161 (B); *publicitus*, Am. 1027, B. 313, Pers. 509; *publice*, Mil. 102, Trin. 548; corrupted to *pullice*, S. 491 (B), Trin. 1046 (B).

quamueis, Merc. 687.

quasi=quam si: Am. 1078, *nec secus est quasi si*; Aul. 231, *tū me bōs magis hād respiciās gnātus quasi numquām siēm*; Curc. 51, *tam a mē pudicāst quasi sorōr mea sīt*; Men. 1101, *tām quasi me ēmeris argēto liber sēruibō tibi*; Merc. 1023, *plus pēdet clām <qua>si praēbuerit palām*; Mil. 482, *neque . . . plus cūrat quasi non sēruilūte<m> sēruidāt*; Ps. 641, *māgis erit solūtum quā[m]si ipsi dēderis*; Trin. 265, *b, peiūs perit quā[m]si saxō salidāt*; Truc. 341, *nemo magis respiciet . . . quā[m]si <ab>hīnc ducēntos ānnos fūerim mōrtuōs*.

quein, Merc. 773, 775.

quor, 10, *qu* 21,—on authority of A or B, *qu* especially in Poen. (5) and Ps. (5); *quur*, Curc. 542 (BE), Poen. 1225 (B).

recens captum, Capt. 718; *recens natum*, Cist. 136; *recens* as adjective, As. 178, Ps. 1126.

seic, E. 521, Merc. 268, 785, 786.

si[^{simile}rem[i]pse, Am. prol. 73; cf. *reapse*, Camerarius in Truc. 815, and *rempsam*, Truc. 864 (B).

sublimen, Men. 992 (BF), 995 (BCF), 1002 (BCD¹F), 1052 (BF); *sublimem*, As. 868, Mil. 1394. It would seem that *-en* is the correct form, and that the word is an adverb rather than an adjective.

tam=*tamen*, in the phrase *tam gratiast*, Men. 387, Ps. 713, S. 472; cf. S. 41, Mil. 1209, 1210.

tamine, Mil. 628 (CD; *tam me* B); cf. Festus, 359, M.

Tmesis, in various parts of speech: *disque tulissent*, Trin. 833; [*malene id factum* Capt. 709]; *maleque dictis*, B. 982; *per pol saepe*, Cas. 370; *qua istaec propter*, Am. 815, cf.

Ter. Heeyr. 364; *quoi pol quomque*, Pers. 210; *super illi fuerit*, Curc. 85; *ubi fit quomque*, B. 252.

satis faciat, Am. 889; *satis facit*, As. 437; *fecisse satis*, As. 437; *facturum satis*, As. 497.

tuatim, Am. 554.

ubiquomque, Ps. 580, *ubicumque*, As. 110, Cas. 226; cf. B. 282.

uno<se>, Most. 607, as if from *unosus*, not from *uniuorsus*.

utquomq<ue>, Poen. 754; *utcumque*, E. 49.

utrobique, Mil. 466.

utrubi, S. 696, 750 bis.

uolup est, 10 instances; *uolup est*, Am. 958, 994, Poen. 1326; *uolup*, 3(As. 942, *fecit uolup*; Cas. 784, *facite*. . *uolup*; Men. 677, *sit uolup*); metre doubtful in Most.

153, *uicitabam uolup*. Total 17.

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REMARKS ON THE CIRIS.

For the first 453 verses of the *Ciris* we depend entirely upon four MSS of the 15th century: H, cod. Helmstadiensis 332, now at Wolfenbuettel; A, Arundelianus 133 in the British Museum; R, Rehdigeranus s. I 6 17; and L, Vaticanus 3255, written by the hand of Pomponius Laetus. Only from u. 454 to 541 do we possess an earlier authority. This is B, Bruxellensis miscellaneus 10675, of the 12th century; and it is not only the oldest MS but also, a very different thing, the best. The following are its chief services to the text: 458 *fecisse* for *legisse*, 469 *heu* for *secum heu*, 481 *uexarier undis* for *uexauit et aegros*, 511 *flauo* for *sahu*, 513 *illi* (Heinsius) for *illis*, 530 *damnata* for *iam nata* or *iam nacta*, 533 *ut in* for *utinam*. But its superiority to the MSS of three centuries later is not so great as the sanguine might hope and the inexperienced expect: it shares with them, for instance, the corruption *uidemus* for *nitentum*¹ in 524 and the interpolation of *que* in 506; and it is sometimes even inferior to one or two of them, as 525 *resperserat aras* rightly R, *resperserat auras* AL, *respexerat auras* HB. Of the other MSS, H is con-

siderably the best, A and R are nearly equal to one another and closely allied, L is much the worst. But still it is indispensable. Grossly interpolated though it is,—45 *primos* for *iuuenes*, 57 *contenta* for *infecata*, 270 *tribuunt nullo quod* for *tribuere nec ullo*, and so on,—it nevertheless sometimes agrees with H or with B in genuine readings where the other MSS are corrupt or interpolated,—98 *age* HL, *agite* AR, 384 *Cretes* (first corrupted to *cres*) *crescat* HL, *crescant* AR because of *moenia*, 528 *haliaetos ales*] *halietos ales* B, *aliethos ales* L, *helice sales* AR, *helicone sales* H, 530 *uero* BL, *ero* HAR,—and it sometimes even is the sole preserver of the truth: 31 *cocco* L, *corco* corr. in *coco* H, *socco* AR, 111 *populator* L, *populato* H, *populata* AR, 162 *in tenera* L, *interea* HAR, 323 *es conata*] *est cantata* L, *es cantanda* HA, *esca tentanda* R, 427 *facturum* L, *factorum* H, *fatorum* AR.

1—9.

etsi me uario iactatum laudis amore
irritaque expertum fallacis praemia uulgi
Cecropius suauis expirans hortulus auras
florentis uiridi sophiae complectitur
umbra,

¹ Or *rubentis*? Iuu. xiii 37 'araeque rubenti'.

mensque, ut quiret eo dignum sibi quaerere
carmen, 5
longe aliud studium atque alios accincta
labores,
altius ad magni suspexit sidera mundi
et placitum paucis ausa est ascendere
collem,
non tamen absistam coeptum detexere
munus.

5 *mensque ut quiret* scripsi (*mensque* iam Heyne, *ut mens quiret* iam Buecheler apud Skutschium 'aus Vergils Frühzeit' p. 84), *tum mea queret* H, *simillima* ARL.

7 *suspexit* Schrader, *suspendit* HAR, *suspensi* L, *subtendit* Scaliger. Cic. Tusc. i 82 'video te alte spectare et uelle in caelum migrare' (Sillig), ciris 217 sq. 'alte | suspexit ad celsi nictantia sidera mundi.'¹

'Although I have now devoted myself to philosophy and am planning a philosophical poem, I will yet complete this piece of verse which I have begun.' It is clear that uu. 1-8 are the protasis, and the apodosis begins with 'non tamen' in u. 9: most of the conjectures at u. 5 disregard this plain fact or else cripple the sentence with parentheses, and Mr Ellis' '*dum mea auens ratio*' (*dum* Hertz, *ratio* Haupt), which does not, is out of court for another reason (*etsi complotitur, dum ausa est, non absistam*).

mensqueutquiret = *meus querit quiret*, and < *tum* > *mea queret* made metre of it. For the past tense 'quiret' in dependence on the true perfects 'suspexit' and 'ausa est' compare 303 sqq. 'alii fugisse ferunt et numen Aphaeae | uirginis adsignant, alii, quo notior *esses*, | Dictynnam *diuere* tuo de nomine lunam.' 'quaerere' stands for 'acquirere,' 'comparare.'

Verse 6, if it is sound, must mean 'cincta ad aliud studium atque ad alios labores' with the accusatives governed by the preposition in 'accincta': see Verg. Aen. xi 486 'cingitur . . . in proelia Turnus.' And this is how Seruius interprets 'accingier' in Aen. iv 493 'magicas inuitam accingier artes.' Those words are now generally and I think rightly explained otherwise, on the analogy of Aen. ii 509 sqq. 'senior . . . inutile ferrum | cingitur'; but our 'accincta labores', interpreted in this way, will make no sense: nemo labore laboremue accingitur, ut eo tamquam instrumento utatur; accingimur labori, ad laborem, in laborem. The MS variants are *atque alios* HAR, *aliosque* L. I have said above that L is an independent witness: at 210, where the author

wrote *arrectis*, L gives *arreptis* and the other MSS *erectis*, each preserving half the truth; and here the common source of the two readings, I suspect, was *que alios*, that is

longe aliud studium < in > que alios
accincta labores,

in having fallen out after -m. I do not write *adque*, both because it is very rare and because 'ad' follows in u. 7. 'in' is ἀπὸ κοινῶς, Ouid. trist. i 8 39 sq. 'scopulis . . . *inque* feris . . . iugis', Hor. carm. iii 25 2 'quae nemora aut quos agor *in* specus?' Catull. 33 5 'exilium malasque *in* oras.'

If anyone would know the meaning of the word ἀκρίστια, let him see what Mr Vollmer has done to this passage in Rhein. Mus. vol. 55 pp. 523 sq.

cum mens quaerit (eo dignum sibi quaerere carmen
longe aliud studium!) atque alios accincta
labores
altius ad magni suspendit sidera mundi.

This he interprets 'mens quaerit alios labores, non carmen lusura, atque hos labores accincta suspendit ad magni sidera mundi'; and he says that 'labores suspendit ad sidera' means 'naturam siderum et deorum comprehendere conatur'; and with this he compares Horace's 'suspendit picta uultum mentemque tabella.' It is wholesome, though dismal, that such things should appear in print; and that they now appear in print so often is all the better for the rising generation. Take a simple youth with a spice of wit about him, show him a MS text containing the verse

longe aliud studium atque alios accincta
labores,

then show him a conjectural emendation which makes this into

longe aliud studium!) atque alios accincta
labores,

and it will give him a fright: teneros animos aliena obprobria saepe absterrent uitiis.

66—68.

ipse Crataein ait matrem; sed siue
Crataeis

siue illam monstro genuit graeua
biformi,
siue est neutra parens . . .

'monstrum genuit graue Echiidna biformis'

¹ *alte* Hertzberg, *alti* HAR, *altum* L; *celsi* Scaliger, *celi* uel *caeli* codd.

Haupt; and *Echidna* is evidently right, for Hyginus twice over has 'ex Typhone et Echidna Scylla.' But to alter the dative *monstro* . . . *biformi* is not only externally but internally improbable, since the words are a perfect description of Typhon, *μεμυγμένην ἔχοντα φύσιν ἀνδρὸς καὶ θηρίου* Apollod. bibl. i 6 3. Now *echidna* = *edndna* = *edna* = *dena*; and since HAR have *grauena* and L *grandeua* altered to *gradeua*, the archetype should seem to have had *gradena*: so it remains to account for *gra*. To write 'genuit *nigra* *Echidna*' is forbidden by the metrical practice of this poet, so I conjecture

siue illam monstro generauit Echidna
biformi

and suppose that *gra* is the *era* of *genuit*.

139—162.

Iunonis magnae (cuius periuria diuae
olim se meminere diu periura puellae 140
non nulli liceat) uiolauerat inscia sedem,
dum sacris operata deae lasciuit et extra
procedit longe matrum comitumque
cateruan,
suspensam gaudens in corpore ludere
uestem
et tumidos agitante sinus aquilone 145
relaxans.
necdum etiam castos gustauerat ignis
honores,
necdum sollemni lympha perfusa sacer-
dos
pallentis foliis caput exornarat oliuae,
cum lapsa e manibus fugit pila, quoque
ea lapsa est
procurrit uirgo. quod uti ne prodita ludo 150
aureolam gracili soluisset corpore pal-
lam!
omnia, quae retinere gradum cursusque
morari
possent, o tecum uellem tunc, semper,
haberes!
non unquam uiolata manu sacraria
diuae
iurando, infelix, nequiquam iura piasses. 155
et si quis nocuisse tibi periuria credat
causa pia est: timuit fratri te ostendere
Iuno.
at leuis ille deus, cui semper ad uliscen-
dum
quaeritur ex omni uerborum iniuria
dictu,
aurea fulgenti depromens tela pharetra 160
heu nimium teret nimium Tirynthia
uisu
uirginis in tenera defixerat omnia mente.

149 *quoque* Unger, *cumque* libri. *ea lapsa est* Maehly, *relapsa est* iam Heinsius, *relapsae* A, *relapse* HR, *relaxe* corr. in *relasse* L: at culex 343 most MSS have *argo repetens* for *argoa petens*, and at ciris 470 HR have *aspicit* for *respicit*. Both the introduction of *quo* and the removal of *re* seem necessary to the sense.

151 *aureolam* scripsi, *aurea iam* libri, *auratam* Jacobs. This author is fond of diminutives: 3 *hortulus*, 138 *paruulus*, 182 *tabidulam*, 251 *frigidulam*, 257 and 277 *nutricula*, 348 *frigidulos*, 440 *lectulus*, 479 *paruula*, 496 *labella*; and *aureolus* comes twice over in his favourite model Catullus.

153 *tunc* nescio quis, *tua* libri. *tua* is worse than superfluous, and *tunc* is necessary if *semper* is to be defended. In 'uellem tunc haberes atque adeo semper' the exaggeration is naturally and offensively introduced: 'uellem semper haberes' standing alone is almost ludicrously inconsequent.

159 *dictu* H, *dicto* ARL: the former is rightly defended by Mr Leo 'de ciri carmine coniectanea' Goett. 1902 p. 12. 'uerborum dictu' is every whit as good Latin as 'obiectu laterum.'

These details being disposed of, what is this all about? The commentators and critics complain that the passage is obscure, and they propose interpretations which to me are not merely obscure but unintelligible, and which I cannot even reconcile with the Latin of their several texts.

It is evident that Scylla committed two offences: 'uiolatio sedis Iunonis' (141, 154) and 'periurium' (156). The former is a simple matter enough, though some have contrived to misunderstand it; but what was the 'periurium'? and what was its connexion with the 'uiolatio'? The answer seems to me quite certain, though the poet's allusive style of narration prevents it from being quite obvious. The story is this.

Scylla, playing about while a sacrifice to Juno was preparing, dropped a ball, and away it rolled. Woman, when seized by the wish to move rapidly from one place to another, usually enjoys the advantage of a pause for reflexion while she picks up her skirts. But Scylla, as ill luck would have it, had picked up her skirts already (144) and unfastened her *palla* (151), so there was nothing to check her youthful impulse. She darted after the ball, which had rolled into the sanctuary, and in picking it up she touched with her hand (154 *manu*) some sacred thing. It all happened in a

moment, and the bystanders could not be sure whether Scylla had touched and profaned the *sacraria* or no. Scylla thereupon, to escape a scolding or some other punishment, took oath and swore that she had not; and the affair passed off.

But neither this sense nor any sense at all is conveyed in the sentence (154 sq.) 'non umquam iure (so Heinsius and most editors instead of the unintelligible *iura*¹ of the MSS) iurando nequiquam piasses sacraria manu uiolata.' The condensed expression, 'non umquam piasses sacraria uiolata' for 'non umquam uiolasses sacraria eamque uiolationem piasses,' is quite right and good; but the meaning? Who has ever heard of such a proceeding as '*piare* sacrarii uiolationem iure iurando?' Perjury is a pretty sort of *piatio*; and this is an original young woman, who expects to atone for a trespass by committing a crime. It would be absurd enough to swear a false oath in hopes of *deceiving* the goddess; but to swear it in hopes of *propitiating* her...! No: we commit perjury to cheat man, not to please God; and *piasses* is corrupt.

Now in 154, where HRL have *umquam*, A has *numquam*. In the same verse all editors take the *manu* of L instead of the *manus* of HAR, and similarly I take this *numquam* and write

non, numquam uiolata manu sacraria diuæ iurando, infelix, nequiquam peiurasses.

pei-iura-ses = *iura piasses*: compare for instance Germ. phaen. 143 *prior-a te-net* corrupted to *ate prior nec*. The spelling *peiurum* is preserved in the Ambrosian palimpsest at Plaut. Pseud. 974 and seems to be indicated here. 'non, iurando te numquam uiolasse sacraria, peiurasses, quod nequiquam fecisti.' This author deals much in *σπορδαίγοντες*, and at 474 he has appropriated the heaviest verse he could find in Virgil, *Nereidum matris et Neptuno Aegæo*. Here, in telling how 'lapsa e manibus fugit pila,' he naturally bethought himself of what his other pattern Catullus had written in 65 19 sqq. 'ut missum sponsi furtiuo munere malum | procurrit casto uirginis e gremio, | quod miseræ oblitæ molli sub ueste locatum, | dum aduentu matris prosilit, excutitur; | atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu, | huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor'; and it occurred to him that

¹ Sillig's *urendo...iura* for *iurando...iura* cannot be right, but the conjecture shows that he had spent more thought upon the verses than those who rebuke him for making it.

while he was about it he might as well take one step more and emulate the majesty of 116 3 *qui te lenirem nobis neu conarere*.

Next we come to the no less debated verses 156 sq.; and here I set aside for the moment the epithet *pia*, at which the editors are sore perplexed, and I consider only the main words of the sentence: 'si quis nocuisse tibi periuria credat, causa est.' Who says such things as this? That 'periuria nocent periuris' is believed by all god-fearing folk as a matter of course, and that Scylla after forswearing herself came to a bad end was notorious; how then can he write 'si quis credat, causa est,' as if most people did not believe it, and as if anyone were seeking a cause for it? Then come the further questions: how can such a cause be *pia*? and what is the relevancy or even the meaning of 'timuit fratri te ostendere Iuno?'

The sense required is just the reverse, 'si quis *non* nocuisse credat':

et si quis nocuisse tibi periuria credat
< illa nihil numenque Iouis latuisse
supremi,>
causa pia est: timuit fratri te ostendere
Iuno.

That is 'si quis credat non periuria sed solam sacrarii uiolationem tibi nocuisse, causa est, cur ita fuerit, et ea pietatis plena.' Should anyone choose to believe that Scylla's misfortunes were not caused by her perjury, and that her perjury went unpunished, there is a reason to account for it; and that reason is *pia*. Juno feared to bring Scylla's perjury before Ζεύς' Ὀρκίος, to whom vengeance on perjury belongs, because the beauty of the culprit and the notorious gallantry of the judge would be sure to brew mischief. And here the poet is struck by the happy thought that Juno was not only the wife but the sister of Jove; and he gives the matter an ironical turn by putting *fratri* in lieu of *uiro* and feigning that Juno's motive was *pietas* in regard of her brother and not *zelotypia* in regard of her husband: her unwillingness to let Jove set eyes on Scylla proceeded, says he, from *sisterly* reasons, 'causa pia.' Accordingly the perjury was never punished by Jove; only the spiteful and meddlesome Cupid thrust himself into the vacant judgment-seat.

That a verse has been lost in like manner between 117 and 118 is made very probable by Mr Leo l.c. pp. 9 sq. I first tried to obtain the required negation in 156 by dividing the letters anew,

etsi quis nocuisse tibi periuria credat?

and this has been proposed by Mr Buecheler in *Rhein. Mus.* vol. 57 p. 322. But 'quis credat?' (i.e. nemo credat) goes much too far, for the belief that Scylla's misfortunes arose from her perjury was natural and probably general; nor will u. 157 follow aptly upon this. Mr Buecheler seemingly takes 'causa' to be 'causa quae tibi nocuit'; but what was the 'pia causa' which in his opinion 'nocuit Scyllae,' and what he means when he renders the passage by 're uera tamen non ob periurium Iuuo te puniuit sed ut zelotypa,' I cannot imagine. immo ut zelotypa de periurio te deferre timuit.

In u. 161 the MSS vary thus: *teret* H, *terret* AR, *tereti* L; *thirintia* H, *tyrynthia* L, *tirita* A, *tiricia* R; *uisu* HAR, *iussu* L. *Tyrynthia*, which is clearly the tradition, seems to be undefended; though we live in an age when we may expect to hear that *Tyrynthia* means 'uenenata', because Hercules dipped his arrows in the hydra's poison. Moreover if we keep *Tyrynthia*, or indeed any other adjective agreeing with *tela*, we must alter *uisu*; not indeed to Scaliger's (*celeri*) *nisu*, which is an inappropriate word, but rather to the *missu* of a friend of Schrader's. They conjecture *torrentia*, *ferientia*, *penetrantia* and so on; but I doubt if *Tyrynthia* really belongs to this verse at all: I suspect that it was a correction intended for u. 139 (twenty-two lines away, and therefore very likely level with u. 161 on the opposite page) and transferred hither by mistake. In the senseless verses 139 sqq.,

Iunonis magnae (cuius periuria diuæ
olim se meminere diu periura puellae
non nulli liceat) uiolauerat inscia sedem,

the mention of *periuria* is unseasonable, since the matter now in hand is the 'uiolatio sedis'. *piuria* might have been written for *tintia* by a scribe whose eye had fallen on *periura* immediately below (so 534 *munere* B for *sidere* from *munere* in 533); and *Tyrynthia* is an adjective closely connected with what I suspect to be the theme of this hitherto unexplained parenthesis.

In reading of insult offered by a girl to Juno's temple, and of Juno's vengeance on the insult, who does not remember an event which happened at Tiryns? Bacchylides xi 43 sqq. relates what befel the daughters of that city's founder, and why: τὰς ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἐφόβησεν | παγκρατὴς Ἥρα μελάρων | Προίτου, παραπλήγι φρένας | καρτερὰ ζεύξασ' ἀνάγκη | παρθενία γὰρ ἔτι | ψυχὰ κίον ἐς τέμενος | πορ-

φυροζώνοιο θεᾶς | φάσκον δὲ πολὺ σφέτερον | πλοῦτῳ προφέρειν πατέρα ξανθᾶς παρέδρον | σεμνοῦ Διὸς εὐρυβίᾳ. | ταῖσιν δὲ χολωσαμένα | στήθεσσι παλίντροπον ἔμβαλεν νόημα | φεύγον δ' ὄρος ἐς τανίφυλλον, | σμερδαλέαν φωνὴν ἰεῖσαι, | Τυρύνθιον ἄστρῳ λιποῦσαι | καὶ θεοδμάτους ἀγνιάς: so for thirteen whole months, 92 sq., κατὰ δάσκιον ἀλύκταζον ἔλαν. Apollodorus bibl. ii 2 2 says on the authority of Acusilaus that ἐμάνησαν . . . διότι τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον ἐξηυτέλισαν γενόμεναι δὲ ἐμμανεῖς ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν ἅπασαν. No better parallel to the case of Scylla could anywhere be found; and the writer of the ciris, who appropriates whole verses from Virgil's sixth bucolic, would find the story there, 48 'Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros'. Now in u. 141, instead of *non nulli*, L has *nulli*, which being unmetrical may be more genuine; and the parenthesis perhaps originally contained something like this,

cuius Tyrynthia diuæ
emissae (?) metuere (?) diu per rura
puellae
numen (?) Lynceae.

perrura and *liceae* (Pers. i 101 *licet* AB for *lynceum*) I think probable, the rest is tentative, though *num* and *nulli* are like enough: *metuere*, which I adopt because Baehrens and Haupt proposed it before me, I think false, and should prefer 'ob laesum latuere' or something of the sort. The Proetides were Lynceus' great-granddaughters: his great-great-grandson Perseus is called *Lyncides* by Ovid met. iv 767.

If we now return to u. 161 and enquire what word *Tyrynthia* has there supplanted, evidently the invasion of 161 by a marginal correction designed for 139 will be best explained by supposing that both verses contained the word *periuria*. And *periuria* in 161 will not only make sense but will enable us to retain *uisu*. For the *teret* or *terret* of the MSS Schrader's friend proposed *certo* (= *terte*): this will give

heu nimium certo, nimium, periuria uisu
uirginis in tenera defixerat omnia mente.

The repeated 'nimium' belongs to 'certo': Verg. Aen. xi 841 'heu nimium, uirgo, nimium crudele luisti | supplicium'. For 'uisu defixerat' see Stat. Ach. i 364 sqq. 'nec turba piarum | Scyriadum cessat nimio defigere uisu | uirginis ora nouae', ii 90 sqq. 'erectumque genas oculisque uagantem | nullaque uirginei seruantem signa pudoris | defigit comitique obliquo lumine monstrat', silu. v 1 140 'domum, toruo quam non haec (Inuidia) lumine figat'. Scylla's

perjury, though it escaped the vengeance of Jove, had been espied by Cupid. Thus the pluperfect tense of *defixerat* becomes strictly accurate: *omnia*, in my opinion, would be better away and should perhaps be *impia*, but 'periuria . . . omnia' is at any rate less strange than 'tela . . . omnia', which led Heinsius to propose *defixit acumina*. The elliptical method of narration, 'depromens tela pharetra' in 160 and then 'simul ac uenis hausit sitientibus ignem' in 163, with the actual shooting of the arrow supplied by the reader's imagination, is the same which he has already employed in relating Scylla's offence.

225—228.

non tibi nequiquam uiridis per uiscera
pallor
aegrotas tenui suffundit sanguine uenas,
nec leuis hoc faceret, neque enim pote, cura
subegit,
aut fallor; quod ut o potius, Rhamnusia,
fallar.

The construction in 227 is 'subegit hoc faceret', that is 'subegit pallorem ut hoc faceret', which may be defended by Ouid. met. iii 377 'nec sinit incipiat'. Mr Leo's suggestion (l.c. p. 15) of a lacuna such as 'nec leuis hoc faceret, neque enim pote, <causa: medullis | fixa imis mentem miseræ tibi> cura subegit' may well be right, but I do not think it is necessary.

In 228 *quod ut o . . . fallar* is Schrader's emendation of *quo duta . . . fullor*: the letters *o* and *a* changed places, so let no one fancy that Baehrens' *quod ut a* is an easier alteration. But what possesses Haupt and Ribbeck and Baehrens to write '*haud fallor*' with *L* instead of keeping *aut* with *HAR*? It is as incoherent as the usual reading of Prop. iii 13 59–61 'utinam patriæ sim uanus (*uerus* rightly MSS, to be joined closely with *patriæ*) haruspex . . . certa loquor'. If a man says 'certa loquor' he cannot say 'utinam *sim* uanus', though he may say *essem*; and if a woman says 'haud fallor' she cannot say 'quod ut o potius *fallar*' though she may say *fallerer*. The MS reading *aut fallor*, as well as the correction *quod ut o . . . fallar*, is rendered certain by the parallel of Verg. Aen. x 630 sqq. 'nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, *aut ego ueri | uana feror*; quod ut o potius *formidine falsa | ludar*'.

257.

illa autem 'quid me', inquit 'nutricula, torques?'

Heinsius' insertion of *io* after *quid* is an easy correction of the metre, but the interpolation is not appropriate. Mr Leo p. 15 says 'quid poeta dederit uersu sequenti docent uerba *quid tantum properas*, scilicet *quid <sic> me*'; but the two verbs *properas* and *torques* have no community or similarity of meaning, and there is no reason why they should be paired with similar adverbs. The sense lacks nothing: I suggest that *me* is a marginal explanation which has ousted a metrical word.

illa autem 'quid *alumnæ*', inquit 'nutricula, torques?'

For the elision compare 28 'felices qui talem annum uidere diemque' and 350 'et gelida uenientem ignem quatiebat ab Oeta'.

283—292.

uix hæc ediderat, cum clade exterrita
tristi

intonsos multo deturpat puluere crines
et grauiter questu Carme complorat
anili. 285

'o mihi nunc iterum crudelis reddite
Minos,

o iterum nostræ Minos inimice senectæ,
semperne aut olim natae te propter
eundem

aut amor insanæ luctum portabit
alumnae?

tene ego tam longe capta atque auecta
nequiu, 290

tam graue seruitium, tam duros passa
labores,

effugere? obsistam exitium crudele
meorum.

284 '*intonsos crines*', of Scylla's aged nurse! To call the poor thing *imberbis* would be far less ridiculous, for beards are much commoner among old ladies than cropped hair. Wakefield restored *insontes*, of which Ribbeck and Baehrens make no mention. See Prop. ii 4 3 'immitos corumpas dentibus unguis', Hor. carm. i 17 28 'scindat . . . immitum uestem', serm. ii 3 7 'immitus laborat . . . paries'.

288 sq. *semperne . . . portabit* Bothe incerta coniectura, *semper . . . portauit libri*.

292 ought to have been corrected long ago. Write

effugere, o bis iam exitium crudele meorum?

Minos was the destruction first of Britomartis and now of Scylla.

391—399.

complures illam nymphae mirantur in
undis,
miratur pater Oceanus et candida
Tethys
et cupidas secum rapiens Galatea sor-
ores;
illam etiam iunctis magnum quae pisci-
bus aequor 394
et glauco bipedum curru metitur equo-
rum
Leucothea paruosque dea cum matre
Palaemon,
illi etiam alternas sortiti uiuere luces, 397
cara Iouis suboles, magnum Iouis
incrementum,
Tyndaridae niueos mirantur uirginis
artus.

When editors print *illam* for *illi* in 397 and call it the conjecture of Heinsius, suam stultitiam Heinsio mendaciter adscribunt; Heinsius never imagined '*illam mirantur uirginis artus*' to be Latin, and he inserted an *et* before *niueos* in 399. Certainly there is no defending the text as given above; for *illam etiam* in 394 referring to Seylla, followed by *illi etiam* in 397 referring to the Tyndaridae, the one as object and the other as subject of the same verb *mirantur* in 399, is either incredible slovenliness or incredible perversity. But no conjecture of ours is wanted: all is set right by L's *illa* for *illam* in 394.

411—413.

illa ego sum Nisi pollentis filia quondam,
certatim ex omni petiit quam Graecia regno,
qua curuus terras amplectitur Hellespontus.

413 *qua* L, *quam* HAR. *terras* L, *terris* R, *e* *terris* HA. *amplectitur* HAR, *complexitur* L.

Mr Leo pp. 17 sq. writes as follows: 'uersu 413 quid faciam nescio. nempe coniectando ineptias efficere quales sunt "Graecia me petiit qua Hellespontus terras amplectitur (*qua curuus terras*)" uel "Graecia quam Hellespontus amplectitur me petiit (*quam curuus terris*)" ineptum est.' This is a misapprehension which recurs in his commentary on culex 337 sq. 'reddidit heu Graius poenas tibi, Troia, ruenti, | *Hellespontiacis* obiturus reddidit undis,' where he says that 'Hellespontiacas undas cum Euboicis commiscet.' But Hellespontus in both places, as Heyne says at the one and Sillig at the other, means the Aegaeon, as *pontus Helles* does in frag. trag. incert.

Ribb.³ 55 (Sen. ep. 80 7), cited and explained by Mr Nairn C.R. xiii p. 436, 'en impero Argis, regna mihi liquit Pelops, | *qua ponto* ab *Helles* atque ab Ionio mari | urgetur Isthmus,' and in 92 (Cic. or. 163) '*qua pontus Helles* superat Tmolium ad Tauricos | finis, frugifera et efferta arua Asiae tenet' (that is, where the Aegean reaches past Lydia and right down to Lycia). Therefore 'Graecia, qua terras,' etc. means 'Greece, from end to end of its eastern shores.' The *qua* of the two fragments supports the *qua* . . . *terras* of L against the *quam* . . . *terris* of R. I explain the variants thus: the archetype had $\bar{\epsilon}$ *qua curuus terras amplectitur Hellespontus*, in one apograph the desired alteration *complexitur* was duly made, in another $\bar{\epsilon}$ was mistaken for *e* and was then provided with a place and a construction.

In 436, 'non metus *incendens* potuit retinere deorum,' Mr Leo p. 18 has the excellent correction *inpendens*.

438—442.

non mihi iam pingui sudabunt tempora
myrrha,
pronuba nec castos accendet pinus
honores,
nec Libys Assyrio sternetur lectulus
ostro.

magna queror: me ne illa quidem com-
munis alumnam 441
omnibus iniecta tellus tumulabit harena.

441. Write '*parua queror*.' This is the phrase used in such a case, where the speaker passes from a lighter to a weightier matter. Ouid. met. ii. 214 'pabula canescunt, cum frondibus uritur arbor | materiamque suo praebet seges arida damno. | *parua queror*: magnae pereunt cum moenibus urbes,' art. ii 631 'nocturnis titulos inponimus actis, | atque emitur magno nil nisi posse loqui | . . . *parua queror*: fingunt quidam, quae uera negarent, | et nulli non se concubuisse ferunt.' So also *parua loquor* Luc. ix 783, Stat. silu. iv 2 52, v 1 127, 3 159, Claud. rapt. Pros. ii 294.

Thus does an author suffer when a stupid scribe thinks himself clever. Tibull i 7 39 sq.

Bacchus et agricolae magno confecta labore
pectora *tristitiae* dissoluenda dedit.

So the MSS. 'Muretus, Passeratius, Guieus, Heinsius, omnes malebant *laetitiae*'. But Heinsius and Muretus and the rest of them are dead and gone, and Tibullus is datus *tristitiae* dissoluendus.

I doubt however if this is what has happened at Eur. Here. 1351, where the MSS make Hercules say ἐγκατερέψω θάνατον and the sense requires a noun of opposite meaning. Here βίοντον was proposed by Wecklein in 1877, by Arthur Palmer in 1887, and by Wilamowitz in 1889, and after having been totally ignored on the first and the second occasion was lauded all over Europe on the third; but I suspect that the truth is Heimsoeth's πόντον. The word πόντος can signify πόντος βίον, and does so in Soph. Ant. 83 τὸν σὸν ἐξόρθον πόντον, where accordingly the Laurentian MS has πόντον γρ. βίον. But it oftener signifies πόντος θάνατον and is usually so explained in the lexicons, Hesych. (Phot., Suid.) πόντον μόνον, θάνατον, Zonar. πόντος ὁ θάνατος, etym. magn. πόντος μόνος, θάνατος; and here I think θάνατον is rather a mistaken gloss on πόντον than a deliberate alteration of βίοντον, because that type of error is much commoner than this.

443-446.

men inter matres ancillarique maritas
men alias inter famularum munere fungi,
coniugis atque tuæ, quaecumque erit illa,
beatae

non licuit gravidos penso deuoluere fusos?

443 *ancillarique* HR, *ancillarumque* A. *maritas* R, *marinas* HA. *comites ancillarumque cateruas* L interpolate.

Ribbeck and Baehrens read *ancillarisque* with Sillig, but that is superficial: it in no way redeems the absurdity of dividing these slaves into (1) *matres* and (2) *maritas*, nor the folly of adding *alias*. Here is what the author wrote:

men inter matres ancillarique mitratas
men alias inter famularum munere
fungi. . . .

that is 'men ancillari munere inter matres mitratasque alias famularum fungi non licuit?' *ancillari* (adj.) *munere* is ἀπὸ κοινῶν like *amor* in 288 sq. above. Scylla says that she might have been set to spin among the aged slaves, the slaves who cannot hope to be concubines. The *mitra* is the customary headgear of old women: Ouid. fast. iv 517 sq. 'simularat anum, mitraque capillos | presserat', met. xiv 654-6 'picta redimitus tempora mitra . . . adsimulauit anum'.

530-537.

huic uero miserae, quoniam damnata
deorum 530
iudicio natiue et coniugis ante fuisset,

infesti apposuit odium crudele parentis.
namque ut in aetherio signorum munere
praestans,
unum quem duplici stellarum sidere
uidi,

Scorpius alternis clarum fugat Oriona, 535
sic inter sese tristis haliaetos iras
et ciris memori seruant ad saecula fato.

531. Scylla had no son; so Scaliger suggests that *nati* may be Jove's son Cupid, and *coniugis* Jove's wife Juno. But then *parentis* will be Jove's father Saturn, and what will *deorum* be? The only two gods who appear to have condemned Scylla are Juno and Cupid; and if Juno is signified by *coniugis* and Cupid by *nati* there is nothing left for *deorum* to signify. So this is a blind alley, and we must retrace our steps and start anew: *parentis* is Scylla's father Nisus, therefore *coniugis* is Minos, Scylla's betrothed, and *nati* is corrupt. If it stands for a substantive, nothing but Sillig's *patriae* (though the *patria* had expressed no *iudicium*) is possible, and this is too violent a change; probably therefore it was an epithet of *coniugis*. The easiest alteration is *irati*, but this adjective is beside the mark; so I prefer

quoniam damnata deorum
iudicio pactique ea coniugis ante
fuisset.

pacti is the conjecture of Mr Ellis. See 530 *damnata* B, *iam nata* HL, *iam nacta* AR, 537 *fato* BL, *facto* AR, *facta* H, 427 *facturam* L, *factorum* H, *fatorum* AR.

533. Scaliger says on 534 'non nihil et in hoc et praecedente uersiculo deprauatum est quod ego sanare non potui.' 'praestans in munere' is not Latin for 'praestans munere,' and 'aetherium signorum munus' is no name for anything. What the verse must mean there is no doubt: the Scorpion is the largest constellation in the zodiac, Ouid. met. ii 197 'porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum.' The sense of 'the largest' is given by 'praestans': 'in the zodiac' is

in aetherio signorum limite.

l'inite mistaken for *muñe* See Luc. vii 363 'signiferi comprehensum limite caeli,' Ouid. met. ii 130 'sectus in obliquum est lato curuamine limes,' Auién. Arat. 714 sq. 'limite . . . Hyperionio,' Luc. ix 532 and Manil. iii 167 'orbis signorum,' Manil. iii 334 'balteus signorum,' ii 273, iii 225, 318 'circulus signorum.'

534. *uidi*! as if this worthy versewriter

kept the starry heavens in a cupboard at home and observed the zodiac through the keyhole. Aratus himself never assumes such airs. And what is *duplex stellarum sidus*¹? and what is *uidere aliquem duplici sidere*? The Juntine removes these two last offences by the conjecture '*duplici stellatum sidere*': the first is not even noticed, except that Scaliger, as I have said, declared the verse corrupt and not yet healed. Write

unum quem duplici stellarunt sidere
diui,

'whom alone the gods have set in heaven with a double constellation.' This verb, *καταστέλλω*, occurs nowhere else in any good author, only the participle *stellatus*, as

¹ Sillig joins *unum stellarum*, but the Scorpion is not a *stella*, he is a *sidus* or *signum* containing 19 *stellae*.

at Cic. Tusc. v 8 '*stellatus Cepheus cum uxore*'; but just so, though *auratus* is common, the verb *auro* occurs only in Manil. iv 515 '*cum uitreum findens aurauit uellere pontum*.'

I have disregarded the *munere* which B offers instead of *sidere*, because it is evidently a mere repetition from u. 533. The same mistake is found in the best MSS of Germ. phaen. 91 sq.

seu Bacchi ob *munera* caesus

Icarus ereptam pensauit *sidere* uitam,

sidere Z, *munera* and *munere* O. But lest anyone should still try to make something of '*duplici stellarum munere*,' let me further remark that the words are false: the Scorpion has fewer stars than several other signs of the zodiac.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON ALBINOVANUS PEDO Vv. 1-7 APUD SEN. *SUAS.* I 15.

Iam pridem post terga diem solemque re-
lictum,
iam pridem notis extorres finibus orbis,
per non concessas audaces ire tenebras
ad rerum metas extremaque litora mundi;
nunc illum pigris immania monstra sub
undis
qui ferat Oceum, qui saevas undique pis-
tris
aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere pren-
sis.

The fact that no principal verb stands in these lines, which open the selection from Albinovanus Pedo in Seneca *Suas.* I 15, has given rise to several conjectures. As they stand the verbs *relictum* and *consurgere* are infinitives, but yet not historical infinitives, for the subjects *diem solemque* and *Oceanum* are accusatives.

The change of *relictum* to *relinquit*, which was proposed by M. Haupt and was accepted by Kiessling, while bringing the first four lines into a form readily comprehensible, leaves *Oceanum . . . consurgere* unrelieved. Such an alteration also violates the principle that scribes in making changes tend to displace that which is hard to understand with that which is more readily understood.

The change of *iam pridem*, v. 2, to *iamque vident*, proposed by Gertz and adopted by

Müller, has more to commend it. A scribe might readily have copied the *iam pridem* of the first line for the metrically equivalent *iamque vident* of the second. With this reading the sentence structure becomes clear: *vident* governs an indirect discourse consisting of two parts, *diem solemque relictum*, and *Oceanum . . . consurgere*, separated by the parenthetical adjectival phrases *notis . . . orbis* and *per . . . mundi*. On the other hand the temporal adverbs now give great trouble. If a comma is placed after *vident* and nothing after *relictum*, as in the edition of Müller, we have *iam pridem . . . iamque*, in which the *-que* can connect only the *iam pridem* and the *iam*; and the sense must be, 'They have long been seeing and are now seeing,' etc.; and v. 5 *nunc* (sc. *vident*) 'now they see the Ocean,' etc. But such a combination as *iam pridem . . . iamque* is remarkable, to say the least, and the thought thus expressed is too clumsy to be regarded as that intended to be conveyed by the poet.

If we place a comma after *vident*, as before, and insert one also after *relictum*, the postposition of *vident* becomes very awkward, and the *iam* of *iamque vident* would be repeated, not merely strengthened, by *nunc*, v. 5; for the combination *iam nunc* does not admit separation, at least ordinarily, and such a case as he present

one would be out of the question. If a comma is placed after *relictum*, and none after *vident*, then we are compelled, after admitting the remarkable postposition of *vident*, to find an indirect discourse in vv. 2-4. The only infinitive is *ire*, the subject of which would manifestly be the same as the subject of *vident*. Such a construction as this, *vident ire*, with *se* as omitted subject of *ire*, is unusual, and the sense would hardly be appropriate.

There is a slight possibility that *consurgere* is an exclamatory infinitive: if so, vv. 5-7 are complete in themselves. Then we are under the necessity of bringing vv. 1-4 into an acceptable shape. But neither *relinquent* v. 1 nor *iamque vident* v. 2 is free from objection, as we have seen. Moreover, an exclamatory infinitive expresses indignation (Schmalz, *Lat. Syntax*³ § 161), or 'scorn, indignation, or regret,' (Bennett, *Lat. Gram.* § 334), or 'surprise, incredulity, disapproval, or lamentation' (Lane, *Lat. Gram.* § 2216), and no one of these feelings is appropriate to the sentence under consideration.

To my mind we must, in attempting to restore this passage, proceed on the following suppositions: (1) A verb such as *vident* is needed to give the sense of vv. 5-7, and will be appropriate to v. 1. (2) The *iam pridem* of the second line goes with *extorres*—'exiles this long while from the known bounds of the world.' (3) *Audaces ire*, an adjective with complementary infinitive, is the nucleus around which vv. 3 *sq.* are grouped. (4) The need felt for some such verb as *vident* shows that *extorres* and *audaces* are nominatives qualifying the subject of that verb.

For these reasons any alterations in vv. 2-4 are of exceedingly questionable character. Any insertion of *vident* in vv. 5-7 leaves v. 1 unexplained, and there is hardly any place for it there at any rate. A change therefore if made must be in the first line. Here *iamque vident* may be read for *iam pridem* quite as well as in the second line. The *-que* of *iamque* would then connect with something preceding, not included in the extract; this is no violent supposition, for the passage is manifestly not the opening of the poem.

With this reading, and only with this reading, do the temporal adverbs become clear in meaning. *Iam* v. 1 and *nunc* v. 5 correspond to each other, going respectively with *vident* . . . *relictum* and (*vident*) . . . *consurgere*, and denoting a present state. *Iam pridem* v. 2 shows that the *extorres* has already been applicable to the bold adven-

turers for some time; the *audaces*, unqualified by any temporal expression, denotes their permanent frame of mind.

What now is the evidence of the manuscripts? All agree upon *iam pridem* v. 1 and upon *relictum*, but in the second line there is no such consensus of opinion. A reads *iam quidam*, metrically correct but making no sense. B and V read *iam quidem*, correct neither in metre nor in sense. D (S of Kiessling) and τ (the corrector of T, = Ta of Kiessling) read *iam pridem* according to the latest collation, that of Müller (though Kiessling on the authority of his own collation pronounces them to read *iam quidem*). We must remember that A, B and V are derived from a common source (C), and that D and τ seem to represent another tradition. The variations in the reading may have arisen in this way: *iam pridem* was quite early copied into the first line from the second. Then in an attempt to dissimilate the identical expressions with which the two lines began, *iam pridem* v. 2 became changed in C to *iam quidem*, which remained in B and V, but was farther altered to *iam quidam* in A. In D and τ however the original *iam pridem* v. 2 persisted.

I would therefore read the passage as follows:

*Iamque vident post terga diem solemque
relictum,
iam pridem notis extorres finibus orbis,
per non concessas audaces ire tenebras
ad rerum metas extremaque litora mundi;
nunc illum pigris immania monstra sub
undis
qui ferat Oceanum, qui saevas undique
pistris
aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere
prensis.*

'And now they see the daylight and the sun left far behind them, they who have this long while been exiles from the known bounds of the earth, in their boldness to go through the darkness through which passage has never yet been granted, to the limits of all that is and to the farthest shores of the world; now they see that Ocean, which bears beneath its lazily moving swells immense monsters, fierce sharks and sea-hounds in all directions, heave to and fro holding the ships firmly in its grasp.'

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QUANDŌ-QUIDEM OR QUANDŎ-QUIDEM?

Our various lexica and other works of reference, as even a cursory glance will suffice to reveal, show a great difference of statement in regard to the quantity of the *o* in *quando-quidem*. I here present the results of an examination into the usage of the authors in this respect.

Beginning with Plautus, we find that there according to Scherer (*Studemund, Studien* ii, p. 137 ff.) the state of things is as follows: 'quandōquidem . . . pronuntiatur ita, ut *o* producatur duobus locis *Stich.* 559 et 485, ceteris omnibus *o* corripitur et aut quāndōquidem aut quandōquidem pronuntiatur.' He then cites the attempts which Spengel and Ritschl made to avoid this double mode of pronunciation,—the former scholar by reading *-quidem* as a monosyllable, *qu'dem*, and the latter, by substituting *quando equidem* for *quando-quidem*. And finally he gives his own explanation of the varying quantity: that originally the pronunciation was *quandō quidem*, and gradually by the juxtaposition of the two words, it came to be *quāndōquidem* and *quandōquidem*.¹ Now the ten places in Plautus where *quando-quidem* occurs, (omitting *Pers.* 641, where the text is doubtful, and *quando-quidem* not read at all by Goetz and Schoell or by Leo) are these² :—

Men. 1024 :

Liberem ego te? | Vērum : | quāndōquī-
d(em)ērc, tē servavī. Quid est?

Merc. 171 :

Quāndōquīdēm mihi | sūpplicandum sēr-
volo videō meo.

or : Quāndō_i quīdēm mihi | . . . etc., as we may also scan it.³

¹ Cf. Skutsch, *Latin. Gram.* i. p. 9, n. 2.

² Text of Goetz and Schoell.

³ It may perhaps be objected that in this case and two others, by reading *quandō quidem* we bring the ictus on an unusual place,—the first syllable of *quidem*. Luchs, indeed, (*Comm. pros. Plaut.*, Erlangen, 1883-4), has found that after the *pronouns* this accentuation occurs only in anapests and in the first foot of iambic verses. But it cannot be said that this principle applies to the case in hand; and, moreover, *quidem* does occur: e.g. *Mil.* 259, Et⁴ quīdēm ego ībō; 1282, Ornā^{ut} quīdēm; *Merc.* 1000, Et⁵ quīdēm ego; *Asin.* 645, Ego vē²ro et quīd(em). And it may be read, e.g., *Epid.* 638; *Mil.* 353; *Poen.* 513; *Pseud.* 1136; *Trin.* 611, 851; *Stich.* 260.

Merc. 180 :

Élo_{quar} quan|dōquīdēm me oras. | túos
pater—Quid méus pater?

or : Élo_{quar} quan|dō quīdēm . . . etc.

Merc. 618 :

Pérge, excrucia, cárnufex, quan|dōquī-
d(em) ōc cepis|tí semel.

or : . . . quan|dōquī-
d(em) ōc cepis|tí . . .

Merc. 933 :

Ín Cyprum rec|tá, quāndōquīdēm |
pátēr mīh(i) exilī|úm parat?

or : . . . rec|tá quan|dō quīdēm |⁴

Stich. 483 :

Quandō_i quīdēm | tu ad mé non vis
promittere.

Stich. 559 :

Hérce qui aequom póstulabat|ille senex
quan|dō quīdēm.⁵

Trin. 352 :

Quāndōquīdēm nēc | tibi bene esse póte
pati neque álteri.

or : Quāndō_i quīdēm nēc | . . .

Trin. 991 :

Át etiam maledícis? Immo | sálvos,
quāndōquīd(em) ādvēnis.

or : . . . sálvos
quāndō | quīd(em) ādvēnis.

Truc. 559 :

Quāndōquīd(em) īpsūs| perdítum s<e>
it, secreto hérce equidem illum adiú-
tabo,

or : Quāndō_i quīd(em) īpsūs |⁶

In all these lines except *Stich.* 483 and 559, Scherer (*ib.* p. 138) would scan ō.⁷

⁴ Since this scansion places a dactyl before the diaeresis it is perhaps less probable.

⁵ Whatever be true of other cases, especially those (in later writers) where the *o* is indubitably short—whether one should then regard the *quando-quidem* as a real compound, or merely a word group with a single accent,—in these two places in the *Stichus*, where the *o* is certainly long, the two words should be written separately.

⁶ Cf. *Bacch.* 1160 for *īpsūs*; Klotz, *Metrik*, p. 218. (Klotz's emendation does not affect *quando*.)

⁷ In the two cases mentioned Scherer believes that

Lindsay, too, (L. L. p. 608 fin.) speaks of *Trin.* 991 as an example of 'the scansion *quandōquidem* found as early as Plaut.,' though 'some would scan *quandōc'dem.*' But in these places (with the exception of *Men.* 1024, where *o* seems indubitably short), we may, as is indicated above, apply the law of iambic shortening to the *quidem* or the word which follows it, and thus, assuming that the two words *quando* and *quidem* have not yet become one,¹ we may read in each case *quandō*.² Of course, to assume this point begs the question, but so, also, does the opposite assumption, and we must therefore state the facts in regard to Plautus thus: *quandō quidem* occurs twice;³ *quandōquidem* once, and *quandō-quidem* seven times.

In Terence the situation is similar: Scherer,⁴ it is true, remarks: 'Terenti aetate cum illa compositio perfecta et absoluta esset, in Terenti versibus constanter et *quandōquidem* et *quandōquidem* pronuntiat.' But by the same rule, we may read Terence thus (Dziatzko's text):

Ad. 640 :

quandōquidem hoc nūmquam mi ipse
voluit dicere.

or: quandō quidem hoc nūmquam

Ad. 956 :

Quid istic? dabitur | quandōquidem hic
volt. | Gaudeo— | ∟ ∪ —

or: | quandō quidem
hic volt |⁵

And. 487 :

Deos quaeso ut sit superstes, quandō-
quidem ipsest in genio bono.

or: quan|dō-
quidem ipsest in genio . . .

the force of the ictus kept the *ō* long, and he cites the early date of the *Stichus* (200 B.C.) as substantiation for this, although in his opinion, of course, even with the ictus, the *ō* did not continue to hold its quantity down to the time of Plautus's death.

¹ This is in accord with the rule ordinarily laid down: e.g. Klotz, p. 41, fin.

² To present fairly both sides of the case, it should perhaps be noted that even on the assumption that *quando* and *quidem* are separate words, it is still possible to read *quandō* in all the doubtful lines. The same statement applies to all the cases in Terence.

³ Müller's conjecture for *Rud.* 1182 (see *Plant. Pros.* p. 587) also has to be scanned *quandō-quidem* to avoid hiatus.

⁴ P. 139; cf. Fairclough, *Andr.* Introd. § 53 fin.

⁵ For *quidem* cf. *Ad.* 293: Pól is¹² quidem iam hic | 469 |³ nam hoc quidem |; *Andr.* 803 |³ Nos quidem |; *Heut.* 707 |⁵ tu quidem illum,

And. 608 :

Mi obtigisse | quandōquidē tam in|ērs
tam nulli cōnsili sum.

or: | quandō quidē tam in|ērs

Eun. 374 :

Quandōquidem illā|rum néque te quis-
quam nóvit neque scit quí sies.

or: Quandō quidem illā rum . . .

Hec. 492 :

Quandōquidem illam á|me dístrahit | ne-
cēssitas

or: Quandō quidem illam á|

Heaut. 1064 :

Ímmo| quandōquidē du|cendast | égo-
met habeo própeinodum,

or: Ímmo| quandō quidē du|cendast |

Phor. 405 :

Quandōquidem so|lus régnas et solí
licet,

or: Quandō quidē so|lus . . . etc.

That is, in every case of *quando-quidem* in Terence there is room for doubt upon the quantity of the *o*.⁶

From Turpilius we have (128)⁷

Quandōquidem vo|ti cōndemnata est.

or: Quandō quidē vo|ti

Trag. Frag. Inc. 113 (Ribb.):

Quandōquidem ís se|círcumuestit dí-
tis saepit sédulo,

or: Quandō quidem ís se |

Lucilius 26, 66 (M.):

Quandōquidem re|pérti⁸ magnis cónbi-
bonum ex cópiis,

or: Quandō quidē re|pérti

Phaedrus 3, 10, 52:

Quandōquidem et il|li péccant quos
minimé putes,

or possibly,

Quandō quidem et il|i⁹

⁶ Except in the cases of Plautus and Terence and two or three other authors, I have thought it scarcely advisable to try to make my collections of instances exhaustive by reading the authors through, but I have simply used the best indices obtainable.

⁷ In Turpilius 158, Scherer (p. 143) suggests *quandēquidem* for *quando, équidem*. Equally well *quandō quidem*.

⁸ Or, *Quandōquidem res|périit* (L.).

⁹ Phaedrus's metrical usage supports the former (v. Hayley, *Lanc's Gram.* 2595),

Thus far, then, we have 19 cases where $\bar{o}$ may be read, two with $\bar{o}$, and one with $\bar{ö}$. The uncertainty of quantity is, at least, striking.—Lucretius, whose evidence upon this point has been scarcely ever alluded to, uses *quandoquidem* 23 times, always with $\bar{o}$: 1, 296, 587; 2, 969, 980, 1087, 1141; 3, 457, 471, 557, 831; 4, 100, 166, 346, 393, 1225; 5, 145, 582, 586, 1133; 6, 47, 492, 958, 1035.¹ Catullus has *quandoquidem* twice: 33, 6; 101, 5. Virgil always has $\bar{o}$: four times, Ecl. 3, 55; Aen. 7, 547; 10, 105; 11, 587; and so the *Ciris*, 323. Ovid has *quandoquidem* in Met. 5, 93; 9, 115; 12, 485; and Manilius in 1, 599, and Germanicus in Progn. Frag. iv, 137. The $\bar{o}$ short is likewise found in Juvenal, (three times: 1, 112; 10, 146; 13, 129), in Prudentius, (three times: Peristeph. 6, 5; Apoth. 69; 181) and in all probability in an inscription (Bücheler, Anth. Lat. 1764).²

Beginning, then, with the age of Lucretius, but omitting Phaedrus, we have in poetry at least 42 instances of the use of *quandoquidem*, always with $\bar{o}$. It may be noted that many of these occurrences are not absolute proof in themselves of short $\bar{o}$, for although, in all probability, no one would be disposed to advocate it, yet the word *could* often be read *quandoquidem* (---) The requirement, however, of a dactyl in Lucr. 1, 587 (fifth foot) and Catull. 33, 6 (second foot of Phalaecean verse), decides the point beyond question.

Now *quando* alone,³ in all places where the quantity can be told, seems always to have $\bar{o}$ long until Germanicus.⁴ This is, of course, as one would expect, in view of the fact that the wholesale shortening of final $\bar{o}$ did not begin until the Silver Age. The long $\bar{o}$ occurs in Liv. Andron. ap. Gell. 3, 16, 11 (if the Saturnian be read quantitatively); in Plautus 20 times, (with 89 cases where it is elided, and 41 where it is indeterminate, partly from its position in the verse, and partly from the corruption of the text); in Ennius, twice (and once doubtful); in Terence, twice (and 15 times elided, 6 times doubtful);⁵ in Lucretius,

once (with 8 cases of elision, and two of *syllaba anceps*); in Virgil, once (and 9 times elided, 3 times in *syllaba anceps*); in Horace, 4 times (5 elided, and 3 in *syllaba anceps*); in Propertius, 3 times; in Manilius, 5 times (apparently; each time with *-que* attached) and 3 times elided; in Phaedrus, Lucan, and Silius Italicus, once each (and in each once elided); in Valerius Flaccus, 3 times (and 3 times elided). But in Germanicus (Arati Phaen. 14) it is short; in Statius, short 3 times, long once (and elided 5 times, and in *syllaba anceps* once); in Martial, short 14 times (elided 3 times, in *syllaba anceps* once); in Juvenal, short 8 times, (elided 9 times, *syllaba anceps* 3). Terentianus Maurus has many times $\bar{o}$ short, once at least $\bar{o}$ long. Naevius, Pacuvius, Caecilius, Titinius, Turpilius, Lucilius, Novius, Pomponius, Publilius Syrus, Ovid, Persius, and 'Florus' (P.L. M. IV, 415, 1) use the word, and it occurs once in the *Catonis Disticha*, but, in the examples I have found, without indication in regard to the quantity of the $\bar{o}$.

In *si-quando*, where the *quando* is used as an enclitic,⁶ and in the less frequent *ne quando*, the $\bar{o}$ retains its length quite as late as in *quando* alone. My statistics are these:⁷ Terence, elided four times (and similarly *ne quando* elided once); Lucilius, Catullus, and Tibullus, long once each, (and elided in 'Tibullus's' Panegyric once); Virgil, long 10 times (and once long in the *Moretum*) and elided 5 times; Propertius, long 4 times; Ovid, long three times (with *ne quando*, long once); Phaedrus, once elided; Calpurnius, long 4 times; Valerius Flaccus, long once; but in Statius, once long, three times short (and three times elided); in Martial, once long, twice short, and twice doubtful; and in Juvenal four times short; in Terentianus Maurus, once at least long, as well as several times short. Harpers' Dictionary and Lewis mark $\bar{o}$ long in this case, Georges gives '*si quando*' merely.

Ecquando occurs once each in Propertius and in the *Priapea*, both times with $\bar{o}$ long. Lewis here marks $\bar{o}$ long; Harpers' and Georges' Dictionaries do not mark the $\bar{o}$. The marking $\bar{o}$ would doubtless be correct though I have found no case of $\bar{o}$ short.

Aliquando fares much the same way as inasmuch as a sure case of *quando* does not occur. Kühner's statement (*Gr.* i. § 15, 8):—'*bei Dichtern der nachaugusteischen Zeit...quando, aliquando* (vorher überall mit $\bar{o}$)'—though incomplete, is preferable.

⁶ Cf. Wackernagel, *Ind. Forsch.* 1, 414.

⁷ In Plaut. *Stich.* 201, A gives *si quando*, but this is not read in the editions.

¹ From Reichenhart, *Die Conjunctionen bei Lucr.*, p. 11.

² '*quandoquidem citius || fletu do* [I.]' Cf. Bücheler's note.

³ *Si-quando* (with *ne quando*) and *ecquando* I treat separately below.

⁴ On Plaut. *Stich.* 723, see Scherer, *ib.* p. 114. The lists which follow make no pretence of including all the occurrences of *quando* and its compounds in Latin poetry.

⁵ Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, p. 52, says: '...bei Plautus und Terenz einzelne Endsilben ancipites sind, wie *quando*...', a statement that is misleading,

si-quando: the *o* is long in every place where the quantity can be known until Martial and Juvenal. The former has *ō* short four times (with one case of *syllaba anceps*); the latter *ō* short three times; and it is short once in the *Catonis Disticha*. Before this I find in Plautus the *o* elided twice; in Terence once elided and once indeterminate; in Virgil, twice elided; but in Ovid, long at least four times and in Phaedrus long once, (with one case of elision and one case doubtful).—Here again the dictionary-makers are at odds: Harpers' marks *ō*; Lewis *ō*, and Georges correctly *ō*.

Finally, *quandoque* and *quandocumque*, with but one exception each,¹ are always in the poets, even the later ones, so far as I have found, used with *ō* long. Thus we have *quandōque* (*ō* long) once in Lucilius,² thrice in Horace, once each in Manilius, Persius, and Petronius,³ thrice each in Juvenal and Prudentius, once in Symphosius.⁴ *Quandocumque* has *ō* long in Horace three times (one of these with tmesis), in 'Tibullus' (the Panegyric) once, in Propertius and Ovid each twice and once in a metrical inscription (Bücheler, 965, 1)⁵ of the date of 10 A.D.—In these two words Lewis and Harpers', in agreement, rightly have *ō*, but Georges unjustifiably *ō*.

It appears, then, that *quando* and all its compounds except *quando-quidem* keep *ō* long well through the classical period. *Quandō-quidem*, with *ō* short, is regular even from the Ciceronian Age. The change in the latter, therefore, since it begins when shortening of final *ō*, except in iambic (and cretic) words, is unknown, is evidently not a result of the movement which made final *o* common in Juvenal's age, and is most naturally to be attributed to the composi-

tion of the *quando* with *quidem*. The change may have been partly due as Lindsay⁶ suggests, to accentuation, the shortening being analogous to that of *si-quidem*, but doubtless it was in part helped on by the poets as a pronunciation metrically convenient.⁷ But in the age of Plautus and Terence *ō* can be read almost everywhere. This can scarcely be due to mere chance. Had the vowel in question been *fixed* as long or as short at this period, it is scarce conceivable that, either intentionally or by chance, it should have been so used by the poets as to be reckoned and read, at will, as either a long or a short. There are, it is true, but two places in Plautus and Terence where *ō* long is *required*. To some this would be ample proof that *ō* short should always be read and the exceptions emended away.⁸ But a reasonable offset may be found in the converse statement that *ō* short is *demanded* in but *one* place before the Ciceronian Age. Later of course, there are abundant instances, but that can scarcely force one to take all the doubtful cases of Plautus and Terence as short. With approximately equal justice, considering the original length of the vowel and the apparently certain two cases of *quandō quidem*, they may all be regarded long. We must then decide that this age was one of transition and that the short *ō* became *established* only in the time between Terence and Lucretius. It might be fair to conclude that in Terence the majority of cases were probably really intended by the poet as short, in Plautus, the majority probably as long.

Our results, therefore, are as follows:—

- 1) We should mark *quandō*, *si-quandō*, (and *ne quandō*), *ecquandō*, *aliquandō*, *quandō-quidem*, *quandōque*, *quandocumque*.
- 2) Whatever the precise, scientific explanation of the phonetic change in the word or word-group *quando-quidem*, the course of this change has been definitely marked out.

WM. W. BAKER.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
April 10, 1903.

¹ Both late: Venantius C. 4, 27, 22, *quandōque*, (but he writes at the end of the sixth century, and is notoriously irregular in metrical matters. v. Teuffel, § 491, 10); Terentianus Maurus, *de Syl.* 957, *quandōcumque*.

² Lucil. 30, 70, although possibly this is *et quando* (Scherer, *ib.* p. 136).

³ Petron. c. 133 (verse).

⁴ The fact that *ō* long persists in this word, while becoming short so much earlier in *quandoquidem*, would possibly militate somewhat against Stowasser's etymology for the latter word (*Zeit. Oestr. Gym.* 1892, p. 31 ff.), *quandoquidem*=*quandoque*, (*quandocumque*). But obviously this point cannot be pressed.

⁵ Cf. Bücheler 966, 1, a similar line, but metrically imperfect.

⁶ *Latin Language*, p. 608, fin.; cf. his *Captivi*, Introd. p. 25; and his article in *J. Phil.* 21, 199; and Bücheler, *Archiv.* 3, 145. Scherer's comparison (*ib.* p. 138) to *nesciō-quis* is obviously not so good.

⁷ Cf. Forcellini, s.v. *quandoque*, c), fin.

⁸ E.g. cf. Stedding's procedure in another matter, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, 27, 1.

REVIEWS.

BEVAN'S *HOUSE OF SELEUCUS*.

The House of Seleucus. By E. R. BEVAN.
2 vols. with Plates and Maps. Edward
Arnold. Pp. xii., 330, 333. Price 30s.

IN dealing with the fortunes of the family of Seleucus Mr. Bevan—whose name is not unknown to readers of the *Classical Review*—has not only broken almost new ground, *relictæ Jugera ruris*, a field not specially touched even by German industry, but has reduced that ground to a very tolerable state of cultivation. He says that at some point of his writing his work was 'in a desperately amorphous stage.' That is exactly the condition in which he found the history of the Seleucidae as a whole. But he leaves it in a very different condition. He puts everything that was known of the Græco-Macedonian Empire in the East—and much that is new or was not generally known—into a coherent shape, and leaves our view of the government a good deal better and clearer. The evidence is of course still very fragmentary, but in his hands each fragment falls into its proper place. In fact Mr. Bevan shows a double ability in dealing with a subject which is in every sense a broken and disjointed one: he is able to co-ordinate little facts and at the same time to seize and follow out the more important threads, the great factors and tendencies of the time. The labour of writing his book, especially that spent upon the arrangement of the small facts, must have been enormous; but the author has his reward. He has produced a historical work of which any writer might be proud, and written what must be for many years the standard work upon the Greek East of its period. Even students who go to original authorities will find it advisable not to read their Polybius without their Bevan.

The name chosen for this profound study, *The House of Seleucus*, may cause at first a certain hesitation. Does it not appear to be a return to that 'personal' way of looking at history which has of late gone so completely out of fashion? And is not all the new evidence which appears in these pages rather general than personal, rather about the people than the House? The latter at least is true. The minute new bits of information which inscriptions yield avail us

more for the condition of the countries concerned than for their history, and more for the kingdom than the kings.¹ But further reflection shows that the name is not ill-chosen. The only link of the empire to which it belongs is the great House. The fortunes of the latter are the fortunes of the former, because there was nothing else to hold together such a fortuitous concourse of atoms. Mr. Bevan was compelled to string the affairs of many peoples on the thread of the story of one family, just as Professor Mahaffy, when he wrote one of the *Stories of the Nations*, had to call it by no national name, but after Alexander's Empire.

In addition to his other claims upon our gratitude, Mr. Bevan possesses a clear and agreeable style, rising on fit occasions to the dignified or the vivid. He knows how to break the monotony of a wilderness of facts by the insertion of brighter or more impressive passages, sometimes based on Polybius, (as the story of the capture of Achæus or the flight of Demetrius from Rome), sometimes due to his own power of seeing places or incidents clearly and describing them well.

But, when all is conceded as to the author's power of arranging and wording what he has to tell, it still seemed to me when I reached the end of the book that it wanted a summing-up, a bringing together of the important points of view. The kings have been happily characterized, each as he came, (especially perhaps do we feel this about Antiochus III and Antiochus IV); the details of law or army or administration have been set before us plainly, generally with a caution as to how far the evidence

¹ *E.g.* vol. i. p. 89. where Mr. Bevan says that here and there we have indications of the king's authority reaching the internal administration of Greek cities in Asia. Iasus in conferring *ateleia* has to limit its grant to those dues over which the city has control—*ἀτέλειαν πάντων ἧ πόλις κυρία ἐστίν*, *C.I.G.* No. 2673. 'At Mylasa it looks as if the right of inflicting the punishment of death was reserved to the king, *C.I.G.* No. 2691 c.' On the numerous data of this sort in the two volumes we can build conclusions of a constitutional, a sociological, and sometimes a religious, character; but they do not often help us to see the kings, or even the history in the special sense, much more clearly.—The point dealt with by n. 6 at p. 105, vol. i., seems to rest on a mistranslation.

really goes; but the great agencies or hindrances which were at work, indicated severally here or there, need to be grouped more, so that we may see where the successes or failures of the Seleucid House were due to what may pass for chance (as the contemporary rise of Rome) or were due to causes which no luck could either create or remove (as the antecedent distribution of populations or the immovable pressure of physical conditions). Mr. Bevan is as conscious of these agencies as we could wish, but they would be better seen in juxtaposition than in isolation.

A division which would embrace in a certain way many of these important points would be on the one hand the difficulties or special problems of the empire, and on the other its work, its task and results.

I. The joint result of circumstances, of the struggle for mere life, and of personal ambition, brought into Seleucus' hands an enormous portion of the conquests of Alexander. But the more monstrous the cattle, the more widespread the lands, the more difficulty there was in retaining them. The kingdom of Lysimachus, that of Antigonus Gonatas, or that of Ptolemy I, might well hope to hang together, if left alone, by its own tolerable homogeneity. But that of Seleucus was cracked across and across at lines of cleavage. The tendency to disintegration, never overcome, was among the first, as it was among the last, of the difficulties of the ruling house. Its inveterate character was due to its resting upon many causes, whose nature and persistence remind us often of the later troubles of the Roman government. For one thing, the empire of Seleucus had to be built and maintained in defiance of serious geographical difficulties.

'The natural clefts of the empire, the fissures which were so apt at any weakening of the central authority to gape, followed geographical barriers. From Northern Syria the western provinces were cut off by the line of the Taurus: on the east the desert separated it from the seats of Assyrio-Babylonian civilization, and beyond that again the mountain-wall of Zagrus fenced Irân. To hold these geographically detached members from a single base is the standing problem. The long struggle for each one has a more or less separate history. (I. 76).

Possibly the real difficulty thus stated was magnified by Seleucus' choice of a capital so far west as Antioch. He could not cut himself off from Greece by settling further away from her, unless he chose to abandon the standpoint of Alexander, his own claim to an abiding connexion with Macedon, and the advantages of a professed

and well-supported civilization higher than that of the East. But yet his capital was too much on one side, and the Upper Provinces naturally tended to fall off. At one time at least a second capital and a viceroy had to be planted in Babylonia at Seleucia. The foundation and permanence of St. Petersburg may be thought a justification for Seleucus, but still St. Petersburg has not yet lived through very much history.

The geographical difficulties brought with them to the Graeco-Macedonian rulers, as they had brought to the Achaemenid kings, the special troubles of a conquest which was never complete. The country protected its own residents against a central government.

'Through all the history of Western Asia there runs the eternal distinction between the civilized cultivators of the plains and lower hills and the wild peoples of mountain and desert. The great monarchies which have arisen here have rarely been effective beyond the limits of cultivation; mountain and desert are another world in which they can get, at best, only precarious footing. And to the monarchical settled peoples the near neighbourhood of this unsubjugated world has been a continual menace. It is a chaotic region out of which may pour upon them at any weakening of the dam hordes of devastators. At the best of times it hampers the government by offering a refuge and recruiting-ground to all the enemies of order. Between the royal governments and the free tribes the feud is secular. The ordinary policy of the Asiatic monarchies has been simply to safeguard the great highways of communication. It obviously follows from the restriction of civilized habitation to the narrow belts of territory just described that the main roads are fixed by nature to certain definite lines. The task set before itself by these governments has been, not that of holding an immense continuous area, but the comparatively simpler one of holding these lines. It is important to remember this in connexion with rapid conquests like that of Alexander. To conquer the Achaemenian Empire did not mean the effective occupation of all the area within its extreme frontiers—that would have been a task exceeding one man's lifetime—but the conquest of its cultivated districts and the holding of the roads which connected them.' (I. 22).

Beyond these obstacles to pacification and unity lay the broad difference of East and West,—a difference which had already led first to the weakening and then to the destruction of the Persian realm, which was to appear again on more than one page of history, and which to-day creates half the troubles of the Turkish Empire. But even in smaller detail there were divisions of language and habits, and—if one may say so of that remote time—of nationality, which distracted the mind of a ruler, para-

lysed his arm, and cost many, even early, losses to his throne. The mixed character of the population, notably in Asia Minor, caused perpetual ferment, disqualified citizens of the new empire from finding a career or settlement in any part of it indifferently, hampered improvement, and favoured pretenders. The North of Asia Minor escaped early from Macedonian control; Pergamus contrived to avoid incorporation; and then these new neighbours immediately set up new troubles, new causes of irritation. These are Mr. Bevan's 'internal questions' presented to the Seleucid court 'by the lesser principalities, Cappadocian, Bithynian, Pergamene'; and we may add the principality of Pontus. By the time of Antiochus I. 'the North of the peninsula has been finally abandoned.' In short Mr. Bevan sees clearly the importance of the ethnological factor in the history of Asia Minor.

'Asia Minor had never had either national or political unity. There was no *people* of Asia Minor. Since dim antiquity wandering races from every quarter had streamed into it, making the confusion of its motley tribe (? tribes) worse confounded. It has furnished ethnologists, ancient and modern, with a puzzle which has the charm of never being able to be found out . . . There had never been a kingdom or empire of Asia, as there had been an Egyptian, an Assyrian, and an Irânian.'

In short, there was a confusion of stocks comparable to that which we see to-day in Macedonia. But we must not suppose that the jarring of religions or cults was wanting in Western Asia too. Professor P. Gardner has remarked that Seleucus and his successors never succeeded, like the Ptolemies, in conciliating the national and religious prejudices of the races over which they ruled; and his words remind us, not only of the Book of Maccabees, but also of other failures and deaths of kings. About Antiochus III, the Great, Mr. Bevan tells how

'the tidings came back to Antioch that he had adventured himself with a body of troops in the Elymaean hills (mod. Lûristân), where the temple of some native god promised great spoil of silver and gold, and had been overwhelmed by the fierce tribesmen.' (II. 119).

Antiochus IV, 'the God Manifest,' marched to plunder a temple of 'Artemis,' and fell back baffled because (as Polybius says) 'the barbarians who dwelled around would not consent to his impiety.'

In short, the empire as put together by Seleucus was but an artificial unity: it had

no natural bond and no diffused native strength of its own. 'A magnificent *tour de force*, it had no natural vitality.'

Beyond the Western borders too of its unwieldy frame there were destructive agencies at work, kingdoms which found their interest in hampering and weakening the House of Seleucus, and which even claimed portions of what it held. When Seleucus III. mounted the throne

'the geographical centre of the Empire, Syria, Babylonia, and the nearer Irânian provinces' were still held, but in the west and east great members had been broken away. The Ptolemaic power ruled the coasts of Southern Asia Minor, even to some extent of Syria, possessing Seleucia and the mouth of the Orontes; the Pergamene power ruled the Ionian and Aeolian coasts, and as much of the interior as was not in the hands of barbarian princes.' (I. 203).

Egypt always coveted something to the North of the isthmus; and warfare, long continued or often repeated, prevented the growth of wealth, of contentment, of institutions and government-machinery, and even of military strength. Both kingdoms—or all the kingdoms—made themselves weak long before they were called on to face the grim earnestness of Rome. Whether different military organization, more able and more supple commanders, might not have given a decisive superiority to one side, and so shortened the waste of time and energy, is a question which Mr. Bevan prefers to postpone. For Pergamus there is a specially good word to be said, but its domestic virtues, unsupported by any real basis of nationality or fighting strength, had little chance in such an age.

'Attalus I presented himself to the Greeks in the most attractive light. Not only was he their champion against barbarism, as indeed the house of Seleucus in its better days had been, but he did everything to show himself an ardent Hellenist and to exhibit at his court a wholesome family-life which would form a contrast in the eyes of the Greek *bourgeoisie* to the barbaric vice and cruelty which were rife in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic courts. His mother Antiochis was a kinswoman of the Seleucid house, and his maternal aunt Laodice was the wife of Seleucus II., but Attalus himself elected for his Queen Apollonis, the daughter of a plain citizen of Cyzicus,—“a woman,” says Polybius, “deserving for many reasons remark and admiration,” who “rose from a private station to royalty, and kept her high place to the last by means of no meretricious seductions, but by a plain and sober dignity and goodness.” Instead of the fraternal feuds and family murders which seemed to be elsewhere the rule in royal houses, the children of Attalus and Apollonis showed the world a delightful picture of simplicity and

natural affection.¹ And whilst the house of Attalus recommended itself to the moral sentiments of the Greek republics, it did so equally to their literary and artistic susceptibilities. . . . If the ideal of the phil-Hellenic king, which had been more or less pretended to by all the successors of Alexander, was capable of realization at all, it seemed to be realized in Attalus.' (I. 199).

Deep in the heart too of this distracted part of Asia was planted an element which could neither be expelled nor conciliated nor assimilated, the untamable Gauls. If they sometimes furnished formidable troops to the Syrian kings, they were just as ready to fight them for pay or booty; and, when the Seleucidae were finally driven out of Asia Minor, they left this intractable people to be a trouble to their successors. Mr. Bevan's sketch of these tribes (i. 135-142) is among his most striking passages. Of course it reminds us of Dr. Mommsen's account of the Celts; but it has this advantage, that it is not an impressionist view of Celts in general, but is a definite and precise description of the Celt as he was seen in Asia in a historical age.

Lastly, from the remoter West came an enemy whose soldiers were not purchasable mercenaries, whose plans were not the momentary inspirations of an unstable kingdom. Rome judged her safety to be imperilled by a great Syrian empire; and after many successes of Antiochus III, 'in the moment of its apparent triumph, the house of Seleucus received a terrific blow.'

II. But that blow did not fall until Rome was ready to take up the work of its rival. P. Scipio, to whose advice the Roman victory of Magnesia may have been due, was one of those Roman citizens who were blamed for their addiction to Greek ways; and, whether they liked the task or not, it was just those Greek ways which the Romans had to uphold and propagate when their influence took the place of Seleucid rule. The great House had carried on the traditions of Alexander for a time, and now the duty devolved on Rome for a far longer period. The Seleucid Empire, as Mr. Bevan says, had done 'a great work in propagating and defending Hellenism in the East till the advent of Rome.' When it broke up, 'we see peoples of non-Hellenic culture, Persians, Armenians, Arabs, Jews, pressing in everywhere to reclaim what Alexander

and Seleucus had won. They are only checked by Hellenism finding a new defender in Rome.'

This work was apparently always on the minds of Seleucus and his successors, or at least of every successor who could find a throne firm enough or a moment quiet enough for thinking. But after the interference of Rome with the foreign conquests of Syria, the effort to carry on the internal task seems to have been intensified or at all events hurried.

'While Rome circumscribed the activity of Antiochus as a conqueror, he had great scope left him as the radiant champion and patron of Hellenism. . . . The Hellenism which Antiochus propagated went further than political forms, or even real political privileges. It extended to the sphere of social and private life, to the manner of thought and speech, to religious practice. "And King Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws." Beneath the naïve phrase of the Hebrew writer there lies the truth that the transformation which he saw going on around him in the life of the Syrian peoples was forwarded by the active encouragement of the court. It worked in with a policy deliberately adopted by those that ruled. Imaginative and sentimental Hellenism was no doubt in part the motive which governed Antiochus, but there were considerations of policy as well. Some principle was needed to unite and fuse a realm whose weakness was that it had no national unity. And Antiochus, like Alexander of whom indeed he often reminds us—an Alexander run wild—sees such a principle in a uniform culture, resting upon a system of Greek cities, obliterating or softening the old differences of race and tradition. It was not exactly a new idea, but it no doubt revived with a new sort of splendour, it stood out more distinctly as an imposing ideal, in the glow and colour it took from the strange fire of Antiochus the Fourth.' (II. 148, 153).

It was hurry which led to the great explosion among the Jews. As Mr. Bevan points out, the initiative in the Hellenizing of Jerusalem came from the Jews themselves. What Antiochus IV wanted was, not an opportunity, but patience to use it.

We cannot now follow our author through his careful definitions of what Hellenism really meant, and of the sense in which we can say that it was propagated or upheld. But it clearly means two things, an outward show or way of life and an inward character, and on both of these elements Mr. Bevan fixes our attention (II. 154, and elsewhere). He does well to distinguish, and even to keep reminding us that the one thing might be propagated, though it could hardly be either valuable or lasting, without the other. But we cannot discover in his pages any final conclusion as to how far

¹ Something of this sort was the boast of Antigonus I (Plutarch, *Dem.* 3); but his son Demetrius (Poliorcetes) did not continue to show the world a delightful picture.

and how deep the process of Hellenization went in Asia. To judge of these questions we should of course have to draw evidence from generations far later than the disappearance of the throne of Seleucus; we must know something of the permanence of the tendency, as well as of its depth. A very valuable paper on this and kindred subjects in the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1903, remarks that Macedonians were bad teachers of Greek ways. No doubt they were; but Asia was not limited to them. Asiatics could read the whole of Greek literature, and could have it explained to them by Greeks who had not lost the tradition,—two advantages which medieval Europe and modern Europe have not shared. This, alone, would not create more than a cultivated literary class; but there were countless other agencies at work through which the stream of Greek thought came soaking in. Two things are certain: we cannot speak quite lightly of a tendency which produced Lucian; and we must not put all the parts of the Syrian Empire on one footing.

But, while we suspect that Hellenism as pushed on by the Seleucids and upheld by Rome, went far toward changing the ways of men on the Syrian side of the Mediterranean, if not in Asia Minor, we must not forget the counter-agency, the reaction by which the East tended to spoil the Greek or the Macedonian character of those men and women who settled in her new cities or took service with her new kings.¹ Nor must we look with any favour on the peculiarly mad scheme by which Alexander hoped at once to Hellenize the East and to unify his kingdom, viz. the intermarriage of races. It was not every race, it was probably only the Irânian race, which he wished to marry with his Greeks and Macedonians: but the mixed white races of South America are the nearest

parallel we can think of to such a union, and the results in America are not yet altogether encouraging.

Dwelling on these fascinating topics, we have cut ourselves off from many other interesting matters of discussion. The question whether the English in India really represent the Greek civilization in contact with the East; the question of how the Greek usage of deifying kings grew up,² are but specimens of the many important topics which these volumes handle or suggest. The concluding chapter, on 'Government, Court, and Army', is a happy reunion of many scattered data on its subjects, and we must allow ourselves two hurried remarks on it:—(i) Mr. Bevan seems to make little of the traditional Oriental luxury of the Syrian court. (ii) We may, he thinks, trace 'the far-off ancestry of our systems of government' to Syria and Egypt (II. 293; compare I. 16): Rome took over much from the 'court and government' or 'court and system' of Egypt or Syria, and we modern Europeans have borrowed 'institutions' from Rome. But here we must halt and protest. This is mixing up different things. Rome took over to a certain extent court-arrangements and etiquette. That 'the God King gave a fixed object of worship among the chaos of local cults' (II. 155) is also, though Mr. Bevan does not say so, a legitimate point of comparison with the Roman Empire. But the *system* of Rome, her government, her institutions, were very different; and ours again are very different from hers.

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² 'The Deification of Kings in the Greek Cities,' prompted a valuable paper by Mr. Bevan in the *English Historical Review*, Oct., 1901, and he returns to the subject in these volumes (I. 125-6, 177). But his survey of the facts begins with Alexander only, whereas, even if we do not look to anthropology or folk-lore for help, we ought at least to go as far back as the career of Lysander. *Πρώτῳ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διοῦρις, Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ βαμοὺς αἱ πόλεις ἀνέστησαν ὡς θεῶ (Plut. Lys. 18)*. The subject seems to be passed over in Mr. Bevan's index.

¹ Two well-known passages of Livy, cited in these volumes, speak plainly of this degeneration: but they were written with a purpose.

HEINZE'S *TECHNIQUE OF VIRGIL*.

Virgil's Epische Technik. RICHARD HEINZE. Leipzig. B. G. Teubner. 1903. Pp. x., 488.

TIME and space prevent my giving much

more than a bare outline of this book. It deserves more than this, for a bare outline must ignore the many interesting side issues and digressions which the book contains—e.g., an excursus on the relations

between V., Quintus Smyrnaeus and Tryphiodorus,¹ a page or two on V.'s quite Greek love for descriptions of youthful manhood, notes on the use in Apollonius and V. of variation in place of the stereotyped phrases of Homer or on well-known *crucies* like 4. 436,² a defence of V. from the criticisms directed by Lessing against his description of the shield of Aeneas. Prof. Heinze is an acute observer of the tendencies of Hellenistic poetry, and the student of Apollonius in particular will find much to attract him in this book.

The book is divided into two Parts, each containing five chapters. The First Part consists of an analysis of the various sections of the poem, intended to reveal V.'s method of treating the existing legends about Aeneas and of filling up the gaps in the tradition. The artistic principles thus evolved are summed up and worked out more fully in the Second Part.

The five chapters of Part I. deal successively with the Fall of Troy, the Voyage, Dido, the Games, and the Adventures in Latium.

The most important result elicited in chapter I is the full realisation of the care taken by V. to justify to patriotic Romans Aeneas' departure from his native land: *e.g.* most accounts made the Greeks fire Troy only on their departure, V. lays great stress on its being fired on the night of the capture: *succurritis urbi incensae* says Aeneas to his companions; it is no city that he deserts—only a heap of ashes. Among the interesting side issues I would draw attention to Prof. Heinze's explanation of the purpose of Laocoon's sacrifice to Neptune, and of the way in which Aeneas came into possession of the Penates

¹ The remarks on the Helen episode of Book II. for the most part only repeat what others have said. The new point raised, that V. and Homer do not admit monologues in the narratives of their respective heroes, is not convincing. I should like to note here that as the gods of Troy had left their shrines and altars (351), and the image of Vesta was probably among those carried away by Aeneas, V. may easily have regarded the temple of Vesta as now 'profane,' and this disposes of the most serious point raised by objectors—that *pious Aeneas* can never have thought of slaying Helen in the temple. That she was actually at the altar, as Prof. Heinze assumes, is not, I think, meant by V.: *limina servantem* implies the reverse, and *secreta sede* only means 'in a corner.' I believe V. marked the passage for revision, as he felt that after Aeneas comes to himself with a start and finds himself alone we expect him henceforth to *act*, not simply to change the point to which he directs his eyes and so derive a motive for acting.

² *Cumulatam morte remittam*, 'repay with interest, even with my life,' *morte* being used quite rhetorically: *depacisci morte* in Ter. Phorm. 165.

of Troy; the aetiological character of the signs from heaven that persuaded Anchises to join in the flight is also clearly developed.

In *Aeneid* I., II., IV.–VI. the Tiber and Latium are mentioned as known to the Trojans as the goal of their voyage. In Book III. (except in l. 500³) the Trojans know nothing of these names—only towards the end do they learn that Italy is to be their home. Prof. Heinze, in chapter 2, believes that V. gradually realised that this uncertainty as to the promised land would greatly enhance the interest of the poem; that the other books were written before he finally adopted this *motif*. He shews clearly the superiority of V.'s voyage to that of Apollonius: each halting-place marks for the Trojans an advance towards the knowledge of their destination: to begin with, they find that the new home is not to be the first place on which they chance, then that it is to be the *antiqua mater*, next that this means Italy, finally that it is to be on the West coast of that country. If Prof. Heinze is right, we have the more cause to regret V.'s untimely death, for it seems likely that revision would have eventually meant greater independence of treatment in other parts of the work also.

Chapter 3 does full justice to the dramatic character of the Dido episode, the elevated treatment of the queen herself, indeed of the theme as a whole—whereas love in Homer hardly exists and in the Alexandrians violates the general tone of the epic—, the care lavished upon the description of the gradual growth of Dido's resolve to die. There is nothing very new here, except perhaps the stress laid upon the part played by Book I. in preparing for the tragedy of Book IV. Prof. Heinze, by the way, finds nothing ridiculous in the *honores* which are shed upon Aeneas by his goddess-mother at the moment of his meeting with Dido. I would add to his remarks this: that the effect on the hero of the sudden change from the depths of despair and grief to the certainty of protection and the safety of his comrades might easily have been described by even a modern prose writer as making him seem 'years younger.' This is exactly what V. means—that the thought is clothed in mythology, is the fault not of V. but of the ancient conception of the Epic.

With the Games in chapter 4 we get the help of close comparison with Homer. And

³ Here Prof. Heinze thinks V. unconsciously returned to his former hypothesis.

this reveals the importance attached by V. to mental processes. In both Homer and V. a competitor fails through slipping down, but Nisus uses the mishap to help his dear Euryalus—a trait which, as Prof. Heinze recognises, does more credit to the poet's psychology than his sporting instincts. The boxing match is compared with its three Greek predecessors: the palm is awarded to Theocritus; the matches of V. and Apollonius are described in much the same way, but V. adds a characteristic touch by the sudden change in the situation brought about by Entellus' indignation. The interpretation of the portent which attends the arrow of Aescles is I believe the correct one: to the reasons here given for referring it to Sicily I would add the consideration that V. is treating the early history of Italy, and that nothing is more likely than that he should extend his allusions to Sicily, once itself *Ausoniae pars magna*¹ and afterwards intimately connected with the first beginnings of Rome's empire beyond the seas.

The chapter on Aeneas in Latium seems to me less interesting than its predecessors. About a third of it is taken up by an elaborate analysis of the composition of the battle scenes—an analysis which of necessity becomes rather complicated and a little dull. The best part of this chapter is the delineation of the character of Turnus, on lines very similar to those adopted by Nettleship in his 'Suggestions introductory to a Study of the Aeneid' (as Prof. Heinze himself subsequently discovered and recognises in a later note). It is noted as characteristic of the hero's lack of *moderatio* that he tries to raise a stone that is too heavy for even his giant strength to hurl with effect.

The chapters of Part II. treat of (1) Method of Working, (2) Invention, (3) Representation, (4) Composition, and (5) Aims.

Under (1) are some interesting remarks on the imitative tendency in Latin Literature as a whole: it is noted that a Roman regarded Imitation as, not a sign of weakness, but rather an advance on Translation. Suetonius' *particulatim componere* is explained to mean that V. carried out quite independently the various 'little poems within the poem,' such as the story of Camilla, and in particular the separate books: he wrote the *Aeneid* for recitation in parts, not continuous reading.

'Invention' comprises the Persons, the use of the Supernatural, and the Action. As shewn above, the characters of Dido and Turnus are handled elsewhere: that of Aeneas is here ingeniously defended. The author believes that the hero's character is intended to develop during the action of the poem: Aeneas starts with the weakest of faiths, Anchises has to continually encourage him, after Anchises' death Nautes takes up the rôle, Mercury has to address him with the most scathing rebukes, even the friendly assurances of the gods have but momentary effect on him. But Book VI. marks a turning point: after the glimpse given him by Anchises of Rome's future heroes he doubts no more. Momentary cares and anxieties may weigh upon him, but henceforward he needs not the encouragement of man and confidently accepts that of the gods. One would like to be able to believe this was Virgil's intention: the artist who drew a Dido successfully might yet fail here, and his failure would still be his glory—in *magnis et voluisse sat est*. Many other interesting observations on V.'s treatment of his characters deserve mention here, but I must content myself with noting that here, as elsewhere, the author in no way attempts to disguise the weaknesses of V., the fact that he sometimes fails to realise his artistic aims or that sometimes these themselves result in obscurity or prevent fidelity to nature. In examining the Action, we are shewn the importance attached by V. to its steady progress, its tendency to the dramatic, the frequent introduction of a sudden change in the situation or a marked contrast, the consistent attempt to avoid monotony by working up to a climax. V.'s anxiety to supply connexion between the various parts is well exemplified from the battle scenes of IX.–XII.: here comparison with Homer's Κόλος μάχη is helpful, and the author boldly says 'Virgil's narrative is to Homer's as the ripe work of art to the essay of a child.' The chapter ends with a 'Time-table' of the Action, followed by various comments thereon: most important are those which note the care which V. takes to prevent our noticing the longer intervals—e.g. Aeneas' sojourn at Carthage, events between the arrival in Italy and the outbreak of war—and the way in which at times the spirit of concentration leads him to cram too much into the 'working day.'

In chapter 3 the 'sympathetic' nature of V.'s narrative is developed. Servius tells us that Pollio's theory was that V.'s

¹ Sil. Ital. 14. 11.

descriptions of sunrise always suited what followed. His famous example (IV. 585 *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile* was meant to prepare for Aeneas' desertion of Dido!) is of course ridiculous, but Prof. Heinze recognises a germ of truth in the criticism: e.g. V. 104, XI. 182 are especially appropriate to the genial games and the hard fighting that respectively ensue. The 'objectivity' of Virgil is contrasted with the personal feeling of the latest Greek poets (especially those represented by the Ciris and Catullus' Ariadne): the exception of Book IV., with its *ille dies primus, heu uatum ignarae mentes, improbe amor*, etc., is duly noted. Passing over much other important matter I pass to the treatment of the speeches. V.'s are much less rambling than Homer's, and Prof. Heinze therefore feels sure that the curious Camilla episode (XI. 539 *sqq.*) is not in its final form. The completeness of the speeches is noted: each point is taken in turn and exhausted before the poet passes to another: that all this is not very *natural* is fully conceded. A brief glance at the influence of the rhetorical training on V. concludes this chapter: the various forms of the rhetorical λόγοι are carefully disguised in the *Aeneid*—a great difference here between V. and Ovid.

Under 'Composition' the main theme is the unity of the poem. The author shows how V. strives to 'justify' the episodes: here the above-mentioned view of the Sixth Book as marking the turning point in the character of Aeneas stands him in good stead. But both here and in the attempt to combine unity of single books with the unity of the poem as a whole it is admitted that V. has not always been successful: the visit to Evander on the one hand, and in the other such points as the non-appearance of Anna in Book I. and of Drances in Book XII. are quoted as cases in point.

The 'Aims' of V. are (1) ἐκπληξίς and πάθος, (2) moral influence, (3) display of *doctrina*, and (4) τὸ ὑψηλόν. This is a very interesting chapter. Was V. the creator of the dramatic style of narrative poetry? The answer given is that the Peripatetic historians may have guided him: Phylarchus and the author or authors of the tale of Camillus and Coriolanus shew the same traces of the Aristotelian theory of tragedy as V. Prof. Heinze points out that the *cura morum* of Augustus was accompanied by a moral tendency in the literature of the day, which regarded the early days of Rome as a better source for *exempla* than the ideals of the philosophers. The superiority of V.'s antiquarianism to that of Apollonius is well explained by the fact that it appealed to the national feeling of his readers and was closely bound up with his theme. But the attainment of the elevated was, the author thinks, the highest of the four aims: here the feeling of the *maiestas populi Romani* which permeates the poem was of much help to V., and to this the other aims were subordinate.

The book is one which all lovers of V. must read for themselves. I have endeavoured to give above some idea of its scope and to draw attention to the most interesting points treated in it. Even where one cannot accept Prof. Heinze's views one must be grateful for the clearness with which he states them and appreciate the efforts made in the notes to support them. I have briefly noted one or two points on which he fails to satisfy me: to enlarge on these and some other matters of detail did not seem to me necessary. The hope hinted at in the Preface, that the book may be a gain to the history of Poetic Technique, is certainly realised.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

ABBOTT'S ROMAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

History and Description of Roman Political Institutions. By F. F. ABBOTT. Ginn and Co. Pp. viii., 437. 7s.

For English students Mr. Abbott's work suffers from the apparent uncertainty of its scope. Its description of Roman Political Institutions would serve admirably for a preliminary textbook for students of the

subject: references are given in the margin throughout the Descriptive chapters to the ancient authorities for each statement, and, at the end of each, a Selected Bibliography; after each chapter of the History is a table giving references to a selection from the Sources and to modern works for Criticism of the Sources. But the Historical chapters are written in some places on another scale

—facts that are irrelevant for the student of political institutions are nevertheless recorded, so that the work, it might be thought, was intended rather for a handbook wherewith to review rapidly all Roman history before an examination. However it is to be supposed that the writer knows his public, and we are only concerned here with his success within the field he has marked out for himself. Briefly, he has written a work generally sound and more and more interesting as it proceeds. The English reader will be momentarily repelled by transatlantic idioms ('pass on' *passim* = 'give a decision on': 'accept the tradition at its face value' p. 10) and spellings: 'prod-uct' jars the scholarly orthographer and seems to figure bizarrely on the first page of a Professor of Latin (cf. *province*, p. 283). But the book is for the most part clearly arranged and would provide a quite excellent introduction to Mr. Greenidge's *Roman Public Life*, or a manual for revising the subject before an examination. A useful appendix of *senatus consulta*, edicts, and other documents, and another of passages in Latin authors dealing with Political Institutions should be most useful to a young student. More than this the author would not claim for his work. Obscurities occur in various places: e.g. § 32 what was the important indirect advantage to the plebeians? In § 38 there is an unfortunate lack of proportion in the weight assigned to the various causes that led to the establishment of the praetorship. On p. 36 *lex saturna* is explained as 'a law covering the various matters in dispute.' Modern parallels, which the author occasionally supplies, might be given to the requirement (p. 36) of the *Leges Liciniae Sextiae* that free labourers and slaves should bear a certain proportion. The motive for this must have been akin to that which prompts the exclusion of alien Chinese and Jews. 'Sabellians' § 41 are spoken of in spite of Prof. Sonnenschein's demonstration that *Sabellus* = Samnite. The *lex Poetelia* p. 49 is presented with little liveliness. In the professedly historical section p. 57 resumes in a very confused way what has been touched upon in pp. 39, 41; p. 96 resumes p. 71. Niese p. 62 should be given rather on p. 40; and the author is apparently unacquainted with Prof. Pelham's contributions to the *English Historical Review*. Is the 'tribal assembly' p. 76 § 67 the *Concilium*

plebis or *Comitia tributa*? The lowering of the money standard in 217 is regarded (p. 80) as an instance of class legislation: it is rather, with the other measures mentioned, a consequence of the Hannibalic war. A reference to the recently recovered evidence for the census every 14 years should be added on p. 288. One who is not a Chinaman may be pardoned perhaps if he demands that the southern not the lower part of the Italian peninsula should be spoken of. It may be doubted if Europeans had any feeling of united interests in 191 B.C. (p. 85), and whether all records (p. 24 § 34) or at least memory of records perished in 390. It is not made clear, § 170, whether the *scribae* were drawn for by all magistrates every year or what method was in use. The *certus ordo* p. 168 should for clearness be referred to, p. 152 § 145; and so p. 168 § 172 before the end of the paragraph. The relation of the consul to an ex-magistrate in whose province war broke out, needs a sentence (p. 180 § 188). Gellius can hardly be said (§ 198) to deal with the election of praetors: say rather of consuls. In § 228 'to the beginning of the Republic' is misleading. On pp. 32, 50 the meaning of *patrum auctoritas* should be made clear, as it only is at p. 224. As to the three laws giving *plebiscita* a binding force on the *populus*, perhaps a comparison with the *leges de ambitu* (§ 61) may enable a rational conjecture to be made. For the *pedarii* a reference to Prof. Tyrrell's dissertation in his edition of Cicero's correspondence might have been added p. 244. On p. 247 'another connection' is not apparent: is it p. 390? On the New Senatorial Aristocracy § 334 is cryptic except to the expert. At least a reference to p. 381 should be given, where the matter is much more plainly handled. On p. 326 'the first factor' should have a cross-reference. Passages for which a reference to an authority is desirable are p. 14 § 16; p. 16 § 19 the origin of the number of the senate; p. 17 the relation of the king to the senate; § 21 'probably the plebeians'; p. 34 'the patrician lost his standing by marriage with a plebeian'; § 336 the functions of the *seviri Augustales*; p. 187 § 200 the origin of the name *praetor urbanus*. Varro hardly proves all that is stated § 209. A misprint occurs on p. 398 § 504, and *plebiscita* is not evident in the index.

T. NICKLIN.

VENDRYES' *LATIN WORDS IN IRISH*.

De Hibernicis Vocabulis quae a Latina lingua originem duxerunt dissertationem scripsit atque indices construxit J. VENDRYES.
Pp. 198. Paris, Klincksieck, 1902.

THIS work falls into two parts. The former consists of a dissertation on Latin loan-words in Irish in four chapters. Chap. I, *De historia rerum*, treats of the historical relations between Ireland and other countries. Chap. II, *De vocabulorum phonetica specie*, deals with the phonetic changes that such loan-words have undergone. Chap. III, *De vocabulorum morphologica ratione* gives some account of changes in gender, declension, and the like. Chap. IV, *De vocabulorum significatione* gives lists of loan-words arranged according to subjects: *vocabula quae ad religionem pertinent*; *vocabula quae ad usum domesticum et familiarem pertinent*; *vocabula quae ad artium humaniorum vel litterarum studium pertinent*; *vocabula quae ad mores vel iura pertinent*; *vocabula quae ad grammaticam pertinent*; *vocabula quae ad temporis mensuram pertinent*; *vocabula quae ad bellum pertinent*; *vocabula quae ad navigationem pertinent*; *vocabula physica*; *nomina corporis humani partium*; *nomina morborum et remediorum*; *nomina plantarum*; *nomina animalium*; *nomina materialium*, *nomina agentium*; *adiectiva*; *verba*. The second part contains an *Index Hibernicorum vocabulorum*—a long list of Irish words borrowed from Latin—and an *Index Latinorum vocabulorum*, a list of Latin words with the Irish words borrowed from them.

The subject is full of difficulties, and the author speaks of his work with a modesty which almost disarms criticism. But, while the Irish scholar will find much that is useful therein, it is necessary here for the

sake of those to whom these studies are not familiar to point out that the book must be used with the utmost caution.

M. Vendryes evidently lays the greatest stress on his collection of material, and he has collected most industriously from various dictionaries and indices; of independent reading there is not much trace. The result, however, is a conglomeration of words of very different ages, and which have come into the language in very different ways. For a thorough scientific study of these words it would have been necessary to trace their history in the literature of Ireland from century to century; that is not attempted here. Further a distinction should have been made between words found only in Irish glossaries and words found in actual use. In not a few cases a genuine native word has been put down as borrowed e.g. *áibind* (which cannot possibly come from *amoenus*), *andracht* (which has nothing to do with *anthracodes*), *braich*, *dírech*, *estad* (= O. Ir. *etsad*), *fes*, *saith*, etc. In other cases suspicion has been cast upon genuine native words without reason, e.g. *agaim*, *asenam* (from **ad-cosnam*), *col*, *dóit* (leg. *dóe*), *recht*, *rélaim*. There are also some 'ghost-words' e.g. *muair* and *esamin* (in the alleged sense of *examen*). In many of these instances M. Vendryes has been led into error by placing too implicit trust in the opinions of others.

The treatment of the phonetic development of Latin loan-words in Irish is the weakest part of the book. Irish scholars will here find little that is new to them, and to non-Irish scholars the discussion will be of little benefit.

J. STRACHAN.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

T. Macci Plauti Rudens: editio minor. By EDWARD A. SONNENSCHN, Professor in the University of Birmingham. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901. Pp. vii, 176.

THE excellence of Prof. Sonnenschein's larger edition of the *Rudens*, published in 1891, is well known. This abridgment,

designed for schoolboys and passmen at the Universities, is admirably suited to its purpose. The notes, with all their learning, are full of interest; and the quotations from modern literature enable the reader to apprehend as well as understand. This illustration of the 'verba corusca' of vv. 528 sqq. might have been added from Cartwright

'The Siege,' V, vii: 'My teeth do ch-chatter.'

In the ten years that have intervened between the larger and the smaller publication, great additions have been made to our knowledge of Plautus. Prof. Sonnenschein goes perhaps too far in his retention of old theories and his suspicion of new. In his note on v. 1069 he seems to allow *modod*, an ablative form common in editions of last generation but justly excluded by editors nowadays. Even to so universally accepted discoveries as the identification of the Bodleian marginalia with a collation of the *codex Turnebi*, and the scansion of *nempe*, *ille*, etc., before an initial consonant as *nemp'*, *ill'*, he does not commit himself without reserve. Caution is no doubt commendable, especially in a school edition; but, if carried too far, it leaves a book under the stigma of being a little behind the times. The note on the scansion of *fenestras* in v. 88 shows the danger of pouring new wine into old bottles.

The *cum frude* of the larger edition in v. 1248 has rightly given place to Mr. Exon's admirable emendation *conlusim*. But why have *collum* (v. 888), *surpta* (v. 1105), been retained? Surely both forms are un-Plautine. In 927 can the *ex populo* of the MSS. be a corruption of *extemplo* (-pulo)?

W. M. LINDSAY.

Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen G. Altertumswissenschaft. Herausgeg. von WISSOWA. Supplement. Erstes Heft. Stuttgart (Metzler). 1903. Pp. vi., 374 col., 1 plan. 5 mk.

It is hardly necessary to do more than chronicle the appearance of the supplement

to the first four volumes of the indispensable 'Pauly-Wissowa.' The editor is to be congratulated that the necessary corrections and additions are so few. A good part of the supplement is occupied by the articles *Athenai* (Wachsmuth), so long postponed, *Civitas* (Kornemann), and *Demokratia* (v. Schoeffer). The last, which properly belongs to Vol. V., is relegated to the supplement for reasons sufficiently explained in the preface. *Athenai*, we note, may be obtained separately and will be useful to travellers. The following minutiae (some too newly discovered to have been included) occur to me in turning the pages, and may be noted for the final supplement. A curious personification of τὸ Ἀγαθόν on a coin of Ephesus (B.M.C. *Ionica*, p. 199). The Ionian *Airai* has coins (Imhoof, *Kleinas. Münzen* II. p. 512). *Anaxagoras*: king of some Cypriote city (Ctes. *Pers.* 63). *Anan*(ios?): coin engraver at Messana (*Num. Chr.* 1896, p. 123). Ἀρήμη ἱερὰ (ἱερατήμη) of the Ephesian Artemis (*J.H.S.* 1897, pp. 87 f.). *Aphrodisias* in Cilicia now boasts of an important series of coins, attributed to it with much probability by Imhoof, *Kleinas. Münzen* II. pp. 483 f. *Aphrodite*: most of the many mistakes in this article have been corrected; but Tacit. *Ann.* III. 62 does not refer to her temple at Salamis. *Aristophantos* (2) was by no means certainly king of Paphos. The coins inscribed Ἀπίστο more probably belong to Aristochus son of Onasias (Hoffman, *Gr. Dial.* I. no. 120). *Axiiothea*, the heroic queen of Nikokles of Paphos (Diod. 20, 21; Polyæn. 8. 48) was worthy of mention. *Cartimandua* struck coins (*Num. Chr.* 1897, p. 298).

G. F. HILL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON HORACE *EPIST.* I. II. 31.—A COINCIDENCE.

I HAVE just learnt that at page 18 of Vol. xiii. of this *Review*, Mr. Herbert Richards suggested to read here 'ad strepitum citharæ cessantes' (or 'cessantem') 'ducere cenam,' thus anticipating my proposed correction of 'curam.' Instead of exclaiming 'pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt,' I feel pleasure

in knowing that the view which I have independently taken of this passage coincides to a great extent with that of so eminent a scholar.

SAMUEL ALLEN.

June 17, 1903.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C. R.*, 1903, p. 135.)

AGAIN it cannot be said that new discoveries of first-rate importance have been made in the Forum, though the work continues steadily on the lines which I indicated in my last Report. New ground will, however, be broken in the summer or autumn, Mr. Lionel Phillips having given the further sum of money necessary to purchase the houses which cover the S.E. portion of the Basilica Aemilia, and so render possible its excavation in its entirety, with the exception of the N. angle, which lies under the garden of a monastery attached to the Church of S. Adriano (the Curia of Diocletian). It is even stated in the Italian newspapers that this church will be diverted from religious uses, the monks receiving in exchange the church of S. Antonio on the Esquiline. This would secure the completion of the uncovering of the Basilica, and also allow the Italian Government to explore the interior of the Curia and lay bare the marble pavement, the existence of which was ascertained three years ago. (*C. R.*, 1900, p. 237.)

In the meantime the excavations are by no means lacking in interest, and especially those of the recently discovered prehistoric necropolis. About fourteen tombs have so far been discovered, though not all have as yet been opened. In some cases cremation had been practised, in others inhumation; and so far as the excavations have gone, it is clear that the tombs of the first class are the earlier of the two, inasmuch as they are cut by the latter, though generally respected as far as possible. In both cases the place of sepulture (a hole dug in the ground) is marked by a small heap of lumps of tufa. The cremation burials, which as a rule (as was the case with the first tomb discovered, see *C. R.*, 1902, p. 285) are placed in a circular pit, consist of a large dolium containing several smaller pots, one of them an urn filled with the ashes of the deceased. Above the stone cover of the dolium were spread the ashes from the funeral pyre, and above this the lumps of tufa. The one most recently uncovered (at the end of May) had, however, no dolium, the burial (consisting of an elliptical hut-urn of the usual Latin type, surrounded by nine other vases, all black,

of a similar nature), having been made in a kind of small artificial cave. In these burials we find little or no trace of any pottery but that which is found in the cemeteries of the Alban Hills and the earliest Esquiline cemeteries. It is interesting to note, by the way, that tombs have recently been found near Palombara, some twenty miles from Rome, on the edge of the Sabine country, of the purest Villanova period, *i.e.* slightly older than the tombs of the Alban Hills (see *Not. Scavi*, 1902, p. 20).

The inhumation burials, on the other hand, which were made in a rectangular trench, show traces of Greek influence in their pottery. Several of them are tombs of infants, the bodies in each case being enclosed within a portion of the trunk of an oaktree. One of them contained especially clear traces of the dress and ornaments in which the body was buried; a number of beads were found upon the breast, belonging apparently not to a necklace, but to a garment with beads sewn upon it; there was also a belt of bronze round the body and a bracelet of ivory. One of the vases found within the sarcophagus contained the vertebrae of fish. In another infant's tomb a small bronze bracelet was found.

Interspersed with the graves there are some small circular holes, cut to no great depth in the soil, intended probably for votive offerings, and containing traces of seeds.

The exploration of the necropolis is not as yet complete, and is being carried on with due care and deliberation. Much of it has unfortunately been destroyed by a concrete foundation wall of the Imperial period on the N.E. side.

Further explorations are also being carried on in the subterranean galleries under the area of the Forum (*C. R.*, 1902, p. 94). The system has not as yet been completely excavated, as the galleries are generally full of water during the winter months, but nine shafts have so far been discovered, there being three principal galleries from N.W. to S.E., connected by cross-passages.

In these galleries six vaulted chambers have been found, each containing, in the centre of the floor, a block of travertine with a round hole in it to hold the capstan

or windlass by which the lifts which worked in the shafts (some of the woodwork of which has been found) were set in motion. It is curious to note that a fragment of a slab of the black marble pavement known as the "niger lapis" (*C. R.*, 1899, pp. 87, 232), corresponding in thickness with the rest, has been found in one of these galleries. If it was placed there not long after the time of Julius Caesar (supposing, as Vaglieri does, that these galleries were constructed by him, and not kept long in use—a hypothesis which he justifies by the statement that the objects found in them belong to a date not later than the end of the 1st century B.C.—(see *Bull. Com.*, 1902, p. 27; 1903, p. 101), then the black marble pavement must have an earlier origin than one was previously inclined to suspect (*cf.* Hülsen, *Mitth.*, 1902, p. 30). The fragment was apparently found loose, and had not been used in construction. The problem, however, requires further examination.

The excavations in the peristyle of the Atrium Vestae have now been completed and covered up again, with the exception of the remains of mosaic pavements, &c., of the earlier Atrium at the N.W. end (*C. R.*, 1902, p. 284). It seems possible that the pavement with the cubes laid longitudinally may be intended to represent matting. It is not by any means unique.

There are traces, at this end of the peristyle, of a building previous in date to the earlier atrium, orientated slightly differently from it: the remains consist of an opus quadratum wall with a dolium by it, the latter being cut into and broken by a similar wall belonging to the earlier atrium.

From the traces of walls uncovered at the S.E. end of the present peristyle, it would appear that it was once shorter than it now is, having the larger of the two piscinae (*C. R.*, *cit.*) in the centre of it, whereas this now lies nearer to the N.W. end.

On the S.W. side of the temple of Augustus work is still proceeding (*C. R.*, 1903, p. 136). The remains of buildings as shown in the *Forma Urbis* are those of Horrea, and may possibly belong to the Horrea Germaniciana (*Notit. Reg.*, viii., *cf.* Richter, *Topographie*, p. 373), which ought, according to the *Notitia*, to be situated hereabouts, as they come next after the temple of Vesta in the list. The buildings in the central area are of bad construction and late date, but the chambers built against the Palatine are of opus quadratum, and above and behind them are

chambers of good brickwork, lined with cement, set against the side of the hill, with stairs rising to the higher level of the Clivus Victoriae. In one of these chambers a large quantity of fragments of amphorae was discovered. The natural rock, which was cut back for the construction of these chambers, still remains in one place, but the wells bored in it (see Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 123, Fig. 48), became, naturally, dry after the rock had been cut away around them, and the lower end of their shafts is now accessible.

In excavating this space a considerable number of blocks of travertine, the remains of a Corinthian portico with unfluted engaged columns, which were coated with stucco, have been found. None of them were, however, *in situ*, and they must have fallen from the Palatine. It is possible that they belonged to the Porticus Catuli. The reconstruction of the inclined planes leading from S. Maria Antiqua to the Palatine is practically complete. No further work has been done upon the road which ascends from the Arch of Titus to the Palatine.

The only notable addition to the literature of the subject is a long article in the *Bullettino Comunale* by Vaglieri (1903, pp. 3—239). It is, however, to some extent a repetition (as regards both text and illustrations) of what has appeared, not only in the official reports in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, but in the weekly *Fanfulla della Domenica* and in the *Bullettino Comunale* itself above Prof. Vaglieri's signature. It seems, for instance, hardly necessary to repeat, not only many illustrations from the *Notizie*, but one (Fig. 13, p. 35) which appeared in the *Bull. Com.* only last year (Fig. 3, p. 47). On the other hand, while it is not a very critical piece of work, there is much that will be new and useful to those who are unfamiliar with the literature of the subject, and there are many illustrations (especially those of the paintings in S. Maria Antiqua) that will be most welcome.

THOMAS ASHEY, JUNR.

MAASS'S GREEKS AND SEMITES.

Griechen und Semiten auf dem Isthmus von Korinth. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen von E. MAASS. Berlin (Reimer). 1902. Pp. ix., 135. 1 Illustration. 3 mk.

THIS is an attack on the theory which attributes to the Phoenicians an important

influence on the cults of Corinth. Athena Φοινίκη at Corinth is Phoenician, it is maintained, only in so far as her cult, originally Greek, was established in some Phoenician city, and thence later transferred to Corinth; the epithet merely distinguishes her from Athena Chalinitis and Hellotis. The equation Melikertes = Melkarth is next shown to have nothing but the resemblance between the names to recommend it; the Jones family might as well claim Ionian descent. Melikertes means 'he who cuts out honeycombs'; its connexion with honey is proved by its use in a magical invocation between μελιούχος and μελιγενέτωρ, and as an epithet of Simonides. (It shows the deplorable effect of anti-Semitism that some one explained it as meaning 'avaricious as the Tyrian god.') A long disquisition (apparently independent of Mr. Cook's article in *J.H.S.* xv.) follows on the bee and apiculture in relation to mythology. Palaemon, who is distinct from Melikertes, is called the 'wrestler' because every good sea-god 'floods'—if we may so speak in respect of the sea—the bad sea-demons. A connexion with Melikertes is found in the fact that honey was a favourite offering to gods of wind and weather. The Corinthian Palaemon, it is asserted, has nothing to do with Herakles-Palaemon. There is much that is probable in these and other theories maintained in the book, but one might argue with nearly as much probability that the old hypothesis which assumed one journey for the 'Phoenician' Athena is better than the new hypothesis which assumes two; that although Melikertes can undoubtedly mean ὁ τὰ κηρία τέμνων τῶν μελισσῶν, it is merely a popular corruption of the Tyrian name; and that Herakles-Palaemon affords a link between Herakles-Melkarth and Melikertes-Palaemon. The fact is, that the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence hardly permits of our ever being certain of the truth. Apart from the main thesis of the book, there are many valuable discussions of side-issues, such as the relation between Manilius' account of the Andromeda story and the beginning of Apuleius' Cupid and Psyche.

G. F. HILL.

COOK'S GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

A Popular Handbook to the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, compiled by E. T. COOK. London: Macmillan and Co., 1903. Pp. xxii, 794. With plans. 10s.

ALTHOUGH the galleries of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum are not usually thronged by sightseers to the same extent as those of the national collection of pictures, the fault will not henceforth be Mr. Cook's. He has perhaps attempted a bolder task in the present compilation than in his well-known Handbook to the National Gallery, one demanding more special knowledge and much wider reading, one, in short, which demands the equipment of an archaeologist as well as that of an art critic. Yet it cannot be said that he has failed—rather, it must be said that he has attained more than a measure of success. Whether this volume will take the same place with the public that his previous essay has done, time alone can shew—we have not as yet noticed that it has replaced Baedeker or the official guides in the hands of the ordinary visitor—but both as a *Vade mecum* and as a work of reference it should prove indispensable.

Mr. Cook has made a wide and judicious use of the writings of many scholars and critics, including, as might be expected, numerous quotations from Ruskin. In fact it might be said of his book as the schoolboy said of *Hamlet*, that it is nearly all quotations; but they are at least an evidence of wide and strenuous reading, and should form a useful guide to what has been written on the subjects which he discusses.

The book comprises twenty-eight chapters, covering no less than eight hundred pages, but the thin India paper on which it is printed limits it to a size hardly too large for the pocket. A chapter is devoted to each of the separate rooms or galleries, and there is also an introductory chapter to the subject of Greek vases. The scope of the work is wider than that of the Department with which it mainly deals, including also an admirable chapter on coins, the Cypriote antiquities in the Oriental section, the mediæval and other jewellery in the Gold Ornament Room, and the Roman antiquities found in Britain. It thus covers the whole field of classical archaeology and a little more.

That such a work, even if compiled by a syndicate of the most accomplished specialists, should be entirely free from error would be incredible; it is therefore greatly to the author's credit that errors are comparatively few, and for the most part trifling. It is perhaps also pardonable that the language of the official publications should be sometimes reproduced without quotation marks, inasmuch as such generous acknowledgment of the labours of others is made throughout, as also generally in the preface. On the whole we congratulate Mr. Cook heartily on his exhaustive and interesting descriptions of the treasures of the Department; his taste is hardly, if ever, at fault, and though so copious in detail, his writing is never dull.

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Rhodes.—The first report of the Danish archaeologists on their excavations has just been issued, and gives an account of the discoveries briefly mentioned in the May No. of the *Class. Rev.* p. 234. The ground plan and parts of the walls of the Doric temple of Athenè (date about 400 B.C.) of the Acropolis at Lindos were brought to light. In front of the temple several inscriptions and two marble statues were found. In the portico of the Acropolis were discovered a number of bases belonging to statues, all dedicated to Athenè. An inscription on a marble base gives important information relative to the artist Boethus. Another inscription contains two laws concerning the management of temple property. A list of officials and priests at Lindos has also been discovered. A heap of terracottas, including several figures of women seated or standing, was found in a crevice outside the temple. Some objects of an early date must have been imported from Phœnicia, Cyprus, or Egypt. The excavations will be resumed next autumn, when it is hoped to explore the remainder of the Acropolis and also the theatre with the neighbouring graves.¹

ITALY.

Rome.—Prof. Mau has made a discovery important for the knowledge of the oldest settlement on the Palatine. It relates to

the situation of the *Scalae Caci*, one of the three entries to *Roma Quadrata*. The remains of a steeply ascending street, supported by a wall of the Republican period, have now been discovered. It has generally been assumed that the *Scalae Caci* led from the hill into the valley of the *Circus*. This view, however, is not borne out by Prof. Mau's examination of the ground. He believes that another road, joining the ascent just discovered at right angles, was the *Scalae Caci*. This road, which runs within the fortifying wall of the South-west corner of the hill, has, under the over-arching buildings of the Imperial period, assumed the appearance of a gallery. It must have originally led into the *Velabrum*.²

It is stated that on the 13th May another old Roman grave (the 8th) was opened in the *Forum*. It contained a hollowed-out tree trunk, in which lay the skeleton of a small child. With the skeleton were ten black and red funerary urns.³

Pompeii.—Excavations were carried on during the summer of 1902 on the site of an ancient villa near the *Sarno*, and led to some important discoveries. The villa consisted of a large peristylum surrounded by rooms. The walls of the peristylum and of the rooms opening from it are decorated with paintings of the latest style. The court was probably laid out as a garden and adorned with statuettes and fountains. At the four corners were found columns of white marble surmounted by double-headed herms, which had suffered considerably owing to the action of water. These herms represent (a) Mercury wearing petasus and a bearded Bacchus with a crown of vine-leaves; (b) youthful satyr and bearded Silenus, both garlanded; (c) bearded satyr and Maenad, garlanded; (d) bearded Silenus and Maenad.

Within the court was found a noteworthy bronze statue, in a good state of preservation. It represents Herakles, completely nude, bearded, and crowned with ivy. He is seated, and with the r. hand holds out a cup, while his l. hand is raised and leans upon the extremity of his club, which rests upon the stone base on which the figure is seated. The style points to the imitation of a 4th century statue of a Lysippian type. The figure corresponds pretty closely to the descriptions of the Herakles *Epitrapézios* of Lysippus. The work is evidently that of a local artist and the execution is a little weak and unequal. In the court

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* May 9th.

³ *Ibid.* June 6th.

¹ *Athenæum*, June 13th., 1903.

there was also found a graceful marble fountain, the basin of which is supported by the head and raised arms of two kneeling satyrs. In the portico east of the peristylum a marble table was discovered, consisting of a slab and two supports in the form of winged monsters. The workmanship is somewhat above the average.

In one of the rooms was a white marble statuette of a Hermaphroditos standing, nude save for a mantle over the r. shoulder. In the palm of the l. hand are the remains of a small child, probably Eros, only the lower part of the body being preserved. The head of the Hermaphroditos is covered with a hood, extending down over the ears. For the type, cf. Reinach, *Répertoire* I p. 372.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Nov. 1902.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. vii. No. 1. Jan.—Mar. 1903.

F. W. Shipley: Certain sources of corruption in Latin MSS.; a study based on two MSS. of Livy, of the fifth and ninth centuries. Part I., with introduction, detailed account of the ninth century MS., and list of mistaken word-divisions.

B. Powell: Greek Inscriptions from Corinth (from excavations of 1896–1901); sixty of various dates, given in facsimile.

General Meeting of American Archaeological Institute (abstracts of papers given).

Archaeological News.

H. B. W.

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). Vol. xxxiv. (Parts 1 and 2 for 1902), 1903.

W. Kubitschek. 'Ninica Claudiopolis.' A monograph on the coins of this Cilician town.—H. Willers. 'Römische Goldmünzen nebst Gold- und Silberbarren aus Italica bei Sevilla.' Description of a find made in 1898 of 144 aurei (Nero—Lucilla) and gold and silver bars. Finds of coins of the Imperial period appear to be rare in Spain.—F. Kenner. 'Neue Erwerbungen der Sammlung Weifert in Pancsova.' Some scarce gold Imperial coins in the collection of Mr. Weifert.—H. Willers. 'Ein bisher unbekannter Senis der Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum.' A bronze coin, now in the Paris collection, inscribed 'Copia Felix Munatia' struck at Lugdunum the

foundation of Munatius Felix: *obr.* Head of city-goddess with cornucopiae. *rev.* Herakles and Cretan bull.—H. Willers. 'Die Münzen der römischen Kolonien Lugdunum, Vienna, Cabello und Nemausus.' Lists of the coins of these four cities with some dissertations on the types, &c. Willers maintains that the type usually called the Altar of Lyons is not an altar at all, but probably an *ovarius* of the circus flanked by two figures of Victory on columns. The inscription 'Rom. et Aug.' does not, as usually supposed, refer to the type, but indicates that the coin was struck 'vom gallischen Provinzialverbande.' The denominations and weights of the Gallic colonial coinages are discussed, pp. 132–138.—N. Vulić. 'Prägungen der Dacia und von Viminacium.' Some varieties not in Pick's *Corpus*.—A. Markl. 'Gewicht und Silbergehalt der Antoniniane von Quintillus.'

Numismatic Chronicle. 1903, Part 1.

Howarth. 'The history and coinage of Artaxerxes III., his satraps and dependants.' Refers to the coinage of the satrap Orontas, the daries and sigli of the great kings, and to coins of Tarsus, Sidon, and Cyprus.—In the miscellanea G. F. Hill gives a list of Roman coins recently found in Southwark during excavations for the 'tube' railway. These coins are of Agrippa, Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian.

Revue Numismatique. 1903, Part 1.

Mowat. 'Les médaillons grecs du Trésor de Tarse,' &c. Gives photographs of the three large gold medallions in the Bibliothèque first published in engravings by Longpérier in 1868. The bronze coins of the Macedonian Κοινὸν (time of Caracalla and Severus Alexander), are also described, as having, like the Tarsus medallions, subjects relating to Alexander the Great.—Tacchella. 'Cinq rois des Gètes.' Bronze coins in the National Museum of Sophia with the name of King Canites and King Adraspes, second and first centuries B.C. Also coins of King Sarias and a dynast named Scostoces. The coins of these 'Scythian' kings deserve study, though the material is at present rather scanty.—Tacchella. 'Monnaies d'argent autonomes d'Apollonia de Thrace.' A silver stater with the head of Apollo of fine style and other coins procured at *Sozopolis*. Tacchella's previous attribution of all the coins with Apollo and anchor types, &c. to Apollonia Pontica in Thrace (instead of to the Mysian Apollonia), thus receives further confirmation, and may now be regarded as well established.—J. de Foville. 'Deux médaillons d'argent Romains.' Recent acquisitions of the French collection (i) of Domitian (ii) of Hadrian. The latter, with *rev.* River-god Marsyas reclining, holding flutes, is unpublished, and was probably struck at Apamea in Phrygia.—A. Sambon. 'Monnaies inédites de l'Italie antique.' *Cumae*. A drachm described and engraved by the Abbé Barthélemy, as displaying a frog between two lizards, really represents a lion's skin between two boars-heads. Also a didrachm (*obr.* female head) of fine work of the fifth century, early, and coins of Neapolis, Tarentum, and Terina.

WARWICK WROTH.

CORRIGENDUM IN JUNE NUMBER.

In Prof. Sonnenschein's paper on 'The Latin Sapphic,' p. 255, Col. 1, second paragraph, *for* 'the 5-time rhythm' *read* 'the 4-time rhythm.'

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1903.

ON Αὐτοκάβδαλος.

IN L. and S. the origin of the word is said to be unknown. It appears to me, however, that a tolerably certain etymology suggests itself. But in the first place the meaning of the word claims consideration.

As applied to language, it denotes what is said impromptu, extemporaneously, and therefore more or less carelessly and inornately. Thus, Aristotle (*Rhet.* III, 14, 11), speaking of the use of the *προοίμιον* in oratory, states that it serves the purpose (1) of emphasizing or defining the importance of the subject treated, and (2) of imparting ornament to the exposition—*ἡ κόσμον χάριν, ὥς αὐτοκάβδαλα φαίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ*, since, without such an exordium, the speech has an off-hand and trivial character. Similarly, *ib.* 7, 2, he lays down the principle that the style of an oration will be appropriate to the subject matter, *ἐὰν μῆτε περὶ εὐόγων αὐτοκαβάδᾶως λέγεται, μῆτε περὶ εὐτελῶν σεμνῶς*, if neither weighty themes are discussed in a free and easy style, nor paltry subjects pompously. It would appear also that there was a class of performers, called *αὐτοκάβδαλοι*, who delivered burlesque

improvisations. Athenaeus (XIV, 15) couples them with the Sicyonian *φαλλοφόροι*, and the Italian *φλύακες*, quoting Semus the Delian to the effect that they appeared upon the stage wearing an ivy wreath, and made extemporaneous speeches—*σχέδην ἐπέβαινον ῥήσεις* (if we are at liberty to take *σχέδην* in the sense of *αὐτοσχεδίως*). Probably we shall not be far wrong if we compare these *ῥήσεις* to the patter of music-hall ‘artistes.’ Hesychius indicates the current acceptance of the term by his explanation of *αὐτοκάβδαλα* as *αὐτοσχεδία ποιήματα*.

As for the derivation, we have the well-known Sanscrit word *śabdās*, ‘sound, voice, speech.’ The *αὐτοκάβδαλοι* would then be persons who made their own speeches, in contradistinction to professional actors. As *śabdās* appears to have no other Indo-Germanic affinities we cannot tell whether the vowel of the root *ṣ* is *a* or *e*; but, if the latter, we are justified in regarding the *a* as a dialectic variation, Aeolic or Doric.

G. DUNN.

Edinburgh.

CRITICAL NOTES ON PLUTARCH'S *LIVES*.

It is too much to expect that none of the following suggestions have been made already. There is, however, difficulty in ascertaining what work has been done on

the *Lives* of Plutarch, and I can only say that I have put down nothing in which I know myself to have been anticipated

A very common error, which we may

take first, is the substitution of the present tense for the future. This occurs over and over again in Greek authors, and it is surprising in how many cases it has escaped correction till recently or is awaiting it even now. Usually the error is merely that of a letter, γράφω for γράψω, πορεύεσθαι for πορεύσεσθαι, ἄγων for ἄζω, &c. Sometimes it is merely a question of accent, e.g. μένειν for μεῖν.

In the *Lives* there are some errors, certain or probable, of this nature, which seem not to have been pointed out.

Rom. 7 εἰ δὲ πιστὰ (ἀκούομεν) κρίνειν ἔοικε τὴν ὁ κίνδυνος. Read κρίνείν, *will, it seems, decide.*

Lyc. 9 Iycurgus' iron money was so heavy ὥστε δέκα μνῶν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθήκης τε μεγάλης ἐν οἰκίᾳ δεῖσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἄγοντος (ἄζοντος to draw it).

ib. 13. He did not put laws in writing, because he thought important things μένειν ἀκάνητα through character and training, while trifles were better left unregulated. Probably μενείν.

Public. 2. Envoys brought letters οἷς μάλιστα τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤοντο διαφθεῖρειν (διαφθερεῖν).

Timol. 11 threatening, εἰ μὴ τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλλει τοὺς Κορινθίους (ἐκβαλεῖ).

Marcell. 24 οἰόμενος τῷ δοκοῦντι καταλύειν Ἀννίβαν χρόνῳ πρότερον ἐκτριβεῖσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνου λήσεσθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν, the time which was counted on to dispose (καταλύσειν) of Hannibal. λήσεσθαι points to the other future.

So too we should read *Cato* 26 κινδυνεύουσιν: *Lucull.* 35 παραμεῖν: *Alex.* 29 πορεύεσθαι: *Phoc.* 35 γράψω?: *Demetr.* 8 διαπυρρύνειν: *Dion* 21 χαλεπαίνω.

In *Ages.* 16 φήσαντος δὲ βουλευέσεσθαι, Βουλευέσθω τοῖνυν ἐκείνος, εἰπεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πορευόμεθα we may restore either πορευόμεθα or πορευώμεθα. Slightly different is *Pyrrh.* 20 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σοὶ τοῦτο, βασιλεῦ, λυσίτελές ἐστιν, where the future ἐθελήσουσιν following helps to show that we should read ἔσται.

In *Pelop.* 9. we find the contrary and much more uncommon error, future for present: ἔπραττεν ὅτι μάλιστα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκλελυμένους καὶ κατοῖνους μεταχειρίσασθαι π α ρ έ ξ ε ι ν τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις, where the construction is ἔπραττε π α ρ έ χ ε ι ν (i.e. ἑαυτοὺς) τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι.

Future should be read for aorist in *Mar.* 37 ἀπεκρίναντο . . μὴ προσέσθαι τὸν Μάριον, and probably in *Solon* 15 ἤλπιζε. . . χρήσασθαι.

The present has usurped the place of the imperfect in *Aleib.* 33 οὐδὲ καταηρασάμην αὐτῷ κακὸν οὐδέν, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδίκει τὴν πόλιν

I did not really pronounce a curse on him, if he had not offended. So in *Lys.* 14 Ἀνισάνδρος μὲν ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις τάδε, Ἀλώκанти τὰ Ἀθῆναι, Λυσάνδρῳ δ' ἀντέγραψαν οἱ ἐφοροί, Ἀρκεί τό γε ἐαλόκειν the present tense ἀρκεί should be an imperfect, *was all you need have said.*

When in *Phoc.* 5 we are told that Polyuctus said Demosthenes was ῥήτωρ ἄριστος: but Phocion εἰπεῖν δεινότητος: ὡς γὰρ ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος ἀξία πλείστην ἐν ὄγκῳ βραχυτάτῳ δύναμιν ἔχει, οὕτω λόγον δεινότης ἐδόκει πολλὰ σημαίνειν ἀπ' ὀλίγων, we can easily see that the imperfect ἐδόκει should be δοκεῖ. Plutarch would probably have used accusative and infinitive in both clauses, if he had meant to give the sentence as due to Polyuctus. The same change has been rightly made in *Tit.* 20.

A few other confusions of verbal forms may be added.

Ages. 4 βασιλεὺς ἀποδεχθεῖς ὁ Ἀ. εὐθὺς εἶχε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Ἀγιδος. Read ἔσχε, *came into possession.* But *Cic.* 14 οἱ τε δυνατοὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν νέων πολλοὶ κτήγαγον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον read κατήγον: he is speaking of a practice, not of a single occasion.

Solon 14 ἀ δὲ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα πολλοὶ καταγελῶντες ἔλεγον should be φεύγοντος: *when he declined*, not *when he had escaped*, and *Marcell.* 2 οὐδεμίαν πρόκλησιν ἔφυγε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς προκαλεσαμένους ἀπέκτεινε should be ἔφηνγε. So too *ib.* 12. The same mistake has been already corrected in *Solon* 19 and *Marcell.* 2.

In the well-known story of Sophocles' first play, told in *Cimon* 8, we read that the archon appointed Cimon and his colleagues as judges πρώτῃν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέον καθέντος. It would have been little to the purpose to appoint them *after* the production (καθέντος) of the play and we may confidently substitute καθιέντος. In *Lucull.* 42 the parallel of ὑποδεχομένων seems to indicate that ἀνειμένον should be corrected to ἀνιέμενον; and *Alex.* 45 ὑφέιτο should be ὑφίετο (ἀπόπειρα ὑφίετο *he was furtively making experiment*).

Mar. 40 ἐρομένου δ' ἐκείνου τί φράζει καὶ τί λέγει πρὸς τὸν στρατηγόν read φράζει and λέγει, *what he is to say.*

Participle has been corrupted to infinitive twice in *Pompe.* 49 ἡλέγχθη ἕξφος ἔχειν, where read ἔχων, and 58 ἔφη . . ὁρῶν ὑπερφανόμενα τῶν Ἀλπεων ἥδη δέκα τάγματα βαδίζειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψεν τὸν ἀντιταξόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, where read ἐκπέμψων. (βαδιεῖν? the late form. Madvig omits βαδίζειν.)

Alex. 3 Φιλίππῳ . . τρεῖς ἡκον ἀγγελίαι ἡ

μὲν Ἰλλυριοὺς ἡττᾶσθαι . . ., ἣ δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν
ἵππῳ κέλῃτι νενικηκέναι, τρίτῃ δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀ.
γενέσεως. Clearly we must read ἡττήσθαι.

Artax. 8 περισκοπῶν χώραν καὶ τάξιν, οὐχ
ἀφ' ἧς σώσειε τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ἀλλ' ἐν τίνι θέμενος
ἐαντὶ ἀσφαλῶς μαχεῖται. Read σώσειε.

Two passages of considerable difficulty
may perhaps be cured by this sort of treat-
ment. Appius Claudius tells his wife (*Tib.*
Gracch. 4) that he has found a husband for
their daughter, κακείνη θανμάσασα τίς, εἶπεν, ἣ
σπουδῇ ἢ τί τὸ τάχος; εἰ δὲ Τιβέριον αὐτῇ
Γράχχον ὑψήρκεις νυμφίον; Taking εἶπεν in
the sense of *asked*, which in late Greek it
certainly sometimes bears, we might read
εὐρήκοι and translate 'she asked him what
was the hurry, and had he found a husband
in *Tib. Gracchus*.' (The old εἰ μὴ and
εὐρίσκεις—or better perhaps ὑψήρκεις—of
Stephanus may however be preferred.) Again
Alex 52 Alexander is blamed for deferring to
the opinion of men, οἷς αὐτὸν προσήκει
νόμον εἶναι καὶ ὅρον τῶν δικαίων, ἐπεὶ περ ἄρ-
χειν καὶ κρατεῖν νενίκηκεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεῖν
ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης κεκρατημένον. As this pas-
sage stands, ἄρχειν ἀν' κρατεῖν must be taken
to give the effect of νενίκηκεν, as though they
followed on a ὥστε; but this is very harsh.
Read rather ἐπεὶ περ ἄρχει καὶ κρατεῖ νενικη-
κώς. With these two passages may be
associated *Alcib.* 34 παρακελευομένους, ὅπως...
καταβαλὼν ψηφίσματα καὶ νόμους καὶ φλυῖρους
ἀπολλύντας τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἂν πράξῃ καὶ χρήσῃται
τοῖς πράγμασι. ὡς ἂν could hardly in any case
be right after παρακελευομένους and with ὅπως
is indubitably wrong. Reiske saw what was
wanted when he wrote ὡς ἂν <βούληται>
πράξει καὶ χρήσεται, and I have only to sug-
gest δόξῃ for his βούληται as being more
likely to fall out before the partly similar
πράξει.

There seem to be a few places where a
lost ἂν has not yet been restored to the
text: *Mar.* 11. πρὶν <ἂν> ἀνατρέψωσι: *ib.* 25
ἐλπίσαντα μάλιστ' <ἂν> συμπεσεῖν: *Ages.* 11
<ἂν> ἐνεκατέστη: *ib.* 24 ἐπεισθῇ πᾶσι
κάλλιον <ἂν> εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότερον εἰ τὸν
Πειραιᾶ καταλάβοι δι' ἐαυτοῦ: *Cic.* 17 λόγον
μὲν οὐκ <ἂν> ἔφη διδόναι. So in the first
chapter of *Dion* ἔλεγε τοὺς γεγυμνασμένους
παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ κρέας ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἰδὼν φέροντας
ἐπυγῶναι πόρρωθεν, it is pretty clear that καὶ
should be κἄν: he said he *could* or *should*
know them, not that he *did*, which would
moreover require the present tense ἐπι-
γινώσκειν.

Not less common than the errors above
illustrated—and they are all common in
Greek MSS.—is the confusion of com-

parative and superlative adjectives and
adverbs. Of this we find an example in
Pyrrhus 9, where, asked by one of his sons
to which of them he would leave his king-
dom, he replies ὅς ἂν ὑμῶν τὴν μάχαιραν
ὀξύτεραν ἔχῃ (read ὀξυτάτην), and another in
Crass. 2 εἴκοιε μὴ μία πασῶν ἐρρωμενέστερα τῶν
ἐν αὐτῷ κακιῶν γενομένη τὰς ἄλλας ἀμεινῶσαι,
where we equally need a superlative. So
in *Sulla*, 2 τοῦ γήρως ἀωρότερα should be τοῦ
γήρως ἀωρότατα, i.e. *very untimely in, very
unfit for, old age*. But in *Cleom.* 24 ἔργον
ἀποδειξαμένῳ τοῦ πεπραγμένου κάλλιον καὶ
βασιλικώτατον and *Cato* 48 μῖτε τὰ πρῶτα
πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν εἰπεῖν Πομπηίου μήτε ταῦτα
πρὸς χάριν the comparatives βασιλικώτερον
and πρῶτερα have to be restored. In the
same way we have to read μάλλον for μάλιστα
(another common confusion) in *Phoc.* 8,
where it is said that the people of Athens
ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς...τὸν αὐστηρότατον καὶ φρονιμώ-
τατον ἐκάλει τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνον ἢ μάλλον
ταῖς βουλήσεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁρμαῖς ἀντιτατ-
τόμενον, μάλλον being meaningless, (Madvig
μάλλον <τῶν ἄλλων>); cf. *Plat. Rep.* 353 A
ἢ μόνον ἢ κάλλιστα and *Aristot. Elog.* 3
(Bergk) μόνος ἢ πρῶτος: also the note below
on *Solon* 14. In *Sulla* 3 δι' ἐκείνου μάλιστα
βουλόμενος τὴν σύλληψιν...γενέσθαι ἢ δι'
αὐτοῦ the reverse change is necessary. In
Cato 46 ἄκρατον αὐτοῦ καθαυτάμενον ὥσπερ
οἶνον καὶ μανικώτερον read ἀκρατότερον.

Very common again in Greek MSS. is
confusion of the various parts of οἶτος,
αὐτός, ὁ αὐτός: οἶτος and τοσοῦτος: οἶος and
ὄσος: τοιοῦτος and τοσοῦτος. If therefore
sense is restored or improved by such a
change, we need have no scruple in altering
such passages as the following: *Solon* 9
ἐθελοντῶς λαβεῖν πεντακοσίους, δόγματος
γενομένου τούτους (read τοσοῦτους), ἂν
κατασχῶσι τὴν νῆσον, κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ
πολιτεύματος, and 30 οὐ καλῶς...ὑποκρίνη
τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ταῦτα (read ταῦτὰ)
γὰρ ποιεῖς τοὺς πολίτας παρακρούμενος οἷς
ἐκείνους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηπάτησεν αἰκισάμενος
ἐαυτόν.

C. Marc. 6 after the fable of the belly
and the members οὕτως (read οἷτος or ὁ αὐτός)
οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου λόγος ἐστίν, ὦ
πολίται, πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Marcell. 28 φιλοτιμώτερον πάθος ἢ κατὰ
προσβύτην τοσοῦτον. This would, I imagine,
mean *so great an old man*. Read τοιοῦτον,
so old.

Crass. 16 ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀρὰς
ἀποθέτους καὶ παλαιὰς τοιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν,
ὡς κ.τ.λ. Read τοσαύτην, adding at the
same time οὕτως after ἀποθέτους.

Ages. 19 τὰς θύρας ἀφῆκεν οὕτως οὕτως σφόδρα παλαιάς, ὡς δοκεῖν εἶναι ταύτας ἐκείνας ἃς ἐπέθηκεν Ἀριστοτόδωμος. For ταύτας read τὰς αὐτάς; αὐτάς would give a hiatus. Possibly ἐκείνας should be ἐκείναις.

Alex. 11 οὔτε . . . οἶον καταζεύξαι καὶ τιθασέσθαι χρόνον ἔσχεν. Read ὅσον, time enough.

Phoc. 17 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Χάρης ἱστόρηκε and 29 καὶ τοῦτο ὅπερ ὕστερον κ.τ.λ. In both places τοῦτο should, I think, be ταῦτό.

Philop. 1 I would read οὗτοί γε μὴν for αὐτοί γε μὴν.

Let us turn next to a few passages in which the case terminations seem to have gone wrong.

Lys. et Sull. Comp. 3 τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι λογισμὸν ἢ φειδὼ πρὸς τὰς παρ' οἶνον συνουσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτας; Probably αὐτῷ governed by εἶναι.

Lucull. 2 δεομένων . . . ὅπως τε νόμους γράψῃ καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν εἰς τύπον καταστήσῃ πολιτείας σώφροτος. There is no point in αὐτὸν; read αὐτῶν.

Ages. 12 μετὰ ταῦτα Φαρνάβαζος εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ συνήγεν ἀμφοτέρους ὧν ξένος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Ἀπολλοφάνης. Read ἀμφοτέροις, because (1) otherwise we should probably have ξένος ὧν, not ὧν ξένος; (2) 'brought them both together' for 'brought them together' is pleonastic; (3) ἀμφοτέροις is needed to bring out distinctly the meaning of ξένος.

In the conversation that follows A. says to P. ἀφ' ἧς δ' ἂν ἡμέρας σεαυτὸν ἀξιώσῃς Ἑλλήνων φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον μᾶλλον ἢ δοῦλον λέγεσθαι βασιλέως, ταύτην νόμιζε τὴν φύλαγγα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ταῦς καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τῶν σὼν κτημάτων φύλακας εἶναι, where it is easy to see that we should read ταύτῃ, on that day. There is indeed no phalanx present.

Alex. 29 οἱ κληρούμενοι τὰς φυλάς. The phrase is κληροῦσθαι τὰς φυλαῖς.

ib. 50 δυστυχία τινὲ . . . πεπραγμένα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὄργην καὶ μέθην πρόφασιν τῷ Κλείτῳ δαίμονι παρασχόντος. Probably ὄργῃ καὶ μέθῃ.

Phoc. 17 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ψήφισμα λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς ἔλαβε ῥῆψαι καὶ φυγεῖν ἀποστραφέντα τοῖς πρέσβεις. ἀποστραφέντας?

Cic. 47 τὸν μὲν Κικέρωνα προλαμβάνειν τῇ φυγῇ. Rather τῆς φυγῆς, as in Thuc. 4. 33.

Anton. 21 εἰς οὓς τὰ πλείστα κατανηλίσκετο τῶν χρημάτων τῷ βιωσιωτάτῳ καὶ χαλεπωτάτῳ τρῶπι ποριζομένων. Read τῶν for τῷ.

Dion. 45 ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἅμα προσφέροίτο φοβερώτερον. Probably φοβερώτερος.

Brut. 30 ἃ μὲν ἐβλάπτοντο πρὸς ὀργὴν

τιθέμενοι. The proper construction and one found elsewhere in Plutarch is πρὸς ὀργῆς.

Galba 9 τὸ Σπύρῳ τοῦ Νέρωνος συγκαθεύδειν. Should not τοῦ be τῷ?

A mistake of the same kind would seem to have occurred in *Nic. et Crass. Comp.* 1. πρᾶγμα ποῖον Περικλεῖ μὲν ἴσως . . . μὴ πρέπον, αὐτῷ δ' ἀναγκαῖον . . . ᾧ καὶ Λυκούργος ὕστερον ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπαρρησιάζετο κ.τ.λ. where ᾧ looks like a corruption of ὡς.

Small words have perhaps been omitted in the following places. *Lycurg.* 5 ὡς τῶν κατὰ μέρος νόμων οὐδὲν ἔργον <ὄν> οὐδ' ὄφελος, and 16 ὡς οὔτε αὐτῷ ζῆν ἄμεινον <ὄν> οὔτε τῇ πόλει.

Solon 3 φιλοσοφίας δὲ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ μάλιστα τὸ πολιτικόν, ὥσπερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν σοφῶν, ἡγάπησεν. Both the phrasing and the statement are strange, and I conjecture τὸ ἠθικὸν μάλιστα <καὶ> τὸ πολιτικόν.

ib. 14 συνορῶντες τὸν Σόλωνα μόνον μάλιστα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς ὄντα. Read μόνον <ἢ> μάλιστα. So in *Pyrrh.* 14 ἐδόκει μόνος εὖ μάλιστα . . . τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως . . . ἀναμνησκεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας Reiske suggested ἢ for εὖ. Cf. above on *Phoc.* 8. The well-known story in *Artax.* 22 may be emended too: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς εἴοικε, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα Φεῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπου μηδίζουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ Λάκωνες, οὐ μᾶλλον, εἶπεν, οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσι; Read οὐ μᾶλλον, εἶπεν, <ἢ> οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσι. N and H are easily confused and this would help the loss of H here.

Pelop. 2 μαχόμενος needs a μὲν after it to contrast it with στρατηγῶν δέ. The loss of μὲν is probably due to the participial termination. So in *Ages.* 2 read οἷος φόβῳ <μὲν> μηδὲν, αἰσχύνην δὲ πάντα ποιεῖν (μὲν and μὴ are sometimes confused).

Tit. 6 ἄχρι <τοῦ> τοῦς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν, as e.g. *Pyrrh.* 32 ἄχρι τοῦ παρεπισπεῖν τοὺς Γαλάτας. Is not the article lost in *Galb.* 5 συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης? or can it be omitted with σύγκλητος? For its omission with an infinitive after τυγχάνω in *Pelop.* 33 there are one or two parallels (*Plato Phil.* 50 D; *Xen. Cyn.* 1. 8), but hardly enough to give complete confidence.

Mar. 44 Κάτλος δὲ Λουτάτιος <ὁ> Μαρῖω συνάρεας.

Anton. 21 ἐπόλουν <τὰς> οὐσίας τῶν φορευομένων, ἐπισυκοφαντοῦντες <τοὺς> οἰκείους καὶ <τὰς>? γυναῖκας αὐτῶν.

Μὲν should be μὲν <οὖν> in *Lucull.* 3 after ἑαυτοῦ and perhaps in *Cato* 40 we should read παρανόμως μὲν <οὖν> οὖ.

Crass. 32 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμπεφύκτος Κράσσω τῶν αἰχμαλώτων . . . διδαχθεὶς Κράσσος ἐπακούει καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς καλοῦσιν κ.τ.λ. C. and K.

ὑπακούειν stand in the sense answer to the name of Crassus, or has a ὥς been lost before it? I do not feel sure.

Ages. 16 ἐδείθη μὲν <οὐδὲν> οὐδενὸς τῶν βαρβάρων.

Alex. 50 φάσκων οὐ καλῶς ἐν βαρβάροις καὶ πολέμοις ὑβρίζεσθαι Μακεδόνας πολὺν βελτίονας <όντας> τῶν γελώντων, εἰ καὶ δυστυχία κέχρηται?

ib. 71 καὶ (read καὶ) ταῖς μελέταις εὐχέρειαν . . ἐπιδειξαμένων.

Demetr. 42 φήσας μὴ σχολάζειν, ἐγκραγόντος ἐκείνου καὶ Μὴ βασίλευε εἰπόντος, δηχθεὶς κ.τ.λ. Read μὴ <δή>: otherwise the connexion is not brought out.

Artax. 28 ἢ <τε> τῆς Ἀσπασίας ἀφαίρεσις.

Sometimes words of more importance are omitted.

Camill. 4 περὶ ὧν (ἔφη) ἐθέλειν ἐκείνῳ κοινοσάμενος, εἴ τι δύναιτο, θέσθαι τῶν ιδίων ἅμενον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς νοσοῦσιν. We may restore sense and grammar to this by inserting some such infinitive as σκοπεῖσθαι, perhaps after ἐκείνῳ, and removing the comma after δύναιτο.

Pelop. 4 τούτους ἀν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως προσαγορεύσει συνήρχοντας καὶ συστρατήγους ἢ ἐκείνους. Α μᾶλλον has been lost.

Ryrt. 22 νομίζων ὡς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολλύναι θάτερον. This can hardly be a case of νομίζων=νομίζων δεῖν (if that construction is allowed) because ὡς is then left without any particular meaning. Add δεῖ or ἀνάγκη.

Cim. 8 The sentence, ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε, seems wrong. We might expect τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ ὑπερέβαλε, but, as this would give a hiatus, we must rather suppose an omission of some word or words. Possibly <πρὸς> or <κατὰ> τὴν φιλοτιμίαν; but many suggestions might be made.

Crass. 14 τῶν δὲ Κράσσου νοσημάτων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ φιλοπλουτία καὶνὸν ἔρωτα προσλαβούσα καὶ ζῆλον ἐπὶ ταῖς Καίσαρος ἀριστεταῖς τροπαῖαις καὶ θριάμβων, οἷς γε μόνοις ἐλαττοῦσθαι προῦχοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν οὐδ' ἐλώφηνεν. We seem to want something like οἷς γε μόνοις ἐ. π. τ. ἀ. <ἔλεγον> (or <ἐνόμιζον>) αὐτόν, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν. In no case can an unemphatic αὐτόν be right after a comma.

Ages. 6 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρχεις ἐκείνῳ, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς πολεμείς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων ὁρμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, εἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ θῦσαι σε τῇ θεῷ <τὴν αὐτὴν> θυσίαν ἣν ἐκείνος ἐνταῦθα θύσας ἐξέπλευσεν.

Rompr. 76 Ἀρσάκην ποιέσθαι κύριον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν μηδὲ Κράσσου δυννηθέντα ζῶντος. Add to

the last words γενέσθαι (i.e. κύριον γενέσθαι), or κρατῆσαι, or an equivalent.

Alex. 37 ὃν φασιν ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Πυθίαν προειπεῖν ὡς λύκος ἔσται καθηγεμὼν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. After προειπεῖν something like <λέγουσαν> seems lost.

ib. 51 τοῦ δὲ Κλείτου μὴ εἰκοντος ἄλλ' εἰς μέσον ἂ βούλεται λέγειν <εἰ> τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος?

Cato Minor 11 οὕτως οὐ τῷ ξίφει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ γραφείῳ τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον καὶ τὸ ἀνυπόδικον ἐπίστευσεν. Some infinitive, perhaps only εἶναι or ὑπάρχειν, seems missing.

ib. 69 ἢ που καὶ ὑμῖν δέδοκται βία κατέχειν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ βίῳ; Sintonis says 'ἐν τῷ βίῳ προήκοντα ccd. Parisinus C.' This suggests ἄνδρα <εἰς> τοσοῦτον ἡλικίας προήκοντα.

Cic. 29 καὶ θεραπαινίδας παρέχειν ὡς συγγένοιτο τῇ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Perhaps θεραπαινίδας <μάρτυρας>.

Demetr. 43 ἀλλὰ θέαν μόνον (ἢ ναῦς) ἐκείνη παρέσχε καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον διαφέρουσα τῶν μονίμων οἰκοδομημάτων, φανῆναι πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, οὐ χρεῖαν, ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ δυσέργως ἐκινήθη. Something is lost before φανῆναι, possibly only ὡς (after -ων), perhaps an infinitive as well, e.g. <ὡς κατεσκευάσθαι> φανῆναι.

Dion 2 προαηρήθησαν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι τοῦ τέλους, εἰς ὃ προῦθεντο τὰς πράξεις ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων καταθέσθαι, μὴ δυνηθέντες <τυχεῖν>? τυχεῖν will govern τοῦ τέλους. See Reiske.

Arat. 25 Χαριμένους . . . προσλαβόντος ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀνθρωπον . . . ἡγανάκτησαν. ἀνθρωπον can hardly have stood alone. Add ἄλλον? ἄλλος and ἀνθρωπος (ἄνθρωπος) are much alike. But ἄλλον ἀνθρωπον does not seem to me quite satisfactory.

Otho 5 ὁ δὲ Σπουρίνας προσβιαζόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκινδύνευσεν μικρὸν ἐλθόντας ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. This is quite untranslatable and probably several words are missing before μικρόν. The last of them must have been παρά, as παρὰ μ. ἐ. ἀ. αὐ. would be the idiom for 'having come within a little of killing him.'

I will conclude with some miscellaneous emendations, taking them in the order of the *Lives*.

Thes. 32 τοὺς τε πολλοὺς διετύραττε καὶ διέβαλλεν ὡς ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ὀρῶντας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀπεστερημένους πατριδῶν. Cobet ἐλευθερίαν. Did not Plutarch write ἐρῶντας?

Lyceurg. 20 μεμφομένων τινῶν Ἑκαταῖον . . ., ὅτι παραληφθεὶς εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν. For τό read τι.

Solon 15 ἢ μὲν ἄριστον ἦν, οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν ἱατροείαν οὐδὲ καينوτομίαν . . . ἃ δὲ καὶ λέγων

ἤλπιζε πειθομένοις καὶ προσάγων ἀνάγκην ὑπομένουσι χρῆσασθαι (rather χρήσεσθαι), ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν. ἄριστον is evidently wrong, the sense required being that he made changes where he thought he could, but left things untouched where he despaired of really succeeding. If ἄριστον is an ordinary corruption, we may perhaps suggest ἀχρηστον. If however it is due to the ἄριστον which occurs a line or two later, the original word may have been much more unlike it in form, though the sense must have been that of ἀχρηστον.

Themist. 4 τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχόντων Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι. ἀπὸ τ. ἀ. μ. has all the appearance of being an adscript. It is an awkward addition to τὴν Λ. π. and, if added at all, would probably require another article.

Pericles 28 The reproach of Elpinice to Pericles, ταῦτα θαυμαστά . . . καὶ ἄξιά στεφάνων should, I think, be a question, not an ironical statement. So in *Pyrrhus* 14 in the famous conversation of the king with Cineas ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο πέρας ἡμῶν τῆς στρατείας, λαβεῖν Σικελίαν must be a question.

Alcib. 26 συνέπραττε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Θρασύβουλος ὁ Στειριεὺς ἅμα παρὼν καὶ κεκραγώς. Perhaps παριών.

Timol. 7 ἂν μὲν καλῶς ἀγωνίσῃ, τύραννον ἀνηρηκέναι δόξομεν· ἂν δὲ φαύλως, ἀδελφόν. For δόξομεν I suggest λέξομεν. Schäfer was probably right in adding σε.

Pelop. 2 ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς λίαν ἡσχύνην. Read καὶ for ὡς, meaningless here and sometimes confused in MSS. with καί.

Marcell. 5 Τιβέριος οὖν κ.τ.λ. The οὖν, which is not in place here, should be γοῦν, in its common use of giving some fact or example in support of a general statement. On the other hand in *Alex.* 32 τὸν γοῦν Ἀ. κ.τ.λ. the γοῦν is quite inappropriate and should be δ' οὖν; so too in *Cic.* 5 ὁ γοῦν Κικέρων. The same change has been already made in *Alex.* 28.

ib. 21 τὸν δῆμον εἰθισμένον πολεμεῖν ἢ γεωργεῖν. Probably ἦ should be καί. The same men did both.

Arist. et Cat. Comp. 4 ὅ γε πολλὰ συνάγων, δλίγοις δὲ χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτάρκης· ἀλλ', εἴτε μὴ δέχεται, ὅς τις παρασκευῆς ὦν οὐκ ὀρέγεται μάταιος· εἴτ' ὀρέγεται, μικρολογία κολούων τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἄθλιος. The genitive τῆς παρασκευῆς has no construction. The dative τῇ παρασκευῇ, which has been suggested, introduces hiatus with ὦν. Is not some word missing, probably a participle, such as φροντίζων, balancing κολούων in the parallel clause?

Tit. 12 ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν ἀγόμενον πρὸς τὸ μετοίκιον. I do not see what πρὸς can mean here. Should it be διὰ? Or are the words otherwise wrong?

Pyrrh. 21 ἀφειδοῦντες ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὸ τρῶσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὀρώντες. Reiske inserted πρὸς before τὸ τρῶσαι, rightly I think: but should not ὀρώντες be ὀρμώντες?

Mar. 3 Scipio, being asked what worthy successor to him Rome would have, answered, touching young Marius on the shoulder, τάχα δὲ τοῦτον. Read δῆ, often joined to τάχα. *Anton.* 84 I would write ἄλλας δῆ for ἄλλας δέ.

Lucull. 4 κακοδαίμονοιντας should be κακοδαίμωνωντας.

ib. 6 Κέθηγον ἀνθοῖντα τῇ δόξῃ τότε καὶ φέροντα τὴν πόλιν. φέροντα may be right and it harmonises in a way with ἀνθοῖντα, but it is oddly used. ἄγοντα would be more natural, as e.g. in *Thuc.* 2. 65. 8 οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (τοῦ πλήθους) ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε. Perhaps therefore φθείροντα may be worth considering.

In the next sentence οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ should be οὔτε . . . οὔτε.

ib. 41 μεταλαβεῖν ἡμέραν ἀξιοῦντος. Here again μεταλαβεῖν does not seem impossible, but μεταβαλεῖν more likely. The two forms are constantly interchanged.

Cim. et Lucull. Comp. 1 Ἀφροδίσια τῶν πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιῶν ἄγοντα means nothing. Read < ἐκ > τῶν πολέμων, after his wars (and ἄξιον with Bekker).

Nic. 2 τρεῖς ἐγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν . . . Νικίας . . . καὶ Θουκυδίδης . . . καὶ Θηραμένης. Read τῶν πολιτικῶν. Plutarch follows the author of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία 28 δοκοῦσι δὲ βέλτιστοι γεγονέναι τῶν Ἀθηνῆσι πολιτῶν τῶν αὐτῶν μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους Ν. καὶ Θ. καὶ Θ. (It is a coincidence that in Ἀθ. Πολ. 8. 4 πολιτῶν is a fairly certain mistake for πολιτικῶν).

ib. 12 τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου τόλμαν καὶ τὴν Λαμάχου πραότητα. For πραότητα such suggestions as θρασύτητα, θερμότητα, προπέτεια (Dobree) have been made. Perhaps ἱταμότητα would be nearer than any of these, though not convincing.

ib. 15 and 16 I would write γάρ for δέ in ὁ δὲ Λάμαχος and τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων. Their occasional confusion is a recognised fact.

Ages. 7 τοὺς μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ δυναμένους. μᾶλλον here is not really good Greek for μείζον, which occurs (μείζον δύνασθαι) a few lines below; but in Plutarch we might not be safe in altering it.

ib. 11 οὐδὲν δεινὸν πείθειν ἑμᾶς ἐκείνων. πείθειν is quite inapposite. I have thought of αἰθεῖν (Latin *urere* of love), but the word

is perhaps too poetical. Cf. ἐκνίζεν αὐτόν . . ὁ ἔρως above.

Pomp. 10. ἐπέκεινα . ὥθονμένων. Read ἐπ' ἐκείνα, to those parts.

ib. 53 ὅπου τοσοῦτον βάθος ἡγεμονίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐρυχωρίας δυοῖν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐπέσχεν. ἐπῆρκεσεν or ἀπέχρησεν is suggested. The use of ἀπέχεν to be enough is not very well attested for such Greek as Plutarch's, but ἀπέσχεν would seem very probable here, if we were sure of the use.

Phoc. 16 τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δεόμενοι καὶ δακρύνοντες μόλις ἔπεισαν. Should we supply something like <σύμμαχον> ἔχοντες? But what does this reference to the Areopagus mean? Compare perhaps the 2nd Arg. to the *Androtion* which says of the Areopagus, ἡνίκα μεγίστη ἀνάγκη ἐγένετο, τότε μόνον περὶ δημοσίων συνήγετο.

Cleom. 21 μεγίστων . . πραγμάτων ἐπικρατήσας καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὅλης . . Πελοποννήσου κύριος γενέσθαι δεήσας. μετά cannot be right. The usual phrase would be μικροῦ δεήσας and perhaps κατὰ μικρὸν . . δεήσας might stand here as a variation on it, though I know no parallel.

Demetr. 30 τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐξέστη δὲ ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ. For αὐτοῦ, which is unmeaning, I have suggested παντός in this *Review* 17, 146. If the suggestions there made are at all approved, they might induce us in *Arat.* 1 φιλαύτου γὰρ ἀνδρός, οὐ φιλοκάλου, παντός ἀεὶ βέλτιστον ἡγέσθαι to read ἐαυτόν for παντός, but the error in the text may be more considerable.

Dion 31. In a letter from Dionysius

to Dion there were ὑπομνήσεις and κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπειλαὶ σωμάτων and ἐπισκήψεις δειναὶ μετ' ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ τὸ μάλιστα κινήσαν αὐτόν, ἀξιοῦντος μὴ καθαιρεῖν ἀλλὰ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν τυραννίδα. I can make no sense of καὶ . . αὐτόν and would suggest κατὰ τὸ μάλιστα κινήσον (or μάλιστ' ἂν κινήσαν), αὐτόν in the way most likely to move him, (Madvig has anticipated me in proposing κινήσον). Perhaps also αὐτόν should be αὐτοῖς, to move them, the Syracusans. At the end of the following chapter ὑπολαμβάνων δὲ καὶ μεταγὼν ῥᾶον αὐτοῖς, οἱ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ Δίωνος . . . ἀπεστρέφοντο, the pronoun οἱ does not go well with αὐτοῖς and should perhaps be οἱ. So in *Cato* 2 Sintonis has written ὅτι for ὁ (παῖς οὗτός ἐστιν). At the beginning of Ch. 33 should not ἀφ' αὐτῶν be ἐφ' αὐτῶν?

Dion et Brut. *Comp.* 2 καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὅμοιον Διονυσίου Συρακουσίοις ἢ Καίσαρος ἀπαλλαγῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. For ἡ write καί. Cf. above on *Marcell.* 21.

Artax. 6 καρδίαν ἔφη τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φορεῖν βαρυτέραν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν μᾶλλον καὶ μαγεύειν βέλτιον. Read βαθυτέραν.

Galb. 29 τῇ Οὐνδίκος ἐμπαρασχὼν ὄνομα τόλμη, κίνημα καὶ νευτερισμὸν αὐτοῦ λεγομένην τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐποίησε πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ τυχοῦσαν. It is not so much a question what it was called as what it was. λεγόμενος and γεόμενος sometimes get confused and I would suggest γενομένην here. Galba turned what had been only an agitation or political movement into a civil war.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

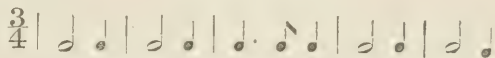
THE LATIN SAPPHIC.

An interesting article by Prof. Sonnenschein (see above, p. 252) proposes a bold answer to the question—Why did Horace fetter the Sapphic verse (1) by the regular caesura after the fifth syllable (in the *Three Books* almost invariable), and (2) by making the fourth syllable invariably long? Prof. Sonnenschein, modifying the views of Prof. Eickhoff, would reply:—Because these rules were necessary to the rhythm intended by Horace, which was not that of the Greek Sapphic, but was identical, or almost identical, with that familiar to schoolboys,

Pérsicos ódi púer apparátus,

the rhythm of the 'Needy knifegrinder.'

The Greek verse had five bars of 3-time, thus:



The Horatian verse, according to this theory, had four bars of 2-time, thus:



which is a delicate modulation of 'Needy knifegrinder.'

The points in favour of this are plain, and one of them is strong. It accounts for the facts adduced, and in particular for the puzzling fourth syllable. If Horace in-

of metre. If these poems are in 2-time, so must be the verses which have the trochaic caesura, thus,

flūmen et rēgnatā petam Lacōni.

The prevalent 2-time rhythm must be supposed to carry us through these rare exceptions, which, though less suitable to it, are allowed for the sake of variety. This is conceivable; but great difficulties remain. Though such weaker verses may be admitted, there is one place in the poem where the poet would never put them; and that is the beginning. When the rhythm is established, the variety may come in, but we must at all events start right. Yet Horace in his *First Book*, where we most look for direction, and where the trochaic caesura is very rare, nevertheless three times begins a poem with that caesura (*Odes* 10, 12, 30), that is, in such a way as inevitably to suggest that the poem has the Greek rhythm throughout. Still stranger must appear his later work. *Ode* IV. 2 seems on this hypothesis unmanageable. Here most stanzas, about two in three, contain verses with trochaic caesura such as

laurea donandus Apollinari,

verses which, if the poem as a whole is 2-time, must either stand outside the metre altogether, or be brought into it by violating the natural run of the words. Surely this is beyond belief. Other difficulties arise as we look further, but this one is enough for the present.

Nor can Prof. Eickhoff's views¹ claim strength from the predominance of the 'Horatian caesura.' They do indeed explain this very well; but it can very well be explained without them. Prof. Sonnenschein says truly that many books of authority do not explain it, but leave us practically to suppose that it was on the part of Horace a mere blunder. But it is explicable nevertheless. It is an application to the Sapphic of the same principles which the Roman imitators applied to those Greek metres which they best succeeded in transplanting, the hexameter and pentameter. It secures a certain *discrepancy* between the rhythmical ictus and the word-accent. Thus in the hexameter, the rhythmical ictus is

¹ I should say that I know them only through Prof. Sonnenschein. Prof. Eickhoff is, it seems, now prepared to say that the Greek Sapphic, the ode ποικιλόθρονος for instance, is 2-time. At present I find this incomprehensible.

u u u | x - | u u u | x - | u u u | x -

the heavier beats marking the pairs of feet. The Latin poets, having first decided that, for the purpose of recitation in their language, the two last beats, the fifth and sixth, must regularly *coincide* with a word-accent, and having therefore discarded (rare exceptions apart) the quadrisyllabic ending, next invented rules, inconvenient, stringent, but presumably necessary, to secure that in the earlier part of the verse the beat and the accent should be sufficiently *discrepant*. The most important of all, the predominance of the penthemimeral caesura

impositique rogis | iuvenes ante ora
parentum

secures that, whereas the first of the three heavier beats must always have some word-accent, and the third (the fifth in the verse) always has the full accent, the second (third in the verse) is in the great majority of verses accentless, as here in the last syllable of *rogis*. The other rules, such as that the trochaic caesura shall regularly be followed by the hepthemimeral caesura

et metus et malesuada | fames | et turpis
egestas,

are applications of the same principle, namely that *beat and accent shall not too much coincide*. The Latin pentameter develops *mutatis mutandis* in the same way. So also, in respect of the caesura, does the Horatian Sapphic. Words apart, the rhythmical beat is

u u | x - | u u u | x - | u u

the feet tending here, as always, to fall into pairs. Now of the three chief beats, the third, from the nature of the case, must always have a full word-accent; the first will always have some, and frequently the full. And the 'Horatian caesura'

fronte curvatos | imitatus ignes

simply secures that, in order to oppose a contrast to these two beats, and to prevent the verse from trotting, the second of the chief beats (third in the verse) shall be the final syllable of a word, and therefore accentless. When we see to what embarrassing restrictions Virgil and his successors thought it necessary, for the like purpose, to subject the Greek hexameter, we need not be surprised that Horace in the Sapphic was similarly severe.

The parallel may be carried further; for although Horace does not actually impose on the trochaic caesura in the Sapphic the restriction normally imposed in the hexameter—namely, that it must be followed by an iambic word—yet he shows a strong preference for this arrangement. The rare examples of that caesura in the *Three Books* are all of this type. Thus *Ode* I. 10, the only Sapphic poem in those books which uses that caesura in a considerable proportion, gives

Mercuri facunde | nepos | Atlantis—
nuntium curvaeque | lyrae | parentem—
sedibus virgaeque | levem | coerces.

In the *Carmen Saeculare*, out of 19 verses with trochaic caesura, 13 have the iambus, as

Phoebe silvarumque potens Diana.

One is dubious,

haec Iovem sentire deosque cunctos.

Only five are free,¹ allowing the word-accent to fall both on the third beat of the verse and on the fourth, as

lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres.

And this one exhibits a Greek word (*Ilithyia*), which, according to the general principles of Latin poetry, would excuse a recurrence to Greek freedom. It is clear therefore that Horace felt such a verse as

siderum regina bicornis, audi

to be an extreme liberty, and was disposed generally to follow in this matter the track of Virgil.

The view that Horace adopted 2-time, or was even influenced by it, must stand, if at all, on the invariable lengthening of the fourth syllable, this being the only phenomenon for which, with 3-time, it is not easy to account.

Still this difficulty remains, and it is, in my opinion, serious. A preference for the rhythm $\underline{\text{—}} \cup \underline{\text{—}} \underline{\text{—}}$, as against $\underline{\text{—}} \cup \underline{\text{—}} \cup$, would be intelligible and might be illustrated by other facts in Latin poetry; but not that this preference should be exclusive. The disadvantages are obvious, and Horace cannot have overlooked them. For the rigid caesura we see a compensation, and such as for Roman ears may be supposed adequate. But what was the sufficient compensation here? Horace can write

plurimum circa nemus *avidique*
Tiburis ripas,

that is, he can allow the double trochee at the end of the verse, even where there is no pause to diminish the trochaic effect. Why then in spite of the strongest reasons, temptations and precedents to the contrary, did he abstain altogether from the double trochee at the beginning of the verse? The view that he was influenced by the 2-time rhythm answers this question, and there is so much to be said for it.

But though this were assumed, it would not involve the incredible conclusion that he himself intended his Sapphics to be read with that rhythm. It would be sufficient that he was aware of a prevalent tendency to it among his expected readers. It is easy to conceive such a situation. The metre was foreign. It had no hold yet (if indeed it ever had) upon the Latin language and the Roman ear. Even for those who spoke or read Greek, Sapphics lay out of the common track. Most Romans may be supposed to have known nothing about them. Now Horace, as he tells us, though resolved to satisfy the learned, meant also to conquer a wide public, the whole educated population of the new empire. We know that in one instance (the hendecasyllable) the Romans actually imposed a 2-time rhythm upon a Greek metre made for 3-time. Suppose that they showed a similar tendency in the Sapphic. Suppose it known to Horace by experiment, that, *whatever he intended*, many would take the stanza

saepius ventis agitatur ingens
pinus et celsae graviore casu
decidunt turres feriuntque summos
fulgura montes

to have naturally the rhythm here given, and would read it so as a matter of course. This would be reason enough for not making it incapable of that rhythm by writing

saepius ventis agitatur ingens
pinus; altiôr graviore casu
decidit turris; etc.

Because, although this might please Horace and the learned as well or even, as a variety, better, the only effect of it on such readers as we are supposing would be to make them roll up the book in despair. In such circumstances the *Romanae fidicen lyrae* might well think that, until the *Aeoliî modî* should become generally known to his

¹ vv. 14, 35, 53, 59, 61.

countrymen, the best way to get a hearing for Sapphics was to write them so that people who did not know Sappho, and had no natural disposition for the 3-time rhythm, might at any rate be able to read them.

It is true that, if this was so, the metre could not be expected to take root easily. It was more likely to fail altogether. Well, it is one of the facts to be explained, that the metre, with all its kindred, did fail in Latin, failed, that is, to get a real grip on the language. *The Odes* did not fail; they achieved an immense success. But they did not endow Latin, as Horace hoped that they would, with the metres of Sappho and Alcaeus. Quintilian's remark on the successors of Horace is familiar. The specimens that remain, the Sapphics of Statius for instance, confirm his unfavourable judgment. They are purely academic; stiff, formal, lifeless, foreign, unnatural. And this failure of the Sapphic is explained, if in truth the Romans never could make up their minds how to read it. As a 2-time measure it could not live. In this form it is a hybrid, an unnatural compromise. Unless Latin ears and lips could appropriate the 3-time measure, the Sapphic must wither and die. It did so; and perhaps here was the reason.

The problem of the Horatian Sapphic

cannot be separated from that of the Alcaic, to which Prof. Sonnenschein does not refer. Here we have similar puzzles, the regular lengthening of the first and of the fifth syllable,

dūx inquietī turbidus Hadriae,

apparently inexplicable, if the poet meant *and could trust his readers to know* that the rhythm was the trochaic 3-time of Alcaeus,

dux | inqui- | eti | turbidus | Hadri- | ae
 $\frac{3}{4}$ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩³ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩.

But this also will be explained, if, as a fact, many Latin readers were likely to presume the 2-time rhythm, the schoolboy's rhythm,

dux inqui- | eti | turbidus | Hadriae
 $\frac{2}{4}$ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩.

To make the verse *possible* for such readers, it must be written as Horace writes it; and this he may have done, as a means to the end, while nevertheless himself intending (as for many reasons it is plain that he did) to give the rhythm of Alcaeus, and expecting a time when the Roman lyrist might be on better terms with his public, and have a larger scope.

A. W. VERRALL.

ON MANILIUS I 423.

IPSIVS hinc mundo templum est, uictrixque
 solutis

Ara nitet sacris, uastos cum terra gigantes
 in caelum furibunda tulit. tum di quoque
 magnos

quaesiuerunt deos; *esurcione* Iuppiter ipse,
 quod poterat non posse timens, cum surgere
 terram

cerneret, ut uerti naturam crederet omnem.

esurcione M, *dubitauit* GL. Well did Lobeck say in the preface to his *Paralipomena* 'iam dudum in hanc deductus sum sententiam ut omnes mihi festinasse uideantur quorum alii libri extant praeter postumos.' I have explained M's *esurcione* as an anticipation of *ē surgere* from the verse below. But now I see that this inestimable

MS has once again preserved a genuine remnant of *argutia Maniliana*:

tum di quoque magnos
 quaesiuerunt deos; *eguit* Ioue Iuppiter ipse.

The errors *r* for *i*, *c* for *t*, *n* for *u* are all common: *s* for *g* is not, but it recurs at v 596, where *a gurgite frontem* appears as *asurgit a fronte* in L and *assurgit a fronte* in G, it is found even in the capital MSS of Virgil (georg. i 387 *sestire* Med. for *gestire*, Aen. xii 733 *gubeat* Pal. for *subeat*), and it is easy in the half-uncial hand, exhibited by the Viennese codex of Livy's last five books, which seems to have left other traces in the text of Manilius.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE MANUSCRIPT PROBLEM IN THE *SILVAE* OF STATIUS.

My prediction in this Journal (vol. xvi. p. 421) that Herr A. Engelmann's dissertation there reviewed would raise a commotion in Germany has been speedily fulfilled, as may be seen from the literature cited in the footnote.¹ Of the writers upon the subject the co-editor of the *Leipziger Studien* is on the side of Herr Engelmann, and his paper would have been noticed in company with the dissertation had I then known of its existence. Herr Vollmer and the Teubner editor Herr Klotz are as we expect upon the other side. It is not my intention to follow this controversy, less important than the disputants imagine, through its entanglements of misconception and unimportant detail, but to offer, in continuation of my previous article, a summary of the chief issues which have emerged from the dispute and a contribution towards the solution of a perplexed and difficult problem.

I.—*The Vetus Poggii.*

Late in 1417 or early in 1418 the celebrated discoverer of ancient classics Poggio Bracciolini wrote from Constance to Francesco Barbaro a letter in which the following passage occurs.²

Ago tibi gratias pro xx florenis, quos dedisti Matthaeo: liberatus enim sum aere alieno, utque aliquid incipiam referre, mitto ad te per Presbyterum Brandinum Pisanum, qui est ex familia Cardinalis Pisani, Silium Italicum, libros V Statii Silvarum, item M. Manilium Astronomicum. Is qui libros *transcripsit* ignorantissimus omnium *viventium fuit*, divinare oportet non legere, ideoque opus est ut *transcribantur* per hominem doctum. Ego legi usque ad viii librum Silii, multa emendavi, ita ut recte *scribenti* facile sit similes errores deprehendere eosque corrigere in reliquis libris, itaque da operam ut *transcribantur*, postea mittas illos Florentiam ad Nicolaum. Orationum volo hic exemplar remanere, post modum vel ego ipse deferam vel per alium ad te mittam, idque quam primum. Lucretius mihi *nondum redditus* est, cum sit *scriptus*: locus est satis longinquus, neque unde aliqui veniant: itaque exspectabo quoad aliqui accedant qui illum deferant: sin autem nulli venient, non praepo nam publica privatis.

This is the account of the discoverer himself and with this any restoration of the

history that we may choose to make is bound to square. I have therefore put in italics everything which bears immediately or mediately upon the origin of the manuscript or manuscripts which Poggio sent to his friends.

There are three possibilities with which we must reckon. Either (1) the copyist of the works enumerated was the original scribe, in which case Poggio bought the MS from the monks outright and had no copy made: or (2) the MS was copied for him by a 'local scribe' (Mr. Clark's phrase) as the Lucretius seems to have been: or (3) it was transcribed by some countryman of Poggio's who accompanied him.

The first view is that of Dr. C. Wachsmuth,³ it is *prima facie* consistent with the Latin, and I should hesitate to reject it unconditionally. But there are some considerations not to be ignored that militate against it. In the first place, we might have expected that Poggio would naturally and unconsciously express himself differently when treating of two such dissimilar transactions as the procuring of a copy of one author (Lucretius) and the securing of the exemplar of the others. But in his language appears no such difference, as is obvious on comparing his words for the copying in the two cases (*transcribere* and *scribere*). So if Poggio's correspondent perceived any difference, he must have had a knowledge of the circumstances which enabled him to go behind the words. For the rest, *fuit* is consistent with Prof. Wachsmuth's interpretation, but *viventium* seems somewhat to discountenance it. It would seem then that the first hypothesis is not so well supported by Poggio's actual phrases as either of the other two.

When Poggio received this MS, he read and corrected it as far as the 13th book of Silius, but no farther. Accordingly when the *Silvae* reached Barbaro for the purpose of being copied 'by a scholar,' and was subsequently sent to Niccolo at Florence, there were no corrections in it from the hand of Poggio. Poggio did not follow his MS to Italy: his hopes of preferment kept him at Constance about the person of the new Pope Martin V. When the Pontiff left Geneva on Sept. 12, 1418, Poggio left it too and travelled in the papal retinue as far as

¹ Curt Wachsmuth, 'Zu den Handschriften der Silven des Statius,' *Leipziger Studien*, 1902, pp. 203-214; Fr. Vollmer, 'Zur Ueberlieferung v. Statius' *Silvae*,' *Hermes* 38 (1903), pp. 134-139; A. Engelmann, 'Ueber die Handschriften der Silven des Statius,' *ib.* pp. 285-291; A. Klotz, *ib.* pp. 468-480.

² Mr. A. C. Clark in *Classical Review*, vol. xiii. 1899, pp. 124 sq.

³ Mr. Clark mentioned it as a possibility *i.e.* though he did not approve of it.

Mantua, where, as Mr. Clark says, he became desperate and suddenly went off to England without even taking leave of his friends. Martin V did not make his entry into Rome till the end of September 1420; and all this time Poggio was in Britain. He was there when Martin offered him the post of papal secretary. This offer was accepted, and Poggio returned to Italy at a date which cannot be fixed exactly but was not earlier than the very end of 1420.¹ The *Vetus Poggii* of the *Siluae* was then at Florence in the possession of Niccolo. This we know not merely from the presumption that Barbaro would carry out the instructions of his friend, but from a later letter of Poggio who complains that Niccolo kept the MS fourteen years.

Lucretium tenuisti per annos quattuordecim, eodem modo Asconium Pedianum, sic et Petronium Arbitrum et Statium Siluarum.—(Tonelli, i. p. 303).

It follows that Niccolo could not have had the *Vetus* before some not very early date in 1418 and Poggio could not have entered any correction in the MS till 1431 or 1432 at the earliest. As to the subsequent history of the *Vetus* during Poggio's lifetime we have no direct information; but it seems unlikely that he would again run the risk of losing his precious possession. His later years were untroubled by the monetary difficulties of his earlier life, and it is natural to suppose that the *Vetus* remained a part of his classical library till his death at Florence in 1459.

II.—*Politian's Vetus Poggii*.

Angelo Poliziano, the most brilliant scholar and poet among the Italians of his time, was born in 1454, five years before the death of Poggio. At the age of ten he began to study Latin in Florence, just the same number of years after the decease of its illustrious Chancellor; eight years more and he produced an edition of Catullus. Five years later he was chosen to be tutor to the children of the Prince of Florence and before he was thirty he was recognised as the most eminent of the classical professors of Italy, a pre-eminence never questioned during the ten years of life which alone remained to him.

For Politian the *Siluae* of Statius seem to have had a special attraction. He lectured on them publicly in the year 1481;

but his interest goes back further still as we learn from a letter which he wrote to Filippo Beroaldo in the last year of his life (April 1, 1494) where he refers to annotations on the *Siluae* which, while still a youth and before the death of Domitius (that is before 1478), he had entered in the margins of his own 'codex' (quas ego adulescens vivente adhuc Domitio marginibus domestici codicis adscripseram). The fruit of his studies is seen in the felicitous emendations which have obtained a place in the text.

Some time between the years 1475 and 1494 (Klotz), or between the first of April and the end of September 1494 (Engelmann), Politian had a piece of good fortune which must be told in his own words. These are extant in a copy of the *editio princeps* of the *Siluae* at the Corsini Library in Rome, and stand, as an epilogue 'To the Reader' at the end of the selection of manuscript readings which he had transcribed into that copy with his own hand.

Incidit in exemplar Statii Sylvarum quod ex Gallia Poggiius Gallica scriptum manu attulerat. A quo videlicet uno licet mendoso depravatoque et (ut arbitror) etiam dimidiato reliqui omnes codices qui sunt in manibus emanarunt. Quare cautio mihi fuit ne quid in corrigendo hoc nostro ab illo mutarem. Ne nimia (ut adsolet) diligentia aut mihi aut ceteris studiosis noceret. Quem si modum tenerent ceteri librorum emendatores tenuissentque priores, minus multo laboris in hac re quam nunc habemus haberemus. vale qui legis et quod sedulo fecimus queso Boni consule.

Tuus Angelus Politianus

This is the last we hear of the *Vetus Poggii*.

III.—*The Credibility of Politian's Statements*.

It might have been supposed that the precise statements of a scholar of the domicile, the date, and the standing of Politian in a matter where we can impute no motive for distorting the truth would have been accepted without question. And so they were, until the patrons of the recently discovered Madrid MS used every weapon to force their favourite upon public acceptance, not merely as the best but as the sole representative of the genuine tradition of the text.² With these pretensions the

² Herr Vollmer has *Hermes* p. 135 n. 'it is certain that M stands at the head of all our MSS.' *ib.* p. 138 'M is the only source of our tradition.' These statements are not equivalent, whatever Herr Vollmer may think.

¹ In Pastor's *History of the Popes* (Eng. tr.), I. p. 258, the year is given as 1423.

statement of Politian and the evidence of his excerpts could by no possibility be reconciled; and accordingly they must be got out of the way. There were two effective modes of doing this. You could assert that Politian is not to be believed when he states that he found the MS of Poggio; or you could assert that he is not to be believed in his account of the lections which he professed to have excerpted therefrom. I will deal with these contentions successively. Of the anterior plausibility of the first the reader can judge for himself from the facts and dates about Politian which have been given above. That he did find some codex which he believed to be ancient has not yet been denied. But it is alleged that this distinguished professor of Florence was so ignorant of the handwriting of his own countrymen within the previous fifty years that he mistook some copy of the Madrid MS for the *Vetus Poggii* itself, a MS written either in Florence or Rome for one in a foreign script (*Gallica manuscriptum*).¹ The elementary ignorance which this imputes to a student of manuscripts like Politian is such that, apart from all other considerations, I feel compelled to accept the statement of Politian that he did find the *Vetus Poggii*, even at the expense of rejecting the statement of scholars four hundred years later that he did not.

The second theory is hardly less derogatory to Politian but in a different way. He *did* find, it is admitted, the *Vetus Poggii*, but (seeing that we know that the *Vetus* is the *Matritensis*) he could not read what he

found. For it did not contain what he says that it did.

Now all that we know of Politian's manuscript is what he tells us and the only way of determining whether it was our *Matritensis* is to compare his account with that codex. First then it is admitted on all hands that in contents, that is in actual readings, there was a very close similarity between the two manuscripts. For this purpose it is not necessary to draw upon the lections which from the similarity of the ink and handwriting are maintained by Herr Engelmann to be undoubtedly excerpts of Politian's; it is enough to refer to those which are assigned by name to the *vetus codex* and for which Klotz Praef. p. liv and Engelmann, p. 141, use the symbol A*. Against these striking correspondences in the lections of the two codices are to be set differences no less striking.

These differences are the following:

1. Politian's codex was written in a 'Gallic' hand. For the script of the *Matritensis* see below.

2. Politian conjectured from the condition of his codex that it was mutilated (*dimidiatus*).

The *Matritensis* ends with a clear subscription:

FINIS ADEST VERE PRECIUM VVLT SCRIPTOR
HABERE.

3. The verse l. 4. 86a

atcollam cantu gaudet thrasymennus et
alpes

stood in the text of the editio princeps and opposite it Politian noted 'hic versus deest ī libro vetustissimo poggii qui e Germania in Italiā ē relatus.' The verse is in its place in the *Matritensis*.

Now those who maintain that Politian's codex was the *Matritensis* accuse him, as Klotz says, referring to the third consideration alone, of the grossest negligence; Si quis tenuerit eundem esse codicem Poggianum et M—id quod minime suadeo—is *summae arguet negligentiae Politianum* (my italics) qui versum I. 4. 86a in suo exemplari scriptum deesse contenderit,' p. lxxiii. But that is not all. They involve themselves in hopeless inconsistency. The only evidence for the identification is the testimony of Politian, and if in a crucial matter he is so untrustworthy, we can believe nothing that he says.

¹ I translate Herr Vollmer's little romance for the benefit of the English reader. 'Of course Politian knew that Poggio had found the *Silvae*. Now he came upon an exemplar *Gallica scriptum manu* i.e. in the archaising learned hand of the 15th century, and in this stood written by some one or other' [here are then things that Herr Vollmer does not know] 'the observation *istum librum ex Gallia Poggius attulit* as in late MSS of the elegies to Maecenas we find *inuenta ab Henoc in Dacia*, or in the Ambrosianus of the Orestis tragedy *Illestis fabula ab Enoch Asculano reperta*. The writer of this of course only meant this to apply to the *Silvae* in general: but Politian referred the notice to the codex before him, which on the ground of the writing he might well regard as a Poggianus.' *Hermes* p. 138. Herr Klotz approves of this *ib.* p. 480 'Die Möglichkeit dieses Irrthums hat Vollmer S. 138 vollständig glaubhaft (my italics) erklärt.'

It may be worth while adding here that in another case Politian was perfectly well able to distinguish between an old manuscript of foreign origin, the Ambrosianus of Columella, and a copy of a Poggianus made by Poggio's contemporary Niccolo (Haeussner, *Die Handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des Columella*, p. 10).

IV. *The date and handwriting of the Matritensis.*

The Matritensis has now forced its way into the discussion, and its claims to consideration can be no longer ignored.

When we have to fix in time and space any document as to whose origin we have no direct contemporary testimony, the evidence to be weighed is of two kinds which differ radically from each other. One is internal and is concerned with the contents of the document, and the other is external and is concerned with its form. It is imperative that these two kinds should be judged apart and with a single eye.

For this reason I submitted the problem of the date and handwriting of the Matritensis to acknowledged palaeographical experts who have no concern, or, I believe, acquaintance with this controversy. Their judgment which I proceed to quote was based on the reproduction of the first page of the codex at the end of the Teubner text, and is contained in a letter of Mr. F. G. Kenyon of date October 7, 1902. The following extract expresses the joint opinions of Sir E. M. Thompson, Mr. G. F. Warner, and Mr. Kenyon himself upon the three queries submitted: (1) As to the date of the MS, (2) As to its writing, (3) As to the question 'Would a Florentine scholar in say 1490 describe the MS as *'Gallica scriptum manu,'* or as *'Germanici librarii'?*

'Statius: this is more difficult to fix, but it appears to be earlier than the others' [Two MSS dated about 1470-1480 and somewhere about 1457] 'and probably circa 1430. The hand appears to be decidedly Italian; and it does not seem likely that it would be described by a Florentine as German or French: at the same time we have too few examples of south German and south French hands of this type and period to be able to dogmatise.'

From this independent judgment on the part of recognised authorities on the subject we learn that it is reasonable to hold first that the Matritensis may have been written in Italy between say the years 1420-1432, and secondly that it is not likely to have been the codex described by Politian as 'written in a Gallic hand.'

We have hitherto only regarded the text of the manuscript. But it contains corrections which have a bearing on the dispute. Herr Krohn who had abundant opportunities of studying the various hands distinguishes those made by the scribe him-

self (M^1), a first corrector (M^2 'manus altera' Klotz p. xc) and subsequent correctors (m reliquae manus correctrices' Klotz *ib.*).¹ This corrector Herr Krohn and the Teubner editor identify with Poggio on the strength of the similarities in the formation of this corrector's letters and of the marginalia and corrections in a MS at Berlin (Hamiltoniensis 166) in the undoubted writing of Poggio. With the aid of a friend who has an excellent eye for the niceties of calligraphy I have compared the writing of the corrector M^1 on the first page of the Matritensis with that in two photographed pages of the Berlin MS kindly lent to me by Mr. Clark; and I incline to think with him that the handwritings may well be the same but that it would be rash to pronounce positively.

I should however myself have no reluctance in accepting Herr Krohn's opinion. For there is no reason why these corrections should not have been made by Poggio when superintending the production of a legible copy of the *Vetus* after its recovery from Niccolo, a conclusion fatal to the identification of the Matritensis with the *Vetus* which, as we know from Poggio himself, (p. 344 above) he had not read, much less annotated, beyond the 13th book of Silius.²

It seems a moderate and cautious conclusion from the evidence to say that the Madrid codex is a copy of the *Vetus Poggii* made after its arrival in Italy.

There is an argument to which, although it concerns the contents more than the form of the MS, I had better now advert. It is that drawn from the ignorance of the scribe. The same advocates who a while ago were so strangely lax in the interpretation of Poggio's statements now press them for all they are worth. The argument is this. The scribe of the *Vetus* was 'ignorantissimus omnium viventium'; the scribe of the Matritensis was, as we can see, 'ignorantissimus omnium viventium.' Therefore the scribe of the Matritensis was the scribe of the *Vetus*. The gaping character of this syllogism it requires no special training in logic to perceive. But let that pass. In this same Madrid library is a manuscript of a work of which Poggio obtained a copy at the same time as the

¹ Examples of M^1 , M^2 , and m may be seen in the page reproduced at the end of the Teubner text.

² Here I must contend against Mr. Clark (*l.c.* p. 127) and others that we are bound to take the plain meaning of Poggio's words. If we do not, we have no right to any opinion on the matter at all.

Siluae. This MS we know from the collation published by Professor Ellis in this periodical (vols. vii. 310 sq. 356 sq. 406 sq., viii. 4 sq. 138 sq. 289 sq.)¹ and this is what, according to Prof. Ellis, it gives for Manilius IV 410-414

Per denos numeros et quae sint insiq̃ta
cuique
Sed proprias partes ipsas spectare
memento
Vel glacie rigidas uel quae sexus erat
ignis
Et sceleris utroque tamen quas largior
umor
Quaque minor ibi toutit namque omnia
mixtis.

This is enough. But no one has ever identified this 'ignorantissimus omnium videntium' either with the Poggian copyist of Manilius or with the scribe of the Matritensis of the *Siluae*.

V.—*The Discrepancies between the Matritensis and the Excerpts.*

We have been carried by the drift of our argument towards the conclusion that the Matritensis is a copy of the *Vetus* and that the Excerpts are extracts from the *Vetus*. But serious difficulties remain to be overcome before we can accept this conclusion. Although there are a very large number of surprising coincidences between the lections of the *Vetus* as testified by the Matritensis and by the Excerpts, there are some quite as surprising divergencies.

I will take the first that comes as it has not been accorded the prominence which it deserves. In the *praefatio* to Book I. M has a gap of about eleven letters thus 'quid en'm quoque auctoritate editionis onerari.' In the margin of the Corsini stands the supplement oportet huius. But (Engelmann, dissertation, pp. 85, 112) *only the o is in the writing of Politian*, the rest being supplied by another hand. Now where did this mysterious *o* come from? Not certainly from the Matritensis or any descendant of it. When a scribe fills up a gap, it is with words and not with a meaningless and ridiculously inadequate letter. The only rational explanation is Herr Engelmann's that the scribe of M did

not make out the *o* in the *Vetus* and that Politian did.

In another discrepancy the advantage lies with the Matritensis which has preserved a vestige of the truth lost in Politian's Excerpts. After the lines

Libyci quid mira tributi
obsequii et missum media de pace triumphum
laudem et opes tantas nec qui mandauerat
ausus
expectare fuit gaudet Thrasyemennus et
Alpes (I. 4. 83 sqq.)

it has the extra line

Attollam cantu gaudet Thrasyemennus et
Alpes.

Herr Engelmann who, as I have said before, 'holds a brief against the Matritensis,' would have it that this line is an interpolation of that MS, as if any one out of Bedlam 'interpolated' lines of this kind. I should not have referred again to this error which has since been exposed by Herr Klotz and Herr Vollmer: but its owner clings to it still; and, so far from having realized what constitutes an interpolation and under what conditions ditto-graphy arises, thinks he advances his cause by showing that his two adversaries' supplements for the end of 86 are inadmissible. Why if he showed that of a hundred such supplements as <sed quid tua, Gallica, facta> Attollam (Klotz olim), or <nec oportet lauriger ipse> Attollam (Vollmer, *Hermes*, 137), or <cur ipse ego facta necesse est> Attollam (Klotz nunc) each and all were intolerable, he would be no farther on. He must apply himself to a supplement which Statius might have written, not to those which could by no possibility be his. Such a supplement I have provided elsewhere.²

Confronted then by the witness of the Matritensis that the line was in the *Vetus Poggii* and by the witness of Politian that it was not, what are we to suppose? We may say that either witness is false or we may say that the *Vetus* was not the same. If we suppose that the line stood in the *Vetus*

² See *Classical Review*, vol. 16. p. 422 sq.

At the request of correspondents I note that there is no error on p. 421 col. b of this notice in the passage: 'That the Matritensis . . . is not the "vetus codex Poggii" should be settled once and for all by the fact that according to the express testimony of Politian the "vetus" did not contain the line I. 4. 86a, and the Matritensis does contain it. If it is not, then, for all the good the Corsini copy is for the textual criticism of the *Siluae*, it might be flung into the Tiber.' 'If it is not' means 'if it is not so settled.'

¹ I give the full references in order that any one who likes may test the ignorance of this scribe for himself and compare the result with the ignorance displayed in the Matritensis, a long extract from which is printed verbatim and literatim in Klotz *praef.* p. xlii. sqq.

when the *Matritensis* was written and was subsequently erased, we obtain a simple and sufficient solution of the difficulty.

Politian believed that the MS he had lighted upon was the genuine MS of Poggio, the one uncorrupted source of the text of the *Silvae*, and he would feel bound to take it as it stood. If there were alterations in it, and these there would be unless Poggio never did in Statius what he has told us he did in Silius, Politian could hardly fail to take them as authoritative. His great predecessor was the only one who had had access to the sole genuine tradition of the classic that he had rescued from oblivion; and he had no doubt good warrant for the alterations which he had made in his copy. The impeccable scribe was unknown to Poggio and Politian.

It will doubtless be urged that Politian's *deest versus* is not a proper way of describing a verse which was *merely erased* in the *Vetus*. But it is to be observed that we do not know *where* it stood in that MS. It may well have stood in the margin. The homoiographon gaudet Thrasymennus et alpes may have already produced the omission which Herr Klotz postulates in order to facilitate his derivation of all other existing MSS from the *Matritensis*.¹ The scribe of M, a most faithful copyist, may have noticed the mark which drew attention to this omission, and have restored the line to the text. Its subsequent erasure from the margin of the *Vetus* might well escape observation.

There is now no serious obstacle to our explanation. All remaining differences are of a comparatively trivial character; and with the supposition of a very moderate amount of correction in the *Vetus* before it came into the hands of Politian they vanish away.

It is always a satisfaction when a view adopted after long and anxious consideration is confirmed by the independent judgment of a competent critic who has himself been over the same ground, and hence I make no excuse for quoting from a letter of Mr. G. A. Davies, my colleague in the task of editing the *Silvae* for the Corpus, of date May 4, 1903, the following sentence

'Your conclusion as to the relations of M and Politian's excerpts is exactly the one which had commended itself to me; indeed it seems impossible to reach any other conclusion from the evidence.'

¹ See VII, below.

IV.—*The Script of the Vetus.*

A number of attempts have been made to write the history of the *Vetus*, that is to say of the exemplar of the *Matritensis*, by an examination of the corruptions which this MS contains. They have not been conspicuously successful, for the matter is hedged with difficulties into which I have no space to enter at present. But I will mention a possible solution which is based upon suggestions made by Dr. L. Traube, of Munich, and Mr. F. Jenkinson, of Cambridge, that a number of our difficulties would disappear if we supposed it to have been a copy by an Irish scribe of a St. Gallen MS of, say, the ninth or tenth century.

There is here no reason against his being, as Mr. Clark suggests, a local scribe.

VII.—*The origin of the Vulgar MSS.*

Herr Klotz has expended a good deal of pains on the examination of these MSS and has come to the conclusion that M is the progenitor of them all. That all extant MSS are ultimately derived from the *Vetus* we know from the direct witness of Politian; and the line of descent may have passed through the *Matritensis*. This is however no longer a self-evident proposition, but a hypothesis which requires further consideration. It is not refuted, as Klotz very rightly points out, by the fact that the errant line I. 4 86a is omitted in some of these MSS. This hexameter's position was obviously a precarious one and the causes tending to produce its omission would be always operative. But I cannot regard his discussion as conclusive, as it does not take account of the crucial evidence.

This is to be sought not so much in the agreements between the *Matritensis*, and the other MSS as in their agreements against the *Matritensis* with the readings recorded by Politian from the *Vetus*. One of the most important is the lacuna in the *prae-fatio*. If the original scribe of a manuscript has left a lacuna of eleven to twelve letters here, that is a strong argument for descent from the *Matritensis*. If on the other hand he has written *o* alone, leaving the rest to be filled up subsequently, his exemplar cannot have been M or a descendant of M; while if it has '*oportet*,' or the like, it very likely was not so either. About some of the MSS in England I have made inquiries. I am indebted to Mr. S. G. Owen for information about the reading of the Bodleian MS, Auct. F. 85 (F Klotz) and

to Miss Alford for information about the British Museum MS (Add. 6056). In F there is a 'lacuna of about twelve letters.' In Add. 6056 "oportet huius" is written by a different hand in a space left.' Both MSS have L. 4 86a, F in the form 'Attollam cantu gaudet thrasymemmis et alpes' (the same spelling and dots in the previous line also), Add. 6056 in the form 'Attollam cantu gaudet trasimenus et alpes.' That F is derived from M seems therefore possible (compare the report of its reading at I. i. 38, Klotz p. xiv.), and the same may be said of Add. 6056. Further than this with the material at my disposal I feel unable to go.

The origin of the vulgar MSS is a matter of comparatively little importance: it would be of more as soon as it could be shown that some of them derive from a copy of the *Vetus* made before it was 'corrected.' So I will only indicate one consideration, not without weight, which militates against the view that they are all descended from M. The extent and rapidity of the depravation of the vulgar text, as shown in the editio princeps (1470)¹, is without justification if the exemplar was no worse than the Matritensis; but it would be intelligible if these codices are descended from a bad copy of a manuscript as to which its owner wrote that you could not read it but only guess at what was intended.

VIII.—*The Sources to be used in the constitution of the text.*

The rest of our task may be briefly despatched. If the Matritensis was a copy of the uncorrected *Vetus*, it has a clear advantage over copies and excerpts made after the importation into the exemplar of corrections whose motives and sources we are now unable to trace, and this advantage is confirmed by the unmistakable fidelity of this copy. The alterations made in the *Vetus* by Poggio or others may have been justified, but alterations they certainly were, and they were made at a time and a place at which the exemplar of the *Vetus* was no longer accessible. While therefore it is our duty to take account of readings of the Excerpts which differ from M's, we must beware of attributing to them an exaggerated importance. A difference may be due to error in M: it may also be due to correction of the

Vetus or possibly to some mistake of Politian. Two or three illustrations will suffice.

At III 5.21 the *Vetus* had 'impenetrabile' which, and not 'haut penetrabile' (rightly censured by Herr Engelmann p. 92) I had noted should be restored from M's 'ut penetrabile' some months before the appearance of his dissertation. Similar corruptions occur elsewhere in M: cf. Engelmann p. 19. On the other hand in II 1. 120, III 1. 145, II 3. 55 M gives in 'umida' 'umentibus' 'umeris,' genuine and classical spellings of the *Vetus*, afterwards corrupted to the contemporary forms with *h* that appear in the Excerpts and which Herr Engelmann (p. 96) is so ill advised as to defend.

At IV 4.73 the Excerpts have 'auus,' but M the uncorrected *Vetus* reading 'auos,' rightly retained by Klotz. Statius, like his contemporaries Juvenal and Martial, wrote at least occasionally the ancient -o after *u* which was almost obsolete in his time. There are very few traces left of this spelling, not however none as Herr Engelmann asserts (p. 97). I note from the excellent Pithoeanus the following: *Theb.* 2. 442 'uolgi,' 9.741 'toruosque,' *Achill.* 1. 814 'nouos' with *u* written over the *o*, as at *Theb.* 12. 631 'elisos' was 'corrected' in just the same way to the usual 'Elisus.' How forms like this fare even in the best MSS may be seen from *ib.* 3.192 'magniloquos luit' where P, mis-reading 'luit' as 'iuit,' at the same time changed the supposed nominative 'magniloquos' to 'magnilocus.' I cite finally a place where the *o* has eluded destruction in the general corruption of the context. The violent Eteocles is replying to Tydeus, the rough-tongued ambassador of Polynices, (*Theb.* 2. 415 *sqq.*)

cognita si dubiis fratris mihi iurgia signis
ante forent nec clara odiorum arcana
paterent,
sufficeret uel sola fides quod toruos et illum
mente gerens, ceu saepta nouus iam moenia
luxet
fossor et hostiles inimicent classica turmas,
praeferis.

All our MSS have the corrupt *quam* for *quod*. In the next words the *toruos et* of all but P is right, the spelling apart, and this P indicates in its *seruo sed*. The sense is clear: 'Even if I had not already had the clearest tokens of my brother's hatred, your hostile language which is only in keeping on the field of battle would by itself have been proof enough.'

In each of these cases the change attested

¹ In the preface to Book II Engelmann notes 37 differences from the Matritensis, 28 of which the Excerpts correct into the exact reading of that MS (pp. 107 *sqq.*).

by the Excerpts was trivial but wrong: in another it was more important and right. The inscription of II 7 is *ad oppiam* in M and in the Laurentianus, the only old manuscript which contains any part of the *Siluae*. But the Excerpts have *ad pollam*. The agreement of M and L shows, as Herr Klotz rightly contends, that *ad oppiam* is the tradition and was the reading of the *Vetus*; and it would follow that *ad pollam* is an emendation, and probably an emendation of Poggio's.

Our conclusion then is this. In emending the numerous corruptions of the *Siluae* we must start from the Matritensis but employ the testimony of the Excerpts wherever there is no reason for disbelieving that it rests upon the primal text of the *Vetus*. Wherever there is serious discrepancy between the two authorities, our choice must, as in all such matters, be determined by intrinsic considerations.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTES.

A CORRECTION.—I may perhaps save some fellow-student from wasting time in a fruitless search if I call attention to a failure on the part of some high authorities to verify their references, which has lately caused me considerable trouble.

Zeller, Steinhart (*Platons Leben*, p. 328) and the writer of the article on Plato in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology* all, in relating the story told by Diogenes Laertius on the authority of Hermippus that Plato died at a marriage feast, add to their reference to Diogenes another to Augustine *de Civitate Dei*, viii. 2.

Any mention of the tale will however be sought in vain at this place, and a hunt through the numerous allusions to Plato in Augustine will be found equally useless.

The source of the wrong reference is a note of the sixteenth-century translator of Diogenes, Thomas Aldobrandinus, on the passage (iii. 2) in which the account of Plato's death is given. After mentioning that while Cicero says he died writing, Diogenes Laertius says he died dining, Aldobrandinus passes on to consider the various statements of our authorities concerning the philosopher's age at the time of his death. As to this he states that 'S. Aug. lib. 8 de civitate Dei cap. 11' (not 2: the numbers are Arabic, not Roman) says 'idem quod Laertius'; that is, not that he died dining, but that he died aged 81; whereas St. Jerome, following Cicero, had made him only 80. It is to be observed that the agreement of Augustine with Diogenes in this point depends upon Aldobrandinus' own translation of Diogenes' *βιοῦς* as *cum vivisset*; whereas, rightly translated, Diogenes is found rather to confirm Cicero and Jerome. According to Seneca, *Ep.* 53, however, Plato died on his eighty-first birthday.

The note of Aldobrandinus will be found on p. 36 of the commentary added to his translation of Diogenes published at Rome in 1594.

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* * *

ST. LUKE ILLUSTRATED BY AESCHYLUS.—I do not know whether the following coincidence has been pointed out before, but a single line of Aeschylus seems to me to offer a striking parallel to the words of our Lord as recorded by St. Luke (xiv. 26) 'If any man cometh unto me, and *hatheth* not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children,

and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple'—words which, taken literally as they stand, must have caused great searchings of heart to countless numbers of readers.

In a scene in Aeschylus towards the close of the *Choephori* where Orestes is depicted as halting between two opinions as to the duty of avenging his father's murder, he is obviously touched by his mother's natural allusion to his infant tendance at her hands, and is only confirmed in his determination by the grimly laconic reply of the friend to whom he has appealed:—

ἄπαντας ἐχθροὺς τῶν θεῶν ἡγοῦ πλέον
(*Cho.* 902)

i.e. 'deem all creation [*ἄπαντας* very emphatic] your ἐχθροί (fit and proper objects of your ἐχθος) rather than the gods (whose ἐχθος you must necessarily incur by disobedience).'

In both the heathen and inspired phraseology the meaning is practically the same—that the natural affections are the strongest and highest and purest influences known to humanity [note the insistence with which such relations are categorically harped upon in the passage from St. Luke], but that even these must be ignored and allowed to count as nothing in the balance if, or when, they clash with the express will and purpose of God.

W. F. R. SHILLETO.

Oxford, May 16, 1903.

* * *

QUERY. VERSIONS INTO GREEK AND LATIN PROSE.—The undersigned will be much obliged if any of the readers of the *C.R.* can give him information as to the following:—

1. F. A. Paley's Translation into Greek Iambics of 'A change came o'er the spirit of my dream.' Holden, Fol. S. iii. p. 408. 2. F. A. Paley's Translation into Greek Prose of an English Passage commencing 'Sacrifices formed a part of every ancient system of religion . . .' 3. The English Passage, or a reference thereto, of the Greek Prose Version by F. A. Paley, beginning: δ μὲν ἥλιος πάνν σεμνῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς. 4. The English Passage, or a reference thereto, of the Latin Prose Version by F. A. Paley, beginning 'Humanam naturam si quis recte aestimare velit . . .' The English commences 'To form a right judgment . . .' which is the only clue.

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A A 2

REVIEWS.

HARRISON ON THEOGNIS.

Studies in Theognis, together with a Text of the Poems. By E. HARRISON, B.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Pp. xii, 336. 10s. 6d. net.

WITH all divergencies of detail criticism of Theognis during the nineteenth century has been well-nigh unanimous on two points: many of the poems found in the MSS. are not the work of the Megarian poet; and their arrangement is due to some person (or persons) other than the original author. Since the date of Welcker's edition (1826) no scholar has ventured to defend the proposition that our text is free from interpolations of considerable extent, derived, on the one hand, from the elegists before Theognis and, on the other, from accretions subsequent to his time. Over three hundred verses have in fact been referred to definite authors on grounds that are often convincing, but more frequently entirely fanciful. Bergk held that our text was compiled not long after Isocrates; Nietzsche dated the collection after Cyril and before Stobaeus; Cauer finds evidence of the insertion of foreign matter as early as Clement; while Welcker himself was of the opinion that the compiler lived at Constantinople and gathered the fragments from later authors after the complete Theognis had disappeared. Several scholars, such as Rintelin, H. Schneidewin, Crueger, and Cauer, maintain that our text is based on two collections at least, the latter beginning, according to Schneidewin, between v. 854 and v. 1038. Van der Mey thought to discover traces of three collections, the first ending about v. 756, the second beginning about v. 769. The study of metre has sought to disclose traces of workmanship later than Theognis (Lucas); the study of language has led to results not dissimilar (Renner, Weigel). A quarter of a century ago numerous scholars endeavoured to discover the clue to the present arrangement of the poems. Didacticism, it is true, lends itself ill to constructive continuity, and like the sentences in Emerson's *Essays*, the elegies of Theognis seem to be as coherent

in almost any order as in their present position. Welcker first suggested the theory of 'catchwords.' In 1867 Nietzsche dealt with this method of explanation and with the repetitions. In 1869 Fritzsche toyed with the problem of catchwords, which he accepted as correct in the main; in 1877 K. Müller came to the conclusion that similarity of mere words in adjoining poems constituted the principle of arrangement. The high water-mark of this theory was reached in the edition of Sitzler (1880), who printed the catchwords in special type. This editor is probably the last to maintain the untenable proposition that the text of Theognis was expanded because of its use as a schoolbook. Ten years ago Reitzenstein treated the contradictory theories of his predecessors with the silence of contempt: to him our collection represents an expansion made at a very early date through the influence of the symposium.

Such in brief was the state of the Theognidean question when Mr. Harrison attacked the problem. He is, if I am not mistaken, the only British scholar since Gaisford and Frere who has been attracted to the study of the Megarian elegist. His book is the most exhaustive discussion of the entire subject.

A new theory about Theognis may well be a paradox—and we have a paradox in Mr. Harrison's volume. The pendulum has now swung back a century or more and we return to that happy age of faith which was untroubled by the existence of the 'compiler.' To Mr. Harrison the critical work of the period since Welcker is largely vitiated by reason of his belief that Theognis wrote all or nearly all the poems current under his name and in the main in the order assigned to them in the MSS. With the exception of 903—30 and 1221—30 every word is to be attributed to Theognis. Even the numerous repetitions which occur in the MSS. from about 1070 to 1185 are genuine; as are even the verses forming the 'Delic epigram' (255—6) which was inscribed in the temple of Leto at Delos according to Aristotle. Mr. Harrison's results are attained by a detailed examination of the

various groups of elegies and by a searching investigation of their interconnection in thought.

The text is conservative. Added as an afterthought, it is rather a convenience to the reader than a contribution of critical value. A brief *apparatus* sets forth the readings of *A* and *O* unless either MS. is palpably corrupt; variations are rarely recorded, and in general no undue importance is attached to the inferior MSS. The critical notes do not aim at completeness. Of new readings I note the following: 288 ὥς δέ τι σῶσ' αἰεί, 400 Ἐντράπελ' (*nom. prop.*), 733 ἀθηρή, 961 ἔλει, 1380 ἐρίδων (Dr. Jackson).

Chapter i (Theognis in Literature) traverses much-debated ground and argues that no Greek writer (not excepting Stobaeus) who mentions Theognis knew him in any form different from ours. This conclusion rests in part on the assumption that, setting aside the second book (which Mr. Harrison admits was extant in the fourth century B.C., though unknown to Isocrates, but neglected till the date of *A*), such passages as 87 ff., 371-2, 597 do not inculpate the poet of immoral relations with Cyrenus. Even the passage 719-28 is held to have escaped attack by Athenaeus because that writer (though usually keen enough in discovering the weaknesses of famous personages) did not take into account Solon fr. 24 which Theognis, it is claimed, made his own by turning it to base uses; though elsewhere, as Mr. Harrison shows, Theognis' rehabilitation of the older poet must have lost its point if his readers did not have the original in mind—here an original well known to all. The scrutiny of the passage in Stobaeus *Flor.* lxxxviii. 14 yields a different result from that obtained by Immisch, who regards the extract as the work of Xenophon; and furnishes an illuminating note by Sir Richard Jebb, who takes the words ἡ οὖν ἀρχή μοι τῆς ποιήσεως κτλ. to mean "Now the starting point of the poet's conception" etc.

Explicit literary criticism of a single idea or closely connected group of ideas assumes, in early Greek, the form of the citation of a phrase or of a line. Thus, Solon amends Mimnermus' ἐξηκοντα-έτη (vi) in

καὶ μεταποίησον, Διγναστάδῃ, ὅδε δ' αἰεὶ
ὀγδοκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχου θανάτου (xx).

Simonides (v. 9) voices his objection to the maxim of Pittacus: χαλεπὸν

ἔσθλ' ἔμμεναι; or, in lxxxv, cites Z 146 with approbation (the earliest quotation from Homer): ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ. In Chapter ii (Methods of Modern Criticism) Mr. Harrison proposes an indefensible extension of this principle. According to his view the passages found in the MSS. of Theognis and reappearing in Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon, and other poets, were inserted by Theognis for the purpose of amendment more or less pronounced but without mention of their source—and that by a poet who makes so much of the purloining of his own wares by the literary thieves of his day. In v. 771 Mr. Harrison thinks to discover an avowal of the threefold art of the poet, and in ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν, the word μῶσθαι is interpreted to mean appropriation of earlier writings or of thoughts that the poet could not honestly call his own; δεικνύναι denotes illustration of his exemplar's ideas, while ποιεῖν points to wholly original work. That is, apart from those poems which are all his own, Theognis published in his work brief poems of his predecessors for the purpose of transforming, to a greater or less extent, the sentiments expressed in them. Sometimes he desired to make only slight verbal changes (often of the most trivial character) to give an air of novelty (315-18); sometimes he incorporated in his book the passages that he borrowed (1020-22); at other times he gave a new application by the setting in which he put the passages in question (935-38, 1253-54); and finally it was often his plan to remodel the essence of the thought by making vital substitutions, which are, it is held, justified by the addition of lines of his own (227-32, 585-90, 719-24, 1003-06).

For this novel explanation I find warrant neither in the passages under consideration nor in the history of Greek literature at large. Thus, in 1004, the point of the 'contemptuous' σοφῶ for Tyrtaeus' νέω is far from convincing. 933-34 destroys the force of Tyrt. xii. 35 ff., and leaves μιν in 935 without definite reference. We may, indeed, comprehend the principle of essential substitutions; but to make conscious art of the numerous variations—of every degree of value—between Theognis and his exemplars is to attribute to them an importance not accredited to variations of a not unlike character in the MSS. of

other authors citing Tyrtaeus, Solon, and the other elegiac poets, and in fact in general in Greek authors. The variations in question owe their origin to a deflection from the originals that is elsewhere noticeable in gnomic poetry; to a desire to widen the range of application or to adapt a wise saw to a modern instance; while many of the variations illustrate the tendency of oral tradition to substitute a metrically equivalent form for another (*οὐδόμενον* in 1021 for *ἀργαλέον* in Minnermus v. 5).

In the main previous critics have sought to discover, not to resolve, discrepancies in the repetitions that constitute such a marked feature of Theognis. For the solution of the question of these repetitions, so vital to the understanding of the text, the preliminary point at issue is: *which* passage is imitated? H. Schneidewin thinks that the greater part of the verses in his 'second collection' (beginning between 854 and 1038) has preserved the older tradition; while Schaefer holds that there is scarcely a passage in either book *α'* or book *β'* in which the version nearer the end is not the later version and the work of the expander or compiler. Jordan despairs of certainty: 'he who thinks he can discover how the repetitions originated puts on the wings of the son of Daedalus.' Mr. Harrison attempts the solution of this problem in Chapter iii. (Welcker's Theory of the Genesis of the Text) and reaches the conclusion that the repetitions proceed from none other than Theognis himself. Nor is this result impeached, it is claimed, by the fact that the repeated verses are rarely quoted by other writers. Our best MSS. present no substantial disagreement as regards these repetitions, and Mr. Harrison has done well to include in his text even those that are generally omitted by the editors though appearing in *A*. But the explanation that he puts forward to account for their appearance is open to the gravest doubt. In many cases, he argues, we have to deal, not with 'repetitions,' but with intentional variations for which a sufficient motive is usually apparent; in other cases, where there is no change, or where the change is immaterial to the sense, 'the context of the second version has generally provided an excuse, or rather a reason, for the repetition,' e.g. 1082 c-f = 87-90, 332 ab = 209-10.

But is it likely that the hearers or readers of the poet were able to recall *accurately* the poem that is repeated or

imitated and to notice the most subtle differentiations in thought that mark these repetitions? We may, indeed, accept it as true that the 'scanty plot of ground' of the epigram (as of the sonnet) enforces a special emphasis on each delicate shading of the thought. But was Theognis such a compelling personality as to have in mind auditors on the watch for each fluctuation in the expression of his ethical or political sentiments, not to speak of paltry shifts of usage? The paratragedic attitude of Aristophanes is not the same; and Theognis is scarcely another Hiero: *εἴ τι καὶ φλαῦρον παραιθύσσει μέγα τοι φέρεται πῦρ σέθεν*. And what shall we say of a poet who expects his hearers' patriotism to be warmed by recollection of verses that were born of a situation other than the present? Mr. Harrison explains 1081-82 b = 39-42 as meaning '*as* I once warned this city of the danger of a tyrant, *so* now, under more or less similar circumstances, I warn it of the danger of a violent party-leader'—a mental status that suggests Mr. Slum ('the name at this moment is Warren, but the idea is a convertible one, and a positive inspiration for Jarley'). Sometimes, we are told, a mere verbal echo is the justification of the repetition (1161-62 = 409-10), or a *δέ* is inserted (1184 a = 367) to connect the repeated passage with the lines before it. It is not surprising that there should be many passages that fail to show any satisfactory reason for the repetition. On Mr. Harrison's own showing 1164 e-h = 415-18 is not adequately accounted for. The explanation of 1162 a-f = 441-46 is lame. Nor do we agree when we are told that Theognis excised the characteristic features of his earlier verses to make them fit a new situation (1071-74 = 213-14, 217-18). We may well put the question: is this playing with minute variations of words, this backing and filling, this colourless imitation of himself, this meticulous scrupulousness in self-correction native to Greek art in the fifth century or indeed to any period of Greek literature? We come nearer to the truth by a realization of the fact that in the fifth century a process of imitation existed at large. Theognis was himself imitated. The tendency of the elegy, like that of the epigram, was centripetal. Theognis does not epitomize the process that was current at and after his time. To my thinking the value of Mr. Harrison's discussion of his subject is vitiated because he does not look farther into Greek literature than Theognis. (The

habit of microscopic investigation may blind us, say not a few scientists, to the larger truths of nature.) Now it is certain that in the fifth century imitation was constant in the field of the epigram, a form of literature most akin to the elegy. The very stones bear witness to the pre-eminence of Simonides. It is the vogue of Theognis that has caused the repetitions through the medium of the symposium; as it is the *horror vacui* that is responsible for the insertion of the floating elegies whose authors had been forgotten. The process we observe in Theognis is akin to that which has assembled under the name of Simonides and later under that of Menander and of Publius Syrus much that was anonymous, the same that was in great measure at work when Meleager collected his *Garland*. In the case of Theognis many of the anonymous poems in question were lodged in congenial surroundings; and, as regards the repetitions in particular, it is a fact, not recognized in its ulterior significance by Mr. Harrison, that they are almost entirely restricted to a definite part of the first book.

Chapter iv (The Theory of Catchwords) is over-long. Mr. Harrison admits that some of the links connecting the poems may be purely superficial, that is mere verbal echoes, but he has laid the ghost of Müller's theory. Where there is continuity, it depends, not on external similarity of mere words common to adjacent groups, but to actual connection of sense. Even the arrangement by initial letters (which appears also in the *Anthology*) is subordinate to connection of ideas. Mr. Harrison asks us to see in the present arrangement a proof that Theognis himself was consciously or *unconsciously* (the italics are our own) guided by these principles. The proposition may be inverted: since the 'Attic skolia' show traces of conscious or unconscious arrangement, they are therefore the work of one poet. The mere fact of attribution to Theognis is no proof of Theognidean authorship. Mr. Harrison does not do full justice to the symposiac character of the poems, which has a deeper significance than to explain a few cases of non-connective *δέ* or *γάρ*. It is not merely that the poet foresaw the use of his poems as skolia: the bulk of his elegies was actually 'published' at symposia, and their sympotic use is their determining feature whatever the contents. Evidence of this assertion is seen, for example, in the constantly recurring pairs and in the similarity of introductory words such as *οὐδέεις, μήποτε, πολλοί, χρή*. The same motive in

adjoining groups, e.g. 581-82 and 579-80, is due, not to a limitation in the vocabulary of the language or even to the poet's 'insistence on a small number of subjects,' but to the pressure of sympotic custom and tradition. The only other class of literature showing these librations is the skolia. On any other hypothesis the Theognis of our MSS. is inexplicable. That one and the same poet should be so enamoured of himself as to create all the self-echoes is a psychological abnormality. 'Theognis' is a collection of longer or shorter poems intended for presentation at symposia, not fragments (as our author shows in chapter v), gradual accretions to the book of the Megarian poet that were made during the fifth century, and reflects certain aspects of political, social, and ethical thought of that period, just as the collection of *ρήσεις* represented certain literary affinities of the next century.

Chapter vi deals with the poet's preface. Of the *σφρηγίς* Mr. Harrison puts forward a novel and inadequate explanation. Surely his precision of statement and the insistence of the poet require that we regard the *seal* as something more than 'merely the word Θεόγνιδος' or even (in the modified statement) 'not any word in particular, but the whole tenour of the poem.' Verses 19-26 are regarded as the preface to the *first* book, in which Theognis is assumed to include his truly *gnomic* ideas; and to this end, it is argued, *φιλέω* and *φίλος* must be interpreted as void of immoral connotation. In 368 *οὔτε γάρ εἰ ἔρῳ ἀνδράω οὔτε κακῶς* Mr. Harrison actually sees a reference to moral and immoral verse (not the natural sentiment of Solon's *πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν χαλεπόν*), and a direct allusion, in the last word, to the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, which is therefore held to be as genuine as the first book. Nor does this fanciful explanation stop here: *σοφός* at the end of the book of amatory verses is regarded as an echo of *σοφισμένῳ* in 19 ('when I play the sage'), as *ταμῆς* in 1242 is held to link β' with α' (504, 1186). The arguments in favour of the genuineness of β' are insufficient even with the help of Croiset, whom Mr. Harrison calls to his support. The absence of reference to these erotic elegies (except in *Lysis* 212 E, *Anth. Pal.* 10, 40), if their author was so celebrated a poet as Theognis, is not accounted for; nor is the increase in the number of Atticisms in β' satisfactorily explained. It is, again, hard to follow Mr. Harrison in his attempt to show the reason for the separation of the erotic from the didactic poems when

he assures us that the character of β' was not repugnant to the spirit of the times. What evidence has he to prove that the less guarded utterances of Greek poets were relegated to a place apart? Then, too, I find myself in some straits to understand the σοφός echo in conjunction with the hypothesis that Theognis may have published the didactic collection before the second book and that the latter existed for some time apart from the first. In chapter vii the second book is discussed at length; but I do not believe many will be convinced that the Μοῦσα παιδική could well have been accepted as the work of Theognis in the fourth century and yet be unknown to Isocrates. Chapter viii (The Life and Times of Theognis) is a discriminating discussion of the date and birthplace of the poet with special regard to Unger's and Beloch's theories about Megara. Mr. Harrison argues convincingly for the period of the Persian invasion of Greece as the date of the poet and for the Nisaeon Megara as his home.

In short, while I remain unconvinced that Mr. Harrison has proved his main contention that Theognis is the author of nearly every word that has come down to us under his name and that the poems preserve the order established by the poet, it is a pleasure to record my belief that the book is of substantial value. Careful scrutiny has put many passages in a clearer light; the connection of adjacent groups has often been established by the searching process of examination that constitutes the essential characteristic of the author's workmanship.

There are, too, many interesting and novel suggestions. Thus, on p. 265 attention is directed to such proper names as Ἀκάδημος, Κλεάριστος and Ἀργυρίς, which point to the poet's sojourn in Boeotia; the difficult verses 261-66 are interpreted on the assumption that a Greek drank confusion to his enemies in cold water (though we involuntarily think of Pindar); in 884 ελαφρότερος is referred to θυμέ in 877 for its antecedent, and the two poems are brought into direct connection (despite the distance of ελαφρότερος from θυμέ); in 944 the words θεοῖσιν ἐπυχόμενος are referred, with Dr. Jackson, to a chorus; ἐπικῶς in Suidas' *Life* is translated 'in the epic dialect.' The emendation of the passage ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ by the insertion of ὑπό or ἀπό before τῶν does not make it clearer how the statement can refer to the destruction of Sicilian Megara by Gelo in 483.—The book is well and accurately printed. Misprints are very rare; and there are excellent indices.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have received, through the courtesy of its author, Mr. Hudson Williams' pamphlet entitled 'A Discussion of some questions raised in Mr. E. Harrison's *Studies in Theognis*' (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1903, pp. 22). This review treats at much greater length many of the objections urged by me against Mr. Harrison's theories and in the main in agreement with my own view.

DUFF'S *LUCRETIVUS* III.

T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura Liber Tertius. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index by J. D. DUFF, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pp. xxiv, 111. 2s.

MR. DUFF has followed up his useful little book on Lucretius V. with an edition of the third book which will be very heartily welcomed. It professes to be no more than a school edition, but at the same time contains a good deal of material which is at any rate new to English readers and full of suggestive hints. His work has in this way a considerable interest for the more advanced scholar, but it has its disadvantages: on the

one hand the student of Lucretius would have liked a fuller discussion of points on which Mr. Duff puts forward a new view, on the other such discussion as there is tends a little to overweight the book for the purposes of the schoolboy and to make the notes on certain passages disproportionately long: this is especially obvious with regard to the question of the presence of the *quarta natura* in the *anima* on p. xiv. of the introduction and the notes on lines 284, 428, 544, 819, and 843-861. It would perhaps have been a better plan if Mr. Duff could have assumed in such passages, as he has done elsewhere, the results of arguments which could

have been put forward more fully in one of the Classical journals.

It is pleasing to find clear and constant recognition of the admirable work done on Lucretius by Giussani and Heinze, especially in the direction of the retention of the MS. text: it is no disparagement of the great work of Munro to allow more recent criticism to act as a check on his occasional exuberance of emendation. The influence of Giussani in particular is noticeable in the very careful attention to the general drift and meaning of the poem, which is one of the most excellent features of Mr. Duff's work. The general introduction, the analysis and the small introductory paragraphs to each section are admirably lucid and will be of the greatest assistance to the student in obtaining a grasp of the subject-matter and inestimating the strength and weakness of Lucretius' argument. Illustrations and 'modern instances' are quoted very happily and not too often: those contained in the notes on 113, 528, 883, 936, and 994 are particularly illuminating, though the comparison of the passage from M. Arnold in 857 is perhaps a little far-fetched. Another excellent feature is the manner in which interpretation is constantly based upon Epicurus—the essential condition for a correct appreciation of Lucretius: in this context one may notice especially the important place assigned in the introduction to the Epicurean Canonice and the frequent reference to it in the notes: so much that seems strange in Lucretius is really due to his master's logical principles that attention cannot too often be drawn to them: (if Mr. Duff ever revises his edition of Book V. one may hope that a rather larger place will be given to them there, where—at any rate in the astronomical section—they are of course of supreme importance). For the assistance of the schoolboy more perhaps might have been done from the point of view of linguistic criticism: e.g., a note on the ἄπαξ λεγόμενον *innubilis* l. 21 and its origin, or on the grammatical construction of *quod genus* l. 221, or on the scansion of such words as *dissoluo*, *tenvis*, and certainly *conubia*, l. 776. A few of the notes strike one as slightly obscure or misleading: e.g. l. 25, to say that '*templa* is used freely in old Latin in the sense of *loca*' is hardly a sufficient account of its meaning: the use of the word 'molecules' in the introductory note to 177—230 is, without further explanation, likely to be misunderstood and conveys a rather false idea of Epicurus' theory: on 544 it seems a little hazardous for Mr. Duff to support his very

probable conjecture *per artus* by saying that *per auras* 'would sound more natural to an inattentive copyist,' seeing that the copyist had already in the course of this book written *per artus* at the end of a line eight times (if I have counted rightly), in five of which it is preceded by a feminine participle or adjective; in 672 the interpretation Mr. Duff adopts of *supra anteaetam aetatem* is surely sufficiently doubtful to have warranted at least a hint of another way of taking it: in 819, even assuming Giussani's interpretation to be right, the connexion between Mr. Duff's note and the text which it explains is certainly not immediately obvious and ought to be made clearer: the origin of the Scipio's thunderbolt (1034) may surely be more easily traced in a real or fancied connexion with *σκηπτός*; and the note on Democritus in 1039 would be of more service to the schoolboy reader if 'his relation to the system of Epicurus' were explained. But these are small blemishes and in contrast to them one might call attention to many extremely valuable notes, such as the really illuminating remark at the foot of p. xi. on the double sense of *anima* in the book.

Some of Mr. Duff's notes raise points which one would like to see him discuss more fully: e.g. is not *principio* in 119 really a bit of careless writing, which would have disappeared in revision? (incidentally, I believe this to be the true explanation of the much-vexed *praeterea*, which palaeographical considerations practically demand in II. 342) in 284 would it not be simpler to hold that Lucretius merely meant to arrange the elements in their order, not of course of position, but of subtlety, 1. quarta natura 2. calor 3. ventus 4. aer? (cf. 246 ff.): in reference to the explanation which Mr. Duff adopts of 620, 621, one would like to ask (a) how *sancitum est* is to be 'understood out of *reddita sunt*' and (b) how he gets the subject 'a thing' for *esse*? One may hope that Mr. Duff may find an opportunity to deal with some of these points.

But the general character of the notes is admirably sane and lucid, and they contain almost always, except in the case of those longer discussions noted above, just what is wanted for the purpose of clear exegesis and no more. Finally, if one had nothing else for which to thank Mr. Duff, one would be grateful to him for introducing to England the obviously right interpretation of 362.

Mr. Duff's text has several interesting features. (Its critical apparatus is very brief

and professes to do nothing more than indicate deviations from the text of Munro: why then should there be notes on 420, 444, 531, 690, and 738, in all of which places Munro's reading is preserved?) Its general tendency is conservative and in this respect follows the line set by most recent editors of Lucretius. In thirteen passages Mr. Duff restores the MS. reading, where Munro had deserted it: in the cases of *eliciuntur* l. 58, *eorum* l. 412, *super ire* l. 1031, the punctuation of l. 790, and the retention of ll. 806–818, we may hope that the authority of the MSS. has now been finally established, seeing that Brieger, Heinze, and Giussani all concur with Mr. Duff in following it: there can hardly be much doubt either about *spicuarumque* 198, *mens* 239, *vitalibus* 820, and the retention of l. 685 with a comma after *convenit*. Mr. Duff's adoption of the MS. text of ll. 82–84 without the indication of a lacuna gives us, of course, a grammatically satisfactory reading, but it is very difficult to believe that *hunc . . . hunc* of l. 83, can refer to anything but *hunc . . . timorem* of l. 82 (especially without any intervening verse). In 173 *suavis* is probably quite right, and Mr. Duff does well to support it in his notes with Heinze's quotations, and if his interpretation of ll. 284–5 be correct, the *etiam* of the MSS. in 288 may well be retained. The most original of his suggestions of restoration is *ridet* for Lachmann's *rident* in l. 22: it is an interesting possibility, but there is considerable force in Heinze's point that in view of Greek parallels (which we know from II. 326 were in Lucretius' mind) it is more natural that the verb should go with *sedes* than with *aether*.

Of the passages in which Mr. Duff deserts Munro for other conjectures *haud igitur* 633, and *an nullo* 868 may be said to be established by the same consensus of modern opinion, and *qui fit* 293, *alioquist* (or possibly the MS. *alioqui*) 415, *cui subeant* 736, and *cervis* 742 with the retention of 743 will be almost universally accepted: *perdit cum expellitur aeo* 357 (for which, by the way, Mr. Duff offers no authority in his note) is probably the simplest remedy, *guatis* 962 is the most attractive of many conjectures and *subit si e* 690, though not palaeographically convincing, at least avoids the grammatical gymnastics of other conjectures. In 935 it is difficult to see what Mr. Duff gains by deviating from the order

of the words in Naugerius' conjecture—indeed in the MSS.—and in his critical note he has by a slip reported the MS. reading as *grata* instead of *gratis*. Polle's *nedum* in 240 involves one in the improbable construction *mens mente volutat* (which Mr. Duff rather glosses over in his note, though he might at least have referred us to 262 and his own note on it). A somewhat similar difficulty is raised by the punctuation of 1068: to evolve an object to *haeret* is not merely grammatically harsh, but logically difficult. In 428 his reasoning in support of Lachmann's *iam* for *nunc* is hardly conclusive: surely Lucretius' immediate point is not either the *tenuitas* or the *mobilitas* of the atoms of the soul, but their likeness to *aqua*, *nebula*, and *fumus*: this he shows by their *tenuitas* (supported by a reference in parenthesis to their *mobilitas*, cf. 179 ff.) and in 434 goes on (tacitly resuming his argument by a recapitulation of the three substances) to the inference—namely, that you would therefore expect them to behave in a similar manner. In 658 Mr. Duff adopts Giussani's attractive *truncum*, but though he shows that *procero corpore* will construe well enough without *e*, it must be remembered that OQ have *caude* not *cauda*. In 492 text and notes are inconclusive, but surely *vi*, not *vis* must be right: it must be the *anima* and not the *vis morbi* which is *distracta per artus*, much as in Mr. Duff's own attractive conjecture *dispersa per artus* in l. 544.

Though his text is mainly conservative, Mr. Duff has gone in largely for transposition, adopting several suggestions in this respect from Giussani. It is true that in some instances he has thereby improved the logical sequence of the poem, but it may be questioned whether the policy is good, especially in a school edition. The result is certainly confusing and the unfinished state of the poem is so obvious that it is a hazardous undertaking to set out to obtain a completely cogent sequence of thought: to correct accidental errors in the MSS. by transposition is one thing, but it is quite another to try to restore the text as Lucretius might have written it, if he had worked with the accuracy of Euclid and given the final touch to his work. This is especially the case with passages like 526–547 and 592–606 which Mr. Duff admits might almost equally well be inserted at other points in the text.

CYRIL BAILEY.

ALLAIN'S YOUNGER PLINY.

Pline le Jeune et ses Héritiers. E. ALLAIN.
Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 4 rue de Goff.
1902. 4 vols.: pp. 606; 694; ccciv-516;
236. 27 fr.

The most ardent admirer of Pliny, nay, Pliny himself could not complain of the amplitude of the tribute paid him by M. Allain. The work is monumental, and consists of three volumes of respectively six, seven, and eight hundred pages. The progression is broken by an index volume of only two hundred and thirty pages, containing *table analytique, tables générales, table des tables générales, addenda, errata, labeculae* and so forth. A glance at the list of photographs¹ reveals a wide range: amongst photographs of 'Plinian' scenes in Italy, and reproductions of the bindings, frontispieces, and illustrations of old Pliny editions, one finds a 'View of Athens', a 'supposed Site of the Villa of Sidonius Apollinaris', or portraits of Constantine, Julian, Voiture, Prosper Mérimée, and others. A weakness reveals itself at once in the frequent recurrence of long lists of names — generally those of commentators for or against a given theory. Thus on p. 1 of the third volume we suddenly plunge into a veritable tunnel, dark and reverberating: 'les commentaires . . . de Catanaeus, Arntzenius, Gesner, Schaeffer G. H., Schaeffer M. J. A., Döring, Grasset, Tanzmann, Mommsen, Prichard, (and eight more names follow), avec les flambeaux de Fabricius, de Teuffel, de Schanz (and five others)', and we pass from p. 1 to p. 2 in another: 'Pomponius Mela, Vibius Sequester, Ethicus, D'Anville, (and thirteen more, the last three being Baedeker, Richard, Ostinelli).'

The first and part of the second volume deal exhaustively with Pliny the Man: his private and public life, the part played by him as an orator and as a lover of literature. The bulk of the second vol. treats of Pliny the Writer. The third volume contains an Intermezzo (for which see later) and an account of P.'s relations with his chief correspondents and of P.'s literary heirs in Latin and French literature, concluding with an attempt to assign him his place among the writers of his century.

M. Allain is a member of the Historical

¹ Of these there are over 100, but none are well executed.

Society of Como, but modestly elects to be judged from the literary standpoint, not that of erudition. There are certainly traces of the amateur. Quotations are given from Spurinna's works without, apparently, a suspicion as to their authenticity, and Martial's *ualebis uxor: non debet domini perire munus* (2. 92) becomes² 'Attention, Madame: il faut maintenant que le cadeau du Maître devienne une réalité'! More might be said in this connexion, but the author's plea disarms one, and it would be unfair to lay stress on the point. The book is very readable and interesting, and there is a good deal of originality in the treatment of its subject matter. The collection of 'sententiae' from Pliny, and the comparison of the 'Three Senators' (Cicero, Pliny, and Mérimée) in the second volume, the skilful concentration of the account of Regulus and a number of P.'s correspondents around the name of Voconius Romanus, and the whole section on P.'s literary heirs in the third, deserve especial praise. The Letters and Panegyric are abundantly represented by extracts, etc., in a translation which is always spirited though at times rather free. There is a certain tendency to digress which often spoils the work, but in general one cannot but be impressed by the enthusiasm of the author for his subject,³ his knowledge of the life and writers of the first century A.D., his readiness to note the resemblances between them and those of modern times. Characteristic is the illustration, in the Addenda, of Pliny's famous letters on the eruption of Vesuvius by extracts from *le Temps* dealing with the Martinique disaster.

Madame Allain is as devout a Plinian as her husband. The Intermezzo above referred to contains a series of letters written by her to her daughter and describing the incidents of two pilgrimages to 'Plinian' spots in Italy. At times her zeal is put to severe trials, generally by *les Cookistes*, but sometimes by—M. Allain, or even Pliny himself. At Padua, where

² Whether M. Allain is responsible for the rendering I cannot say.

³ M. Allain has even found in a cameo hitherto, for the best of reasons, described as '*incertae cuiusdam*,' the portrait of a woman '*susceptible de répondre à nos impressions personnelles*' of the faultless Calpurnia: he prints it on the opposite page and adds 'Oui, c'est bien là Calpurnia Plinii.'

marching orders are given for Altinum, she cannot repress a sigh: 'Comment Altinum? Et Venise?' But Venice, alas! is not Plinian. At Como M. Allain buried himself in the library for seven hours and a half: 'il a oublié moi qui l'attendais, sa

filie à qui il devait écrire, et son déjeuner. Il m'avoue ingénument qu'il y serait encore,' if the librarians had not mentioned closing time.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

BRAKMAN'S *FRONTONIANA*:

Frontoniana. Scripsit C. BRAKMAN.
Traiecti ad Rhenum. 1902. Pp. 43 + 42.

THIS work, in two parts, contains the results of two distinct examinations of the palimpsest leaves (in the Vatican and Ambrosian libraries), containing the epistolary correspondence between the rhetorician Fronto and his friends, notably the Emperor M. Aurelius, his pupil as boy and youth, and other members of the imperial family. Its value consists in the carefulness with which the letters of the palimpsest have been scrutinized and re-examined; for in a MS so very hard to read as this Fronto palimpsest clear sight is two-thirds of the battle, and M. Brakman has obviously been able to make out much that had escaped the eyes of former editors, including even Naber (1867) and Studemund,—whose readings are published in an *Epistula Critica*, appended to Rudolf Klussmann's *Emendationes Frontonianae* (1874). The extra words thus regained amount to a considerable total, in so much that a new edition will soon be necessary. It seems wonderful after the appearance in 1867 of so admirable an edition as Naber's that no one should have attempted a commentary on these letters; historically they have no slight value, and from the literary standpoint, the light they throw upon the attitude of the Antoninian epoch to the writers of the century which preceded it, especially the two chief representatives of Nero's principate, Lucan and Seneca, is of the highest importance. Nothing has ever been written upon the *Pharsalia* more scathing than the analysis in which its opening verses are dissected by Fronto p. 157 N., or more severe than the contempt which he has heaped on Seneca pp. 155, 156 N. From another and very dissimilar point of view, indeed, the point which most of all arrests the attention almost from the beginning to the end of

the collection—these letters are quite unique; I mean in the perpetual reference to an almost endless series of bodily complaints with which Fronto and his family on the one side, M. Aurelius (the Emperor) and his relations on the other, are from month to month assailed, each of which is successively recorded, and usually brings with the next post an expression of sympathy on the part of the writer. From another side, the archaizing tendencies in language which mark the epoch of the Antonines, find their clearest expression in this correspondence, which, with the *Noctes Atticae* of A. Gellius, gives the best idea of these tendencies, in the loss of so much contemporary literature.

M. Brakman has spared no pains in the task he has set himself, the recovery of words or clauses which Mai and the other editors of Fronto had failed to decypher. There is a good number of such cases in all; and the gain of words so recovered and clauses so supplemented, is not inconsiderable. Many of the restitutions, where some of the letters of a word or words have been made out, but not all, are judicious, and commend themselves to such as are familiar with the peculiarities of Fronto's diction. On the other hand, where he merely deals with the text as printed by Naber, and has not been able to add anything from his own re-examination of the palimpsest, M. Brakman's criticism is often at fault. But, if I am not mistaken, the advantage which his eyes have given him in the much more important business of making out what the MS presents, quite outweighs the smaller and less conspicuous portion of his work, in which he stands on a level with several other critics. Yet even in this, the less successful part of the book, he deserves commendation for the industry with which he has collected illustrative parallels drawn from Fronto's own works: in no sense can

it be said that he has attempted to restore the ruinous portions of the building without first studying the prevailing mannerisms of the architect.

The book ends with a chronological investigation of the times when the letters were written.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

RIEMANN AND GOELZER'S *COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF GREEK AND LATIN*.

Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin.
Première Partie: Phonétique et Étude des Formes Grecques et Latines. Par O. RIEMANN et H. GOELZER. Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1901. Pp. 540. 20 fr.

THE well-known Comparative Syntax of MM. Riemann and Goelzer was followed in four years by a corresponding treatise on the phonology and morphology of the classical languages, which completes their great work. The literature of those four years naturally increased the proportion of new matter which M. Goelzer had to add to his lamented colleague's work, but otherwise the genesis of the later book does not differ from that of its predecessor. The main difference is that the authors, being essentially specialists in syntax, have been almost entirely compilers in the volume before us. But the compilation is eminently lucid and judicious. Brugmann is followed faithfully throughout, with abundant references to other authorities, and the arrangement is as admirably clear as the printing is a pleasure to behold. The book is a French counterpart to Mr. Giles's *Manual*—a reference to which I miss—, but its bulk allows of a much more liberal citation of authorities. I proceed to indicate points of detail which seem to call for comment.

P. 9. It is hardly 'more scientific' to divide our family into Asiatic and European, if Armenian is to be counted with the former: Armenian does not share in the Aryan confusion of *a*, *e*, and *o*.—P. 16. The account of the disappearance of the Greek dialects needs modifying in the light of Kretschmer's masterly essay (*Die Entstehung der koinḗ*, 1900). With Krumbacher (*Problem d. neugr. Schriftsprache*, 1903) we may think he goes too far in depreciating the part played by Attic in the growth of the colloquial *koinḗ*, but we can hardly make Attic the basis any longer, except so far as orthography goes. Is it right to cite ἔλκετον or χάριτα as 'common

Greek'? The dual is foreign to it altogether, and χάρις is still much more often found than χάριτα.—P. 34. What authority is there for 'Ῥάμαξα'? Il. vii. 426 and Od. ix. 241 may be quoted against it, to search no further.—P. 41. The confusion of long and short vowels is probably older than the Byzantine age.—P. 42. The authors' decision that *η* was a long *ē* (not *è*), differing from *ε* only in quantity, needs more evidence than they give to support it.—P. 49. Why 'αὖν est pour αἰών'?—P. 53. The relationship between βούλομαι and volo is not a fact to be assumed.—P. 54. The 'argument' of M. Beaudouin (n. 5), cited for making ζ=dz and not zd, was really not worth quoting.—P. 55. To say that the Sabine Clausus 'became' Claudius in Latin is a loose statement.—P. 79. The account of the Doric παῖδες etc., is more than dubious: the preservation of a primitive long syllable in 'παῖδας (p. παῖδavs)' is itself a blunder, and the correction of Choeroboscus therefore avails nothing.—P. 85. To postulate a Greek μιμένο, πιπέτω, etc., is quite wrong: the weakest ablaut in this reduplicated conjugation is proethnic. The 'proethnique *dakara' in the note looks odd nowadays: Corssen should have been brought up to date. On the next page, it is very risky to assume that the Italo-Kelto-Germanic accent on the initial syllable goes back 'sans doute' to the primitive Indo-Germanic. There are too many peculiarities common to these three contiguous groups for us to argue from them to the parent language.—P. 88. quinque has *ī*, not *ī̄*.—P. 155. That *ῆ* became *av* in Greek was disproved by Streitberg. Cf. Brugmann *Grundriss* I², 394 ann. 2. The long sonant nasals should have had a few examples quoted, and some discussion: if there were such sounds—and I for one have always been somewhat sceptical—they appeared in Latin and Greek more than anywhere else.—P. 161. Idg. *fhīgā* and *fheīgō* are queer forms.—P. 180.

Brugmann's old theory for *κῶς*, etc. is rightly abandoned by him, for it is impossible to allow that labiovelars became gutturals in Greek before *ā*. The new view (*Gr. Gr.*³ 117), that *οὐ κί*, *οὐ κως*, are responsible, depends on a well-established fact, the loss of the labial affection before and after *υ*. There is a slip on the next page, in the note on the case of *βίος* etc.: read 'β (et non δ)' instead of τ.¹ A batch of misprints may be put together:—P. 189, n. 2, read *πνευματώδες*; p. 200, bottom line, read § 747, not page; p. 297, l. 22, read *μυροπόλλα*; and note absence of vowel length in *pāl*, *pādam* (p. 261), *āsān* (p. 402), *satī* (p. 403), *nātham* (p. 411), and probably others.—P. 261, **πῶδα* is a very unlikely accusative: *πόδα* is probably original.—P. 274. **λαίfarya* seems to me an unsatisfactory forebear for *λέαινα*.—P. 298. In the declensions I miss the type *filis*, *filim*, *alis*, *alid*.—P. 292. If *ἀεί* = **αιfεί* (sic), what has produced the accent? it should have been **αιfίσι*, *ἀεῖ*. Rather is *αιfεί* = *aevi*, loc. of the -o-stem.—P. 303. The explanation of *ἡμέραι*, *equae*, as old duals does not appeal to the authors, who think it 'simpler' to have recourse to the pronominal declension. But the nom. pl. fem. was *tīs*! MM. Riemann and Goelzer have

¹ À propos of this subject I am tempted to venture a note bearing on the treatment of labiovelars in the Aeolic group, where, as is well known, labials appear generally even before clear vowels. It has seemed to me that it is on this point that we must fasten in applying Prof. Ridgeway's suggestive theory. The Aeolians, Homer's Achaeans, show exactly the same treatment of labiovelars as do the Umbro-Samnite in Italy and the Gaulish and British branches of the Kelts: they agree in making *g^he-* into *pe-* (Lat. *que-*, 'Pelasgian' Greek *τε-*), and *g^hu-* into *ku-*. This is a striking coincidence of phonology, and strongly suggests Prof. Ridgeway's theory as its true interpretation. I might add a remark on the philology of another distinguished archaeologist: even the linguists stumble at times over labiovelars, and some of Mr. A. B. Cook's brilliant combinations for the Oak can only be justified by revolutionary legislation on those tough subjects. *Κερκύων* and *querens* is truly seductive. But if it is a true equation *Κερκύων* is not Greek, unless we are to force it into the *κῶς* category. And if we do, we must give up the *perq^uus* original, and with it the comparison of *Heremnia*, the Lith. *Perkunas*, and probably our *fūr*, to say nothing of the Vedic *Parjanya*. I would rather sacrifice the Quirites and Cereyōn.

detected the difficulty of the dual theory, that *ekvai* could only become *equī*, not *equae*, in Latin. See Giles² p. 284. That **equāi* follows **equoi* seems likely enough, and the apparent fact that the Latin *ae* goes back to -*āi*, not *ai*, fits in well with the probability that Greek and Latin were independent new formations, at any rate in the feminine. The simultaneous use of the masculine pronoun ending -*oi* is a coincidence which need cause no surprise.—P. 310. There is no provision for the inevitable disappearance of *σ* intervocalic in the loc. pl. suffix -*οισι*.—P. 317. Why is not *olle* simply **ōl-sō*?—P. 355. 'ἐθης' needs an asterisk.—P. 416. That the rare *δριγνάομαι* did not set the type for *κίρνημι* *ἐκέρασα*, *πίλναμαι* *ἐπέλασα*, etc., we may readily allow. But Brugmann (*Gr. Gr.*³ l. c.) only gives this as his own contribution to the 'one or two of these forms' where *ι* was proethnic. My own comparison of *σκιόδημι* (√*sqaīd*) and *σκεδάννυμι* (√*sqed*), helps us more, I believe: see *Cl. Rev.* iii. 45 (cited by Brugmann).—P. 431. 'torqueo (p. troqueo)' should not be given without comment on the metathesis. Since *torquet* is an exact equation with *τράπη*, one may surmise confusion between the two conjugations *troq^ueīeti* and *troq^uēt*.—P. 432. 'Kac. *byzhe-*,' for *ἐψησα*, is cryptic.—P. 465. The primitive forms of the opt. act. are inconsistently given: if 3 *sg.* is **φεροισι*, 3 *pl.* must be **φεροισατ*, not **φερογα*. In the same connexion (p. 464) the 3 *pl.* opt. of √*es* should be *siyēt*, not *siyēt*; for the athematic -*ev* of *εἶεν* is quoted as the starting point for *φέποιεν*.—P. 469. Dr. Postgate's name should have been attached to the accepted theory of *daturum*. The theory of Havet for the vexed Gerundive may be 'la plus ingénieuse' of the scores of guesses that have been made, but it does not seem a hopeful one: can we establish the dissimilation *feromedos* for *feromenos*? (I could understand *ferobedos* produced, under circumstances which are happily temporary.) I confess myself a pessimist as to the Gerundive—possibly because I am one of the few who have not produced an original theory.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

BRUGMANN'S *SHORT COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR* (VOL. I).

Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen, von K. BRUGMANN (Erste Lieferung, *Einführung und Lautlehre* 8vo. 280 pp.; Trübner, Strasburg, 1902, 7 mk.).

THE appearance of a book by Brugmann is an event of importance, whatever its subject; still more when the book is a new edition, though in a compendious form, of his great Comparative Grammar. The nineteenth century saw the 'stutting' of many a 'Thurnaby Waste'; but I doubt if any one of them demanded such Titanic labour, and certainly none of them, in the region of the historical sciences, can have produced such wonderful fruit as the first edition 1886 of the first volume of that Grammar. It determined once and for all the questions whether or not the 'new school' had justified its existence, whether the use of strict method had made research more powerful or less, whether Comparative Philology was or was not an exact science. *Solutum est ambulando*: Brugmann showed that the linguistic universe was built on rational principles, by rationalising it for the first time. What amounted to a new science was securely planted and it has grown apace ever since.

Such an achievement cannot, from its nature, be repeated. The successive volumes of the *Grundriss*, and the second edition of the first volume, containing the Phonology, each represented solid additions to knowledge; but they could not effect the revolution in linguistic thought which had followed the appearance of the first. Now we have the first part of an abridgement of the whole, which, save for its delightful and eloquent brevity, is in fact a third edition of the First Volume. It is useless to pretend that it is any less indispensable than either of the other two. Every one must study it who wishes to think or speak intelligently of the development of any single Indo-European language; and there can be no doubt that its more compact form will attract an even larger circle of readers. The chief gain in brevity comes from discarding bodily, in the Phonology, the sections on Iranian, Armenian, Albanian, Celtic, and Lithuanian: these languages are not, however, disregarded in the introductory sections to each chapter, that is, in the sections which give a con-

spectus of the evidence for the existence and nature of the various Indo-European sounds. On the other hand five great families, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Germanic, and Slavonic, are treated, so far as one can judge from several months use, with hardly less fullness than in the second edition, though of course the number of examples of particular changes is slightly reduced, and some thorny points are either omitted altogether or dismissed with a few instructive references. To the classical student the book will be even more useful than the larger edition, and that is saying a great deal. It is to be hoped that it will soon find a worthy translator, for it introduces many valuable terms (*e.g.* 'Grading' and 'Toning' in Ablaut) and in point of scientific and literary form I venture to think it the most perfect of its author's works: every point of the arrangement has been thought out with consummate wisdom.

The treatment of Ablaut may be mentioned as a typical instance of the advance which the book has made even upon the second edition of the *Grundriss*. In that edition the familiar 'Series' were displaced for a prudent, but somewhat bewildering string of single pairs of related sounds. The old trio $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi-$: $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi-$: $\lambda\iota\pi-$ was split up into $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi-$: $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi-$ and $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi-$: $\lambda\iota\pi-$, treated in separate paragraphs, and all the phenomena of the other groups were scattered in the same way. At the time this was no doubt a gain in truth; but I think there will be few students who will not rejoice that Brugmann has seen his way to a deeper analysis. He gives us now a new statement of the phenomena which, while it embraces the results of recent criticism and research, allows the whole to appear in a systematic and intelligible form. The new sections on the nature of the Ablaut-changes in prothetic times are of the first importance. Not less admirable are the brief but stimulating sections at the beginning of the book devoted to the Theory of linguistic change. I note in passing that the considerations urged by the Editor of this review (*C. R.* 1899 p. 71) against the assumption of an I.-Eu. spirant j ('yod') as distinct from consonant i (Eng. y) seem to be justified by the far more guarded way in which the evidence is now dealt with (§ 302). On the other hand Brugmann still adheres to

the view that I.-Eu. *bh*, *dh*, etc. were first made voiceless fricatives, even medially, and then voiced again in Latin to become *b*, *d*, etc. Postgate (*C. R. ibid.*) holds that medially they were always voiced, and that the Oscan and Umbrian *-f-* denoted medially some sound like Eng. *v*. Neither view is susceptible of proof, but there are some considerations, especially the history of the different symbols for *f*, of which two at least (*F* itself and *ʃ*) were certainly derived from signs representing a *u*-sound¹ which incline me decidedly to the second of the two.

It would be out of place, I think, to attempt to discuss here single points² in the

¹ See *Cl. Rev.* 12, 462, *It. Dial.* pp. 463, 467.

² In one or two places which I have noticed in the Latin sections Brugmann seems to have given his sanction to some recent theorising which hardly deserved it—notably to some guesses of Sommer's. What, for instance, is gained by explaining (p. 84) the *oc* of *fordus*, *poena*, *Poenus* as due to the preceding labial, when *Bellum Punicum* gives us the actual form of the sound as it was spoken? *Poenus* like *moenia*, is the old name, surviving only in poetry and written language generally; *foedus*, (subst.)

phonology. On nearly every page I have found something new and striking; every section is marked by the *curiosa felicitas* of statement that distinguishes Brugmann (and Leskien) from all other living 'Indo-germanists.' And perhaps the secret of the unalloyed sense of satisfaction which this volume produces lies in the fact that the languages it deals with are all within the limits of its author's independent study. The larger volumes include a great deal of other people's writing, notably in the Celtic sections. In this volume there is no clay beneath the gold.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, June 13, 1903.

and *poena* are legal terms, *foedus* (adj.) a religious term (of omens, etc., *visu foedum*), all equally kept by the written form. Or again, why did the *-r-* of the suffix preserve *-s-* from change in the root syllable of *miser* (p. 201) but not in *queror*; and why was an adjacent *r* powerless to prevent the change in forms like *horreare*, *parece ruris*, *roris*, *terrent*, *terroris*? I am inclined to believe that both Lat. *miser* and Gr. *μισαρός* are borrowed from some South Italic word meaning 'accursed.'

L. MEYER'S GREEK ETYMOLOGY.

Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie.
Von LEO MEYER. 4 vols. Pp. 656, 859,
488, 608. 1901-2. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.
Price 60 mk.

No etymological work comparable in size to these four handsome and well printed volumes has been published since the second edition of Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen*. The treatise, however, to which this work stands in closest relation is Curtius' *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*, and Curtius was able to dispose of his subject in far less than the 2,600 and odd pages with which we are presented here. This, however, is a dictionary, while Curtius's was a work on Comparative Philology.

It is to be regretted that neither preface nor epilogue accompanies these volumes to explain the object which the author set before himself. For it is possible that the reader will find some things here which etymological Dictionaries do not always supply and will at the same time be disappointed not to find some things which they do. The author is careful to quote the earliest passages—and at considerable

length—in which a particular word is found. Nothing could be more excellent. Another good feature of the book is its careful treatment of stem suffixes, parallels to rare suffixes being regularly cited and when hardly any exact parallel exists as to the rare *κῶμυς*, attention is called to the fact.

On the other hand the arrangement of the sounds which has been adopted by the author is a serious detriment to the usefulness of the book. When one takes up a work in lexicon form devoted to Greek Etymology one naturally expects that the words will occur in the usual order in which they are found in the Dictionary. Here, however, everything is arranged differently. In vol. i are treated words beginning with *a*, *e*, *o*, *η*, *ω* and in this order, in vol. ii those beginning with *ι*, and its diphthongs, *υ* and its diphthongs, *κ*, *ξ*, *π*, *ψ*, and *τ*, while vol. iii deals with *γ*, *β*, *δ*, *ζ*, *χ*, *φ*, *θ*, and iv with *σ*, *ρ*, *μ*, *λ*. Nothing could be more scientific in theory, nothing could be more tiresome in practice. And if it is further remembered that within the word the same order of sounds is adopted as for the beginnings of the words, it will be realised

that Dr. Meyer could not, if he had tried, have made his book more difficult of reference. An example will make this clearer than any description. At the beginning of vol. iv the arrangement of the first few words is this: *σά-ειν, σάο-ς, σό-ς, σό-εσθαι, σόο-ς, σή-ν, σῶ-ς, σῶ-εσθαι, σῶ-γόν-, σιάλο-ς, σιάλο-ν, σιαλιδ-, σίον-ν, σιωπή, σείειν, σύ*. This is only the beginning of our difficulties. After *σίαινα* comes *σεύεσθαι*, then *σάκος* and similar words, next *σηκός, σηκούειν, σῶκος, σίκινις, σίκυς, σικχός*. These are followed by *σαικωνίζειν, σῆκάμινον, σνκαλιδ-, σῆκον*, after which to our dismay we find *σῆπέρδης* and the like. The stem *σωματ-* is to be found on page 41 and the last word under *σ*, *σμίλα*, occurs on p. 230. After some considerable experience of the book, I calculate that the time required to make a reference is at least quadrupled. No doubt if Greek scholars found it necessary to use the book all day long, practice would bring greater rapidity and in time they might remember without reference the order of the sounds which has been adopted. But the enthusiasts who make of such books their daily food are extremely few and no harm would have befallen them if the usual order had been preserved, while there can be little doubt that the ordinary scholar, who does not realise why he should be expected to look for *σειειν* between *σιωπή* and *σύ*, will be deterred from using the book altogether.

There is, moreover, a deficiency in information regarding difficult questions which is much to be regretted. Under the negative prefix *ἀν-*, no hint is given of the controversy, which has raged during the last twenty-seven years, regarding the negative forms which show *ἀ-* only, nor is there any reference to the great mass of philological literature on the subject. Even if the author desired to stand aloof from the controversy, he ought surely to have supplied his readers with references to the chief treatises on the subject. Similarly though *ἔρεβος* and *σέβεσθαι* are derived, as by others, from roots which appear in Sanskrit with a *j*-sound, nothing is said in either place as to why Greek should show *β* when Sanskrit shows *j*. The transliteration of the Sanskrit words, it may be said in passing, follows the system in common use forty years ago. There are other indications that the work has been long in preparation. Many of the identifications now accepted by large numbers of etymologists as that of the stems of *βρεθιύεται* and *grandis*, of *αἰγν-* in *αἰγίολχος* with the *αἰγίς* 'Kernholz der Fichte' which stands next to it, or again confusions of two words in one, as according to Wackernagel is possibly true of *ἄσμενος*, are not referred to at all.

P. GILES.

HAYMAN'S PASSING OF ARTHUR IN GREEK HEROICS.

The Passing of Arthur in Greek Verse, with a stanza in Catullian metre from Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast.' By HENRY HAYMAN, D.D. Eton. Spottiswoode. 1903. 1s. net.

In a prettily written Latin Preface Dr. Hayman tells how his bookseller warned him that translations into Latin and Greek verse no longer sell. We are sorry to think that this is so; but we must accept it as one of the unalterable laws of the hateful Zeitgeist. The task which Dr. Hayman has set himself is far more difficult than it might at first seem; for the 'Passing of Arthur,' though it has the setting of the ancient epic, has much that is alien from the conceptions of the ancient world, and that resists the process of casting it into the mould of ancient poetry. Dr. Hayman has overcome these difficulties with wonderful ingenuity, and has

shown how deep and wide are the resources of his scholarship. A few verbal criticisms might be made. For instance, *κάμῦσα* (321) rests only on the *Batrachomachia*, the penult of *ἔμυσα* is always short in Homer; and *βλαφθείς* (208) seems to be used in the post-homeric sense of 'to hurt,' while in Homer the verb always means 'to impede,' 'to hamper.' The general word for 'hurting' in Homer is rather *σίνομαι* which is opposed to *δνίνημι*, as 'ban' to 'bless,' 'mar' to 'make,' as in *αἰδώς ἦτ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἦδ' δνίνησιν*.

But it is ungrateful to descend to minute details in a poem which as a whole so admirably maintains the epic diction. The only broad criticism which might justly be brought against the version is that it ignores the rule against the trochaic caesura in the fourth foot, first we believe clearly enunciated

in England by the late Professor Munro. But it is a rule which cannot be ignored. We do not believe that from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* two sound verses can be adduced in which there is a trochaic caesura in the fourth foot, except when the verse ends with a polysyllable; and such verses are very rare. Thus the verses ending πέντε κασιγνήτησι, and Ἀήμον ἀμυχθαλόεσσαν, and ἴθινα μάχη πεδίοιο are metrically admissible, but not such verses as . . . Ἄρτου-ρω ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν (7), or . . . περόωσι δυσηχέϊ οἶμη (19); or κατ' οὐρον ἀπ' οὐρόθεν αἰά (66), or . . . ἔπνος ἐν ἡέρι πολλῇ (83), where the prep. is virtually part of the succeeding word. Now in Dr. Hayman's version there are the following examples of the former inadmissible rhythm, for which we must refer our readers to the little pamphlet itself, which they will not be sorry to have acquired:—

7, 19, 42, 48, 94, 101, 125, 130, 162, 185, 223, 265, 309, 316, 363, 380, 388, 404, 413. Of the less daring violation of the rule, when the dactyl of the fourth foot is followed by an apparent diaeresis, which however is not real, because the last syllable of the dactyl is so closely connected with the following word as to be fairly regarded as part of that word, we would point to the following examples: 64, 83, 126, 153, 169, 175, 251, 359, 409, 481.

Some of the above (7 of the 29) trochaic caesuras in the 4th foot, may be defended by the polysyllabic (hypertrissyllabic) final word; but even under such a condition trochaic caesura of the dactyl is very rare, and under other conditions practically non-existent. The only verse in the two Homeric poems in which such a caesura may not be avoided by a very simple correction would seem to be μ. 47 (See *Monro's Homeric Grammar*).

We would conclude by putting a few questions which Dr. Hayman will no doubt easily answer, if indeed he should happen to see them. Is καὶνὰ πρόσωπα Homeric for 'new faces'? Does (or would) Homer use τέθεικεν? Is not ὄρας in v. 18 a misprint for ὄρας? How is the alternative version of v. 84 given in the note, to be scanned?

On the translation into Catullian galliambics, curiously enough, almost the same criticism may be made: the diction is splendid, but Dr. Hayman has not quite caught the metre. Verses 4, 7, 16, cannot be paralleled in the *Atys*. The last two feet must be either — — — — — or — — — — —. Now 4 is — — — — —, 7 is — — — — —, 16 is — — — — —.

Titio, 'a firebrand,' which Dr. Hayman

makes feminine, is masculine, like other concrete nouns in -io, as *scipio*, 'a staff,' *unio* 'a pearl.'

In noticing this translation I have spoken of the second foot and the fourth foot. In doing so I have had in my mind my own way of scanning galliambics. The accepted method is to describe the metre as consisting of paeons and epitrites:

— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — —

To me this seems absolute nonsense. Alcaics and Sapphics were scanned by paeon and epitrites when I was at school, but now they are regarded as made up of dactyls and trochees. There are no such feet as paeons and epitrites. Galliambics consist of iambics anapaests dactyls and trochees. The metre seems to me to be violently antispastic, as an orgiastic metre ought to be. Each line has a first half consisting of the varieties of the iambic measure and a second half consisting of the varieties of the trochaic measure. Each line is a development of Pindar's

ἀναξιφόρ || μιγγες ὕμνοι
— — — — — || — — — — —

the first half admitting the tribrachs spondees and anapaests characteristic of the iambic measure, the second the spondees and dactyls of the trochaic measure. This is the scheme of the metre as I read it:—

— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — || — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — —
— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — || — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — —
— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — || — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — —

The latter half of the verse has a dactyl a trochee and another dactyl, which second dactyl nearly always has its long syllable resolved—it is resolved in 88 of the 93 verses of the *Atys*. May I add a conjecture? In v. 54 of the *Atys* the MSS. give an unmetrical line

et earum omnia adirem furibunda latibula.

Various attempts have been made to restore the metre, but they all preserve *earum* which seems to me quite intolerable. Dr. Postgate, for instance, conjectures in the *Corpus*

et earum ut omne adirem furibunda latibulum.

Palmer in his *Catullus* gives

*ut apud nivem et ferarum gelida stabula
forem*

et earum opaca adirem furibunda latibula,

'there to be in the snow and the cold dens of the wild beasts, and to come in my frenzy to the dark lairs of the aforesaid wild

beasts.'! Besides, *stabula* and *latibula*, if both refer to *ferarum*, mean much the same thing. I would suggest

et ut *excetrarum* adirem furibunda latibula.

Latibulum seems to be a *vox propria* for the hole (*χενή*) of a snake. Cp. Cic. Vatin. § 4 *tamquam serpens e latibulis*.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

VERSIONS.

POEM BY HARTLEY COLERIDGE
recently published for the first time in
Temple Bar.

Light is the love of youth as morning dew,
And evanescent as an infant's tears ;
But sure the Love is wise, and must be
true,
That can survive the test of patient
years.

That ring I gave thee, when I was so young
I hardly knew the half of thy great
worth,
I heard the soft sweet accents of thy
tongue,
And saw thy face array'd with radiant
mirth.

But Love is not the comrade of an hour,
It is not all exhausted in a sigh,
It is a will, a duty, and a power,
A temporal witness of eternity.

True love abides the peril of delay,
Controuls the restlessness of fond desire,
It has a fancy born for every day,
A tide of feeling that can never tire.

And so the ring that on thy finger glows
And there has glitter'd for so long a
time—
Pledge of a faith that daily stronger grows,
And will remain until the doom sublime

Shall blend our natures with the power
above,
From whence we spring and whither we
are bound—
May still remain the witness of a love
Pure as its ore, and endless as its round.

HARTLEY COLERIDGE.

(‘Light is the love of youth as morning
dew.’)

Ceu rores sub sole breves, vagitus inanis
Infantum, pueri sic levis ardet amor.
At calor ille manet, vivit, quem lenta
sagacem
Annorum series non abolere valet.

Anulus est testis tibi quem—puer inscius
olim
Quo fueris tanto munere digna—dedi ;
Audiui molles quam fuderis ore loquellas,
Vidi quam nitidus pinxerit ora lepor.

Ast amor, haud simul ac suspiria duxerit
horae
Momento rapidae disentiendus, adest ;
Mortalis licet ipse, potest, vult, debet
amando
Testari quiddam rebus inesse dei.

Perpetitur damnosa morae dispendia longae,
Ardor ut exultat vix inhibendus, hebet,
Quot fulsere dies tot habet nova pabula
flammae,
Verus inexhaustus crescit ut aestus amor.

Disce quid hic doceat, tibi multos circulus
annos
Qui digito micuit, rara puella, decor :
Anulus hic,—pignus fidei crescentis in horas
Et permansurae dum Deus ipse sua

Nos anima commiscuerit divinitus orta,
Unde est fons nobis, quo rediisse datur—
Testis adhuc ignis, circuli qui purior auro
Orbis uti circuli fine carebit, erit.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

ON A PICTURE OF LEANDER

Come hither, all sweet maidens soberly,
Down-looking aye, and with a chasten'd
light

Hid in the fringes of your eyelids white,
And meekly let your fair hands joined be,
As if so gentle that ye could not see,

Untouch'd, a victim of your beauty bright,
Sinking away to his young spirit's night,
Sinking bewilder'd 'mid the dreary sea :

'Tis young Leander toiling to his death ;
Nigh swooning, he doth purse his weary
lips

For Hero's cheek, and smiles against her
smile.

O horrid dream ! see how his body dips,
Dead-heavy ; arms and shoulders gleam
awhile :

He's gone ; up bubbles all his amorous
breath !

KEATS.

εἰς εἰκόνα Λεάνδρου

Ἠρέμα πᾶσαι δεῦρο κατηφέες ὧ ἵτε κοῦραι
δερχόμεναι σκιεροῖς ἀγνὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάροις,

πλεξάμεναι καὶ τὰς ἀπαλὰς χέρας, ὡς ἂν ἄτολ-
μοι

οἴκτου ἄτερ λεύσσειν ἄνδρ' ὑπὸ παρθενικῆς
ἀγλαΐης φθίνοντα, βίου νέοντ' ἐπὶ δυσμάς,

ἤδη ἀλύει γὰρ δυσπόρῳ ἐν πελάγει.

τὸν νέον ἵστε Λεάνδρον· ἐς Ἀῖδα μόχθον ἐρέσσει

ἄρτι λιποψυχῶν, χεῖλα δ' ἄκρα μύσας

Ἡροῦς ἐς τὸ φίλημα· κενὸν δ' ἄρα μειδιώτης

μειδιᾷ ἃ δύσεως, κωφὰ καθελκόμενος

χερσὶν ἰδεῖν ὅμοις τε μίτην ἔτι φαίδιμα νήχει·

φεῦ τότε πᾶν ἰδεθ' ὡς πνέυμ' ἀναπομφολυγεί.

W. H.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

WALDSTEIN'S *HERAEUM*.

The Argive Heraeum. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Ph.D., L.H.D., Litt.D., sometime Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens ; University Reader in Classical Archaeology, and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge ; sometime Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and Slade Professor of Fine Art, &c., &c. With the co-operation of G. H. CHASE, H. F. DE COU, J. W. HERMAN, J. C. HOPPIN, A. M. LYTHGOE, R. NORTON, R. B. RICHARDSON, E. L. TILTON, H. S. WASHINGTON, J. R. WHEELER. Vol. I. 1902. Pp. xxii, 231. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. Price £3 7s. 6d.

It is eleven years since Dr. Waldstein published his Preliminary Report of the excavations on the site of the Heraeum. The delay in publishing the complete work has been to a certain extent unavoidable. The mere sorting and examination of the finds would in any case occupy a long time, even if the editor had not been engaged in pressing duties, and his assistants had been less

like birds of passage, here to-day and gone to-morrow. In this case, where the finds pointed to some conclusions which were opposed to accepted theories, greater deliberation was a duty. Add to this the facts that the publication was managed by a Committee, that the Committee sat in America while the editor abode in England, and the delay is fairly accounted for. It must be admitted, however, that the delay might have been turned to better account in one way. Dr. Waldstein's MS., we learn, was complete in 1898 ; since which date works of great importance have been published, amongst which, as bearing on the question of Mycenaean culture, Prof. Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* may be mentioned. Dr. Waldstein has not thought well to examine the bearing of this book on his Introduction, part of which might have been modified by it. He does indeed mention Prof. Ridgeway in a footnote, not without approval ; but there was time to have formed a more definite opinion than he gives on the new theories, whether to accept them or to reject. And there was surely time to have subjected the proofs to a thorough revision. I have noted a number of misprints, which

I here subjoin.¹ These errors are not likely to cause difficulty, except the misprint, *Cynneia*, but it is a pity they were not corrected in a magnificent work like the present.

Dr. Waldstein is right in laying stress on the evidence afforded by his discoveries of the continuity between the Mycenaean age and the historical periods of ancient Hellas. It is just this which strikes the reader as the great contribution made by the Argive excavations to the study of antiquity. Indeed, by them the imagination is carried back to a period so remote, that Dr. Waldstein claims no more than is just in holding that our ideas on the subject of Aegean civilization must be readjusted. Mr. Evans's discoveries in Crete point in the same direction; but in Crete there is nothing like the same continuous series. The pre-Minoan remains are of a rudimentary type, and the story of Cnossos comes to an end abruptly, like so many other ancient histories, in desolation and disaster. In the Heraeum we have the wonderful spectacle of a population worshipping the same deity in the same place and in the same way, from the third millennium before Christ down into the historical period, undisturbed by wars and rumours of wars, by changes of dynasty, by foreign conquest or immigration. A very strong confirmation is this of the hypothesis, that the mass of the population remained unchanged through all these vicissitudes, and perhaps to a great extent is unchanged still. As regards the history of this long period, Dr. Waldstein has a good deal to say. With the aid of Mr. Penrose, trusting to the principle of orientation, he places the Old Temple about 1830 B.C., the date approximately of the oldest temple on the Acropolis of Athens and the Heraeum at Olympia. This agrees with the calculation of Acusilaos, who puts the date of King Phoroneus at about 1800; Dr. Waldstein, arguing from the genealogies, would put Phoroneus back to 2200 B.C., and assume that Acusilaos, while he has grounds for his calculation, has confused the names. Dr. Waldstein prints side by side the two dynastic tables known to us, and to account for the differences, suggests that one came from Argos and one from the Heraeum, Argos being a young foundation in com-

parison and caring only for what particularly concerned itself. He holds that Phoroneus was the native chief who acted as *συννοικιστής* to the Argive plain, as Theseus did for Attica. His argument seems to be sound in principle, and is a further evidence that solid fact rests at the basis of the ancient traditions, a view which gains strength with each new discovery. He draws an ingenious inference from the position of the Heraeum, which shows the value of first-hand knowledge in topography. The site faces Midea and Tiryns, not Mycenae and Argos; from Argos at least it would be invisible. The finds prove that the settlement of the Heraeum is pre-Tirynthine, for the Tirynthine pottery is not by any means the earliest deposit; and Dr. Waldstein is inclined to think that the Heraeum may have been the earliest settlement on the Argive plain. There are numerous remains of pre-Cyclopean walls. The account of Pausanias, however mingled with myth, implies a succession of rulers before the Atridae. The Cyclopean walls of the older temple are like the old wall of Tiryns, which was built by Proetus. Mycenae comes two generations later than Tiryns; as the power of this city rises, the new buildings about the Heraean site turn more in the direction of Mycenae. With Danaus comes a violent change; he is an interloper, though of native stock; there is another change, not so violent, under the Atridae; lastly comes the flood of Dorian barbarism. Argos seems never to have been a famous fortress; it seems to have been founded by Megapenthes. The net result is that the sequence Tiryns, Mycenae, Argos is confirmed, and evidence is forthcoming of a civilization earlier than any of them. As regards the religious history of the site there is less to say. There are evidences of struggle between Hera and Apollo Pythaeus or Poseidon, but the goddess held her own. 'She may perhaps have had her consort, but she remained the Queen.' Is it quite true, however, to say that 'only during one short period was the worship of Hera superseded by another in the City of Argos, namely, when the Dorian supremacy was established, and when the cities which fell to the "lot of Temenus" formed a kind of confederacy . . . with the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus . . . as the centre' (p. 4)? According to O. Müller, Grote, and Busolt, this cult was the centre of a confederacy more important than this would imply (see Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1. 731, etc.).

The finds are no less important in the

¹ Page 47 read *τό τε* for *τότε*; 48 read *Ἦρας* [add a reference to *Il.* iv. 8]; 64 insert bracket) after 273; 67 read *Sen.* for *Sem.*; 8, 5 lines from foot of text, read *sanatorium*; 142 read *ταύτην*; 204 read *Ceryneia* for *Cynneia*; 1441 repeats much of 204; 167 last line in the note 1681, read *Canephoroi*, and correct the quotation from Cicero.

history of ceramic art. A succeeding volume will deal with this matter in detail; but Dr. Waldstein anticipates so far as to give a sketch of his general conclusions. Whilst there are two distinct classes, in one of which the coroplast seems to have been influenced by the ceramist, and in the other the ceramist by the coroplast; there is at the same time a continuity of development which shows little outside influence, none in fact except during a short period of orient-alizing and the Dorian period. The figure develops from an almost formless pillar, through the rude bird-face idol, to archaic Greek; and there, with a few exceptional examples of fifth century work, it stops. The Dipylon figures are chiefly animals. One is struck by the absence of anything approaching the fine free modelling of the Cretan plaster-work, but that is no doubt due to the fact that we have here the productions of common unskilled workmen; Mycenae is proof that the finer art existed side by side with these rude objects. The same fact, added to the conventionalism of religion, suggests that idols of archaic appearance may have been made at almost all periods; and apart from the evidence of undisturbed strata, this style alone cannot prove extreme antiquity. The series of vases contain hosts of what are generally called 'proto-Corinthian'; so many indeed that Dr. Waldstein believes them to be a local product. The ornamentation shows geometric elements before the Dipylon period. An interesting group of illustrations shows the pedigree of vase-decoration. The 'Mycenaean' style is a development on old lines, but the Dipylon shows new elements. The bronzes are remarkable for other reasons: there is nothing of note from the artistic standpoint, but the immense deposits of pins, rods, wires, and rings are taken to be offerings in the local currency of the day. Except accidentally near the top, there are no coins; but then coins were not known until near the end of the history of the Heraeum. Whether the large bundles of iron rods were, as Dr. Waldstein suggests, the actual dedication of Pheidon, according to the well-known story of the *ὀβελοί*, it would be impossible to say; but no one who has studied the history of currency could doubt that most of these objects were what did duty for coins. Dr. Waldstein does indeed suggest that the rings 'may have had some ritual meaning as offerings to Hera from allied couples'; but he is here dominated by tradition and modern associations. I do not know whether Greek allied

couples wore rings, but there is no evidence, so far as I know, for the dedication of a ring for any such reason. Rings were given for their value, or by the very poor as a token of gratitude, without symbolical meaning. We may perhaps suggest that the ancient 'hammer stones' found on the site, if dedications, were dedicated for their value, and need not have had any special ritual significance (p. 99).

The account of the earlier excavations of this site, and of the details of the present one, we may pass over, only indicating that Dr. Waldstein has attempted to explain Strabo's omissions in describing the district by a too great dependence on Homer. Mr. H. H. Washington's account of the geology of the plain should be mentioned for those whom it may interest.

We now come to the Architecture and Sculpture, subjects which one who is no expert has no right to criticize. It is quite possible, however, for the non-expert to express his appreciation of the thorough and workmanlike way in which the facts are marshalled and explained. Mr. E. L. Tilton, who has charge of the architectural section, describes, with full illustration in text and plates, the actual state of the remains, the inferences which he draws, and his principles of restoration. Not only are pictures given of all the important walls, and of the temple platform from several points of view, but exact measurements, together with profiles of the capitals and other detail. How important this detail often is may be seen from the use made by Dr. Waldstein of one piece of ornament. A carved cyma was found, a unique find, the ornamentation elsewhere being painted; and the ornament on this cyma, being of a peculiar type, recurs on the crown of Hera on a coin where her head is generally admitted to be a copy of the statue of Polycleitus. It looks as though the artist had designed or influenced the whole decoration of the temple down to the minutest details; and if so, this has an important bearing on the ascription of the now famous Girl's Head found in the excavations. Mr. Tilton argues from measurements that the earliest temple must have been made of wood, and suggests that as at Olympia wood may have been replaced by stone as the parts decayed. Everyone knows the story of the destruction of the old temple in 423; and all the evidence points to a rebuilding very soon after that date. The unit of measurement used in the reconstruction was 0.326 m. the same as at Olympia. A plate gives the restoration of

this and the other buildings of the site from more than one point of view, elevation and section. The other buildings, stoae, houses, and so forth, are all properly dealt with. It does not seem likely, by the way, that the 'West Building' could have been a 'hospital for women,' because Hera was 'patroness of births and marriages.' What evidence is there for any such thing?

Dr. Waldstein himself deals with the sculpture. All the remains, with trifling exceptions, are of white marble. One object which is not, is a stone pillar of tapering shape, which Dr. Waldstein believes to be the early image of the goddess in form of a pillar, vouched for by Phoronis, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria. *A priori*, this does not seem impossible; students of Roman antiquities may remember that the oval stone representing Cybele seems to have been found, and destroyed, at Rome some centuries ago. It does not appear whether the position of this object when found bears out the suggestion. Dr. Waldstein gives reason to believe that the metopes ran all round the temple. Pausanias clearly omitted some, because there are Amazonian fragments and he mentions no such scene; probably he omitted the sides. The phrase of Pausanias, *ἐπὶ τοῖς κίονας*, which would naturally apply only to metopes, must include the pediments, since some fragments were found too large for anything but a pediment, and bearing signs of attachment at the back. In view of the remains, Dr. Waldstein now discards his earlier view of the distribution of subjects, and accepts that of Curtius: *i.e.* W. metopes scenes from the Trojan War, with the capture of Troy in the pediment; E metopes the Gigantomachy, and in the pediment the Birth of Zeus. A large part of this section is taken up with a discussion of the style of the fragments, with a view to proving their unity, and that the presiding artist was Polycleitus. The argument, so far as I can judge, is sound; and it does certainly seem that Furtwängler has no sufficient reason for assuming Attic influence in the work of that date. Dr. Waldstein has no difficulty in showing that Furtwängler's biography of his protégé Cresilas is largely imaginative. Whether he is wise in carrying the war into the enemy's country, and suggesting Argive influence in the Erechtheum, let the doctors decide. Dr. Waldstein's criticism of the art of Polycleitus has been greatly modified by his discoveries; and being led to a renewed study he has come to the conclusion, that whilst the master's earlier

works (as the Doryphoros) show more technical skill than imagination, his later works (exemplified by a good copy of the Diadumenos) show that his ancient reputation was deserved: his *diligentia ac decor* were 'finish and beauty.' Polycleitus was the sculptor of beauty, as Pheidias was the sculptor of sublimity, Praxiteles of Grace and pure Greek sentiment, and the Pergamians and Rhodians of Action. A detailed account of the plates follows.

The inscriptions are singularly meagre and disappointing, as from such a site. There seems not to be a trace of any earlier script than the Greek; yet if a Cretan palace can yield inventories, the ancient temple might have similarly favoured us. Those on bronze are reserved for another volume, which is a pity; after all, inscriptions have an interest for many apart from the substance which bears them. Messrs. R. B. Richardson and J. R. Wheeler have charge of the inscriptions on stone, which are all familiar to scholars already; but the editors have availed themselves of the labours of Fränkel to make some alterations. They show many interesting peculiarities both in letters and in words. The oldest has a remarkable Kappa of the form κ . No. II, dated about 500, has $D = \delta$, $V = \nu$, $\Theta = \phi$, $\Theta = \eta$, $\rho = \rho$, F , and $:$ as interpunct. It contains the earliest mention of the four Doric tribes, and the curious word *τελαμῷ*, apparently meaning a base for the slab, although later the word became a synonym of *στήλη*. No. IV has $\square = \beta$, No. VI a doubled ξ of peculiar form. There are other new or rare words besides *τελαμῷ*: *ἐπὶ ἀνθήματα* (= Att. *ἐπετήσια*, this year's new offerings), *πᾶμα* = possession. A number of the inscriptions present difficulties of interpretation. No doubt the great mass of inscriptions have been carried off or destroyed for the value of the stone they were on; but it is a remarkably meagre list, only twenty apart from the inscribed tiles.

The plates are executed in the very best manner. The most important works of art are photogravured, and very beautiful they are: it is not necessary to enlarge on the Girl's Head which on its discovery at once took its place as one of the treasures of ancient art. There is no other piece of equal value; but there are several other heads and torsos of beauty and merit. The plates number XLI, the illustrations in the text 90. If we have had to wait long for this book, it was worth waiting for; and its

importance, as I have indicated, is first rate for other reasons than artistic.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

DE RIDDER'S CATALOGUE OF PAINTED VASES.

Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale. By A. DE RIDDER. Part II.: Red-figured vases and Decadence. 24 plates; 100 cuts. Paris: E. Leroux, 1902.

IN noticing the second volume of this Catalogue we need do little more than repeat what was said in reviewing the first in the *Classical Review* for November 1902. The present volume contains a description of about 950 vases, making a total of nearly 1300. They are illustrated by 100 cuts in the text and twenty-four photographic plates containing in all 100 subjects. Concordance tables and an excellent index complete the work.

Although larger in bulk this second volume is perhaps of inferior interest to the first, lacking any specimens equal in archaeological value to the Arkesilas cup, the Amasis amphora, and the two fine Chalcidian vases. The only real *chefs-d'œuvre* of the red-figured period in the collection are the Dolon cup of Euphronios, the cup signed by Kleophrades and Amasis II., and the kantharos of Epigenes. We should have been glad to see more attempt made to classify the Italian vases than merely by shapes, especially now that the fabrics have all been fairly determined; and it certainly seems a mistake not to include the moulded vases or those with reliefs under a separate heading.

But taken altogether, with its adequate system of illustration and its full and careful descriptions, this Catalogue is an excellent piece of work, and will be of the greatest value to the student of Greek vases.

H. B. WALTERS.

ROUSE'S GREEK VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

Greek Votive Offerings. An Essay in the History of Greek Religion. By W. H. D. ROUSE, Litt. D., formerly Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Master of the Perse School. Pp. xvi, 463. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

IN *Greek Votive Offerings* Mr. Rouse presents us with the fruit of ten years' work. He has collected and arranged an

immense mass of material, brought together from a multitude of sources and systematised, most of it, for the first time, and he is to be congratulated on the completion of a task demanding Teutonic patience and perseverance, and the publication of a useful work of reference, if not a very readable book.

The presentation of so huge a mass of material in anything like a clear arrangement is, as Mr. Rouse suggests, a matter of enormous difficulty. Unfortunately the method which he has selected for its display seems to lack that very quality of clearness which is so desirable. Mr. Rouse has decided 'to classify the matter in each chapter in the way most convenient, and to leave the general scheme to develop itself in the final survey.' The result is bewilderment and confusion. The reader is given no framework at the outset into which he may attempt to fit the multitude of facts that is set out before him. He has no clue to guide him through the labyrinthine catalogue that fills the greater part of the book. He must wander through page after page, and chapter after chapter, and list after list of votive offerings before at the last, by a Herculean effort, he reaches the blessed haven of the General Sketch, and is told whither all this tends.

Mr. Rouse would have done better had he departed in his disquisition from the procedure of the archaeological workshop, and given some hint of the results deduced or the theories canvassed and controverted to aid the digestion of the heavy conglomerate of fact that occupies 347 out of 393 pages of the book. An essay on Greek Votive Offerings followed by a classified catalogue—a catalogue without literary disguise—would have been more readable and indeed more useful than the present work, provided though it is with indices of the greatest value.

That the deductions and theories of the General Sketch are neither startling nor revolutionary is no fault of Mr. Rouse, though the promised destruction of shibboleths and ready-made theories makes hopes run high, and a certain feeling of disappointment is the result.

He makes a strong attack upon the theory of symbolism, and establishes with regard to votive offerings generally, the deduction made elsewhere with regard to dedications of terracottas, that anything was a suitable offering to any divinity. He deduces too that the variety of objects which could be dedicated for one cause was infinite. It

was the intention of the worshipper rather than the value or nature of the votive object which was of importance. Here again we may agree that Mr. Rouse has arrived at a general truth. Less confidence is to be placed in his analysis of motive. His judgment is often quite arbitrary. He too hastily assumes with regard to many of the offerings that they were dedicated from motives of gratitude rather than with a lively sense of favours to come.

Mr. Rouse's attitude with regard to the dedication of portraits is not one which commends itself. He writes 'I have found no reason to believe that the portrait as such was ever dedicated by a Greek until the votive dedication had lost its meaning. I do not say that Miltiades, for example, in the Marathonian group, was not recognised for Miltiades, or that he was not represented in form and feature to the life; that may well have been so, and yet no dedicatory portrait. It makes all the difference in the world that he was part of an ideal group. So it was with all the other human figures in question which are clearly described: something of the ideal was in them, so that they suggested not this or that man but this or that action or event. . . I take it that to dedicate a portrait as such would have seemed the height of arrogance to a Greek, as the story of Pheidias and the shield of Athena implies, and as Demosthenes implies in an age when the thing was common.'

The distinction between the dedication of a portrait as such, and the dedication of a portrait figure of a 'devotee doing something or other' is somewhat subtle; and it is difficult to imagine the statues or reliefs which Mr. Rouse would admit to be portraits as such and not figures 'that represent the act or process, the human activity blest by the god, or which man desires to keep in remembrance.'

'The statues of priests were doubtless properly characterised and will have represented the priest's function in plastic form. Mere portraits they could not have been.' But why not? The priestly office would no doubt be indicated. He would carry a sacrificial knife or sacred vessel, but need the statue be any the less a portrait? Is not the portrait of a doctor in a faculty oftentimes resplendent with scarlet gown, and that of a judge marked by his full-bottomed wig, and yet none the less a portrait as such? The statue of Miltiades we are told to regard as a memorial not an honour, so too the statues of Tellias, Rhoeus, Daiphantes; of Scyllis the diver and his

daughter Hydra; and of Arimnestus the leader of the Plataeans at Marathon and Plataea. One almost wonders whether statues of Wellington and Nelson were set up merely to commemorate and not to honour also.

Then again the story of Pheidias cannot be considered sufficient proof or proof at all that the dedication of a portrait statue was or would be considered an act of arrogance, and the passage of Demosthenes to which Mr. Rouse refers may be taken merely as evidence that the orator was not above making a point at the expense of strict accuracy. Furthermore that portrait statues were dedicated in expiation seems to be admitted (p. 315). Was it then less arrogant to dedicate one's likeness by way of expiation than by way of thanksgiving?

Subtle again is the distinction between the dedication of one deity to another as an *ἄγαλμα* and of one deity to another as a deity; and the statement that 'the dedication of the statue of a deity to whom gratitude is due is always made to that deity himself while Greek religion is sincere' requires more justification than the *ipse dixit* 'there is no meaning in dedicating the statue of one god to another except it be dedicated as a work of art or thing of value.' Mr. Rouse overlooks or rejects the possibility that the dedicator might express his gratitude in a manner that appears illogical to the analyst of the twentieth century. Suppose that, at Olympia, one who was a victor by the chance of the lot felt moved to dedicate a statue of Hermes as a thank-offering to the god of luck, would it not be natural for him, failing a temple of Hermes at Olympia, to dedicate his statue in the shrine of Zeus or Hera and label it *τῷ Δεῦ* or *τῇ Ἥρᾳ* without weighing the logic of his action? Would he not depart and feel that he had paid his debt to Hermes just as fully as if he had set the image before the god's own shrine? May not a similar explanation account for many of the dedications of one god in the temple of another?

To turn to smaller points, the language of Homer does not seem to support the view that (in *Odyssey* xi) the 'insubstantial shades by drinking of the blood gain a momentary strength to answer his (Ulysses') questions.' The ghosts both of Elpenor and Teiresias converse with him before so drinking. Is not the point that he who drinks *νημεπρὲς ἐνίψα*? The statements that 'the tendency in Greece as elsewhere was to *deify* the founder of the race,' and

that the weapons and utensils found in tombs 'are strictly votive offerings . . . dedicated on a special occasion and for the purpose of propitiation to a being conceived as superhuman' are surely not so indisputable as to need no proof. The nameless altars of the time of Diogenes Laertius should not be adduced to prove that the Pelasgians spoke of their gods without names. There is no reason to doubt the explanation given by Diogenes himself.¹

Finally Mr. Rouse's English is occasionally awkward or at fault, witness the sentences 'But apart from these, where evidence as to motive or meaning is vague, the practice of dedicating what are technically called ἀναθήματα, that is permanent memorials of a special benefit, at first (as the name denotes) intended to be hung in the shrine, but including later all objects which embodied the idea, the evidence for this practice is confined within narrow limits.' ('Why, by the bye, does the word ἀναθήματα imply that the dedications were first intended to be hung in the shrine?') p. 348; 'the dedication of things for their meaning sake' p. 349; 'the mystical interpretation must not be suggested for early days as Frazer does' p. 377; 'the flesh, after a portion offered, and the rest of the milk, he and Chloe themselves partake of' p. 44; and no fear of Mr. Rouse's powers as a licensed worker of black magic will silence a protest against such forms as 'stretcht' 'eclipt' 'worshipt' 'markt' 'dismist' in English of the present day. Mr. Rouse himself seems scarcely at home with them: he gives us both 'toucht' and 'touched' both 'burnt' and 'burned' for the same parts of the verbs. Or is this variety due to the opinion expressed ament the spelling of Greek names, that it is 'better to be inconsistent than pedantic'? Nothing is gained by dubbing an old acquaintance—'bedeckt' or 'furnisht.'

CLEMENT GUTCH.

WROTH'S COINS OF PARTHIA.

A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. The Coins of Parthia. By WARWICK WROTH. London, 1903. Pp. lxxxviii + 290, with a map and 37 autotype plates. 25s.

THANKS to the energy of the Medal Room Staff, the British Museum continues to keep

¹ See Frazer, *Paus.* vol. ii. p. 33.

far ahead of its Continental rivals in the rapidity with which its Greek coins are being made available for study. As the Keeper reminds us in his Preface, the present is the twenty-third volume of the series, the first having been issued just thirty years ago. No higher praise could be awarded to Mr. Wroth's latest contribution than to say that it is in every way worthy to take rank beside the best of its predecessors. And this success has been achieved in the face of difficulties of no ordinary character. The literary records are of the most meagre description. Nor do the legends on the coins give much help in classification. For, in the words of Strabo, plaintively quoted in the Introduction, Ἀρσάκαι καλοῦνται πάντες, ἰδία δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὀρόδης, ὁ δὲ Φραάτης, ὁ δ' ἄλλοι. The types too are monotonous and uninteresting, while the style is seldom more than one degree removed from barbarism. Lastly, the specimens which are found are often in poor condition, and there are no authentic records of the precise contents of particular hoards.

These unfavourable conditions only serve to enhance the importance of Mr. Wroth's book. Where literary authorities are so sadly to seek, the historian of Parthia is thrown back on the actual monuments, of which the coinage is by far the most important. Von Gutschmid made considerable use of it in his *Geschichte Irans*. Unfortunately he only knew the coins at second hand, and he was therefore apt to draw conclusions which no practical numismatist would have sanctioned. Here we have in the Introduction a clear and able summary of all that is known from other sources as to the history of the kingdom, accompanied by a most careful examination of the different series of coins and a resolute attempt to assign each of these to the monarch who actually issued it. As its author frankly admits, the new arrangement cannot in the meantime be accepted as a final one. But it certainly represents a great step in advance. The last (and probably also the first) effort to grapple with the subject in a scientific fashion was Gardner's *Parthian Coinage*. That was published in 1877. Since then there has emerged new evidence which renders changes inevitable. Of these the most remarkable is the transference to Mithradates II. (123–88 B.C.) of the familiar silver pieces which have hitherto been supposed to enshrine the portrait of Mithradates I. (171–138 B.C.). Mr. Wroth's reasons, which are fully set forth, seem to be con-

vincing. And in general it may be said that, where he differs from his predecessors, he never fails to give good grounds for the faith that is in him.

Where the art is so indifferent, iconography loses something of its fascination. Still, the student of Roman history will scan with interest the features of Orodes I., who had his crowning mercy at Carrhae, of Phraates IV., who restored the lost standards, and of the Tiridates of *Quid Tiridaten terreat*. There is character too in the face of Musa, the Italian slave-girl who became queen of Parthia. Except in the case of Tiridates, these identifications are all certain, and so are a considerable number of others. Apart from the persons whom they represent, the portraits are always valuable as throwing light on ancient Oriental costume, particularly head-gear. The reverse types are discussed in a special section of the Introduction. As already indicated, they are not such as to stir enthusiasm in the breast of the average collector. A survey of the Plates shows vividly how true it is that, during the five centuries of its existence, the Parthian monarchy remained essentially barbarous. The very dies in which these βασιλείς βασιλέων dub themselves φιλέλληνες, were cut by workmen who did not know the Greek alphabet. The types themselves present a melancholy panorama of conventionality and degeneration. Most of the earlier ones are slavishly borrowed from Seleucid originals. And the habit of borrowing was never lost. Thus, the bust of Tyche on the coins of Osroes (e.g. Plate xxxi 12) is an obvious copy of the imperial issues of one of the great Syrian cities. In the concluding section of the Introduction, the question of monograms and symbols is dealt with, and it is shown that, in the present state of our knowledge, these can hardly be made to yield any reliable evidence as to the places of mintage.

The Catalogue itself has been compiled with characteristic care. A notable innovation is the description in the body of the work of pieces which are not actually in the British Museum, but are indispensable aids to classification. Such pieces also appear, not as formerly on a supplementary Plate, but in their chronological sequence on the ordinary Plates. The Indexes are more complete than ever. Special tables are added, including one which shows the correspondence between the years of the Seleucid and those of the Christian Era,—a luxury which will save many spasms of mental arithmetic. The Plates are good, although

they do not reach the extraordinarily high level of excellence attained by one firm abroad. On p. xvi. ΠΡ has been accidentally printed for ΗΠΡ.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

WEICKER'S SEELENVOGEL.

Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst. Eine mythologisch-archaeologische Untersuchung. Von G. WEICKER. Leipzig (Teubner). 1902. 28 mk.

THIS book is a monograph, compiled with extraordinary diligence, on the Sirens. Starting from the already established theory that the Sirens, in origin at least, are the spirits of the dead, with the corollary that these spirits for their existence require blood and sexual satisfaction, the author traces the subject through Greek literature and art, from Homer and the Egyptian *Ba*, down to Roman and Christian times. The 103 illustrations represent practically all the important types and a large number of hitherto unpublished objects. It is obvious that the book will be extremely useful, if only as a collection of material. The author's minute patience wins our sincere respect and gratitude; and if throughout the book, and especially in the first part which deals with literature, it is often impossible to see the wood for the trees, that is partly due to the obscurity of the subject, and not entirely to defective method and that fine scorn of literary style which ought to be, but is not, confined to dictionaries. It is necessary however to remark that the author has frequently allowed his enthusiasm for his subject to overpower his judgment. He casts his net exceedingly wide, and everything that comes to it is a soul. Theories of this kind are not strengthened by an accumulation of doubtful instances, however dogmatically their support is claimed. For example: the nymphs of all kinds, *trotz aller Differenzierung* (!), are souls. Penelope's dream of an eagle killing geese is 'one of the best pieces of evidence' for the soul being conceived as a bird in Homer. The birds held by Cypriote figures are really souls, not the doves of Aphrodite. The heads which appear alone on South Italian vases are not purely decorative, but representations of the soul. Dionysus, when Sophocles died, appeared in a dream to the Spartan commander at Decelea and told him to give funeral honours

to the 'new siren'—this shows the equivalence of soul and siren. The bird-types of the Zakro sealings are promptly accepted as the earliest Mycenaean soul-birds, without any attempt to account for the curious variations and degradations of type. The attempt to prove the 'groberotisch' nature of the soul-bird leads to an entirely gratuitous interpretation of the well-known and already sufficiently ill-favoured siren on the Vienna amphora. These instances are enough to show that the reader must exercise considerable caution in using Dr. Weicker's book. He will do well also to bear in mind the possibility, which does not seem to have occurred to the author, that there may be much in Greek decorative art which has no symbolic meaning. It will take much evidence to prove that the Sirens on bronze vase-handles, or even on Etruscan scaraboids, are anything but purely decorative. Nevertheless this lack of critical method does not spoil the book as a work of reference. The author, by the way may be interested to learn that one of his corrections is unnecessary; to say that a vase is not in the Bibliothèque Nationale but in the Cabinet des Médailles is like saying that the Portland vase is not in the British Museum but in the Gold Ornament Room.

G. F. HILL

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—The excavations now being conducted between the Piazza di Venezia and the Forum of Trajan have led to some interesting discoveries. The remains of a large building, reaching thirty or forty feet above the level of the modern city, have come to light; a special feature is the row of stone brackets projecting from the brick pilasters for the support of a ceiling or roof. In a recess of the building a hoard of 2,000 coins of the 4th century (quite worthless, it is said,) and a very fine specimen of architectural marble carving were found. The discoveries included also columns and capitals, brick-stamps dating from the first quarter of the second century, a bronze lamp inlaid with silver, and several inscriptions on slabs which had been brought together from various quarters for paving and other purposes.

At the foot of the *Vicus Apollinis*, which led up from the *Summa Sacra Via* (Arch of Titus) to the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, one of the oldest drains of the

city has been found. An inscription, dedicated by Ceionius Rufius Albinus, city prefect 389–391, to Thermantia, wife of Theodosius the elder, and mother of the Emperor Theodosius, had been employed as material for strengthening the roof. The inscription informs us that Theodosius, Thermantia's husband, commander of the Roman armies in Britain and elsewhere, was killed in Dec. 376, after embracing the Christian faith, and was awarded the title of Divus by the senate.

In the course of drainage works in the Piazza Piscinula the architrave of a small temple was unearthed; on it is an inscription recording the fact that the building had been erected by one Acinius Faustus, a *praebitor* or purveyor, in honour of Bacchus and Diana.¹

Ancona.—An important ancient cemetery has been discovered with graves of the pre-Roman and Roman periods. The earlier graves contained weapons, ornaments, and pottery. Of the Roman graves the most important is that of a Lucius Balbus; here were the remains of a bier in a fair state of preservation. It consists of a rectangular frame with cushion-shaped erections at either end; the latter are of wood with decorations of metal in the form of heads of Bacchantes and lions. The bier evidently corresponds to the form of Greek couch known as ἀμφικέφαλος.²

SOUTH RUSSIA.

Caucasus (Kuban River).—The finds during 1902 included a fine archaic candelabrum probably of the 6th century B.C., the top of which consists of the figure of a harpy, of excellent workmanship, with long locks falling down over the shoulders. Vases of grey ware, roughly in the form of ducks, with hole in the back and spout in the mouth were found, and belong also to the 6th century, B.C. Other tombs yielded late Hellenistic bronze vases; among them was an oenochoë with a small relief below the handle, representing Eros walking to the r. with an amphora on his l. shoulder and a lowered torch in his r. hand. Several silver vases of the Augustan period and glass vases were found; with these objects was a barbarian spiral armband in gold, the ends fastened by a buckle ornamented with the figure of sheep with decoration of inlaid glass and granulation. So-called Gothic objects were also found.³

¹ *Athenaeum*, July 11th, 1903.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, July 4th, 1903.

³ *Arch. Anz.*, 1903 (2).

Kertch (Ranticapaeum).—A marble funeral stèle of the third century B.C. has been discovered; the relief represents a young man and a boy, both full face. Underneath is a long inscription, informing us that the stone is in memory of an Apollonios the son of Apollonios. Among smaller objects found are two terracottas in the form of a seated girl, with the inscription KOINTOY below; also fragments of a terracotta representing Herakles and the Nemean lion. Among the vases is a b.-f. Boeotian lekythos with a design, on the body of the vase, of two nude and two draped men; on the shoulder are three figures in himatia; a Corinthian *bombylios* and an Egyptian vase overlaid with fine blue-green enamel and impressed with a cartouche (probably a late imitation of that of Thotmes III) were also found.³

Olbia.—During 1902 three small heads of Greek marble were discovered; one of a boy in the style of Boethus, one of Hades, and one representing, perhaps, Demeter or a Muse. A bronze *emblemata* of Augustan date with a head of Demeter in relief, bronze fibulae and terracottas of the Roman period, and black-and red-figured vases also came to light.³

NORTHERN AFRICA.

Tunis.—During 1902 excavations were carried on at Gigthis, a town on the Syrtis. A new country villa, very rich in mosaics, was discovered. The chief object found there is a mosaic representing Neptune in his car drawn by four hippocamps and accompanied by a Triton and a Nereid; this design is in the centre of the mosaic. In the corners are the four seasons, each attended by appropriate figures. Spring is accompanied by a dog and a man carrying a basket of flowers; Summer, who is decked with ears of corn, by a lion and a reaper; Autumn, adorned with vine-leaves and holding a cantharos, has on either side of her a panther and a vine-dresser; Winter, carrying a staff and dead ducks, and crowned with rushes, has for her attendants a boar and a man gathering olives. The mosaic is of a good style, and cannot be later than the time of Hadrian. Another villa has a mosaic representing a ship close by the shore, with a fisherman fishing from it; a second fisherman is seated on a rock hard by.³

Hippo Regius.—Among the mosaics found here is one which depicts two race-horses opposite one another, parted by a column; the names given to them are Diomedes and Alcides.³

Algiers.—At Timgad a small bath-house with gymnasium, frigidarium, and caldarium, and the House of Faustus and Valentina have been excavated. A mosaic represents Diana in the bath spied by Actaeon; it is in the style of the Pompeian wall-paintings.

EGYPT.

Naucratis.—Mr. Hogarth's excavations last year led to the discovery of a large quantity of pottery fragments. A small archaic stèle of limestone with the figure of a man with a staff in his hand resembles in style the seated figures from Branchidae.

Abusir.—Several tombs have been discovered in a nearly perfect state of preservation. The contents of three wooden coffins are of an interesting character. They include the remains of a funeral banquet provided for the dead, leather sandals, strigils, vases, and silver coins, the last intended for Charon's fee. The date of these tombs is the second half of the fourth century B.C.³

SPAIN.

Santiponce (Itálica).—Some fine mosaics of the Roman Period were brought to light during 1902. The most important of these represents figures of the four seasons within medallions. A large statue of Diana was also found; it is in a good state of preservation, though the lower part of the right arm has been broken away. The goddess is in hunting dress, and probably held her bow and arrow in the right hand.

Tajo Montero (Sierra d'Estepa).—Here in 1900 were found six bas-reliefs and an inscription, which had been thrown at hazard into a well. No description was published at the time of discovery. The inscription runs: ANNIA · SEPTVMA · VOTVM · ANIMO · LIBENS · SO///VIT; the letters are those of the second century A.D. The reliefs, which must have been dedicated in some temple, are as follows: (1) A nude female figure standing in an *aediculum* with pediment decorated with an owl; on her right is a palm-tree, bearing a quiver suspended; on her left, in the field, a small bow. (2) A thick stèle with rounded top forms a niche in which is a large female bust in relief. A finger of her right hand is placed on her lip, while with the left she holds a small animal, perhaps a rat, against her breast; a second and similar animal climbs from below towards the first. (3-5) Three stelae of form similar to the last; on one are the busts of two women playing on double-flutes, on the others are thickly-bearded heads,

near one of which is a sceptre. (6) A cubical block, with a male and a female head rudely cut on one of its sides.⁵

GERMANY.

The Saalburg.—A sanctuary of Mithras has been laid bare. It is of the usual form, with broad central nave flanked by side aisles. Before the entrance are the remains of a portico; here a stone with a sacrificial knife carved upon it, a coin of Julia Maesa (d. 223), and a votive pillar, dedicated by one Condollius and inscribed I(ovi) M(ithrae), had previously been found. A ram's head in stone and an altar to Mercury were also discovered here.²

Wiesbaden.—A sanctuary of Mithras has also been found at Wiesbaden; the discovery is of importance, since the circumstances of the find enable us to determine the date of the wall of Wiesbaden, the so-called *Heidenmauer*, with greater accuracy. It must have been built about 300 A.D. It is evident that the Romans, after abandoning the *limes*, still held parts of the right bank of the Rhine. A further proof of this is furnished by the discovery at Heidelberg of the gravestone of an *explorator*, which dates from a time when the Rhine again formed the military boundary; evidently an effort was made to retain important posts, such as the entrance to the valley of the Neckar.³

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxiii. Part 1. 1903.

1. Theognis and his Poems: T. Hudson Williams. Endeavours to distinguish the genuine poems of Theognis among those collected under his name, and to recover the right arrangement.
2. The Cults of Olbia (Part II.): G. M. Hirst. (Four cuts.) Discusses the evidence from coins and inscriptions for the cults of Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Zeus, and other deities; also gives evidence for cults of Herakles, Achilles Pontarches, and the river-god Borysthenes; all purely Hellenic cults except the last.
3. The Method of Deciding the Pentathlon: E. Norman Gardiner. A criticism of literary evidence and earlier theories, with conclusion that, to satisfy conditions of fairness and order, victory in three events in any case secured victory in the whole, account being taken of second place in case of a tie.
4. Mr. Headlam's Theory of Greek Lyric Metre: E. J. Dent. Theory (*J.H.S.* xxii.) criticised from a musician's point of view.

5. Inscriptions from Cyzicus: F. W. Hasluck. (Six cuts.) Gives thirty-nine, with a note on the family of the Asclepiadae.
 6. Early Seleucid Portraits: G. Macdonald. (Two plates.) An attempt to clear away difficulties of identifying royal portraits on silver coins only inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Ἀντιόχου; discusses types and chronological arrangement.
 7. Two Heads of Apollo: P. Gardner. (Plate; five cuts.) Traces Oldfield head in Ashmolean to original of early Hellenistic Age; compares head from Mausoleum with a Vatican head of Apollo Kitharoidos, and attributes it to Scopas school; discusses Scopas and Lysippos and casts doubts on Apoxyomenos as representing the latter's style.
 8. The Country Cart of Ancient Greece: H. L. Lorimer. (Ten cuts.) Gives examples from vase-paintings and terracottas of carts, especially as used in wedding processions; shows their use both for farm-work and for travelling; discusses forms of wheels and axles.
 9. The Bronze Statue from Cerigotto: E. A. Gardner. (Two plates.) A new reproduction after the restoration; attributes it to Hellenistic period; attitude not as yet satisfactorily explained.
 10. The Pottery of Knossos: D. Mackenzie. (Four plates; 15 cuts.) Divides into (1) Neolithic, (2) early and Middle Minoan, (3) late Minoan. (1) attributed to period before 3000 B.C.; (2) development of Minoan (Kamarais) pottery belongs to 3000-2000 B.C.; (3) 'Mycenaean' style appears, uniform with that of other centres of the civilisation; Crete probably centre of manufacture; period covered, about 1800-1500 B.C.
 11. Notices of Books. H. B. W.
- Athenische Mittheilungen*. xxvii. Pt. 4. 1902.
1. O. Rubensohn: Treaty between Paros and Thasos. Publishes an inscription recently found on the same site as the famous Parian marble, dating about 411 B.C., and interesting for its connection with the historical events of Thuc. viii. 64 and Xen. *Hell.* i. 12, 32 ff.
 2. I. H. Holwerda: The Ἀβατον of Epidauros. Combats Kavvadias' theory identifying it with a building on the north side of the temple, and suggests one against the east front, by the entrance.
 3. H. von Prott: Greek Iconography (with cut). Discusses (1) an inscribed base at Athens with name of Aeschylus, identifying it with a statue at one time in the Theatre, and (2) a bust of Chrysippos also in the Athens Museum.
 4. W. Bannier: Attic decrees of the fifth century. Combines and restores certain inscriptions from the Attic *Corpus*, identifying subject-matter.
 5. A. Struck: Inscriptions from Macedonia. Publishes fifty from Thessalonika and other sites.
 6. Th. Wiegand: The position of Hannibal's tomb (four cuts and plate). Identifies Libyssa (the traditional site) with Dil-Eskelessi in Bithynia.
 7. E. Preuner: (1) Disposes of the old reading of a name Nemeonike in the inscription *C.I.G.* Sept. 2490; (2) gives twenty-four inscriptions

from Acarnania to supplement the *C.I.G. Sept.*, and (3) several more from Leukas, including six new ones, one a dedication on an archaic bronze helmet to Athena by Euphraios.

8. W. Kolbe: New sepulchral inscriptions from Leukas. Gives twenty-six, of no special interest.
9. E. Preuner: Inscriptions from Ithaca. Supplementary to those published in *C.I.G. Sept.*
10. H. von Prott: Twelve new inscriptions from Ithaca.
11. W. Dörpfeld: Date of the older Parthenon (two plates). After Peisistratos built peristyle of Hecatompedon, a new temple of porous stone begun under Kleisthenes; substructure finished in 490. Building continued in marble, but burnt by Persians in 480. After Plataea old temple repaired without peristyle and new temple left in ruins, architectural fragments being used for fortification of Acropolis. Finally, new Parthenon built on substructure of unfinished temple.
12. R. Herzog: A Turkish work of 1520 on the Aegean Sea (plate and cut).
13. H. Gelzer: Byzantine inscriptions from Western Macedonia.
14. E. Ziebarth: Cyriacus of Ancona at Pergamon.
H. B. W.

Rivista Italiana Part 2, 1903.

C. Lanza. On the coins of Agrigentum. E. Babelon. 'Les monnaies de Sept. Sèvre, de Caracalla et de Géta relatives à l'Afrique.' Severus who was born at Leptis Magna had a predilection for Carthage and Africa. The types are: (1) Africa personified, (2) the goddess Caelestis, (the Punic Astarte) riding on a lion, like Cybele: behind, water is seen flowing from a rock, *i.e.* the aqueduct of Carthage supplied from the springs of Mons Zeugitanus. The inscr. *Indulgentia Augg. in Carth.* is explained as meaning that Sept. Severus remitted the onerous contribution that Carthage had had presumably to make—since the time of Hadrian—for the construction of the aqueduct. (3) The type of a beardless figure holding the Aesculapian staff and standing between two serpents is supposed by Babelon to represent the Aesculapius of Carthage.—S. Ambrosoli. 'A proposito delle cosiddette restituzioni di Gallieno o Filippo.'

Revue Belge de Numismatique. Part 3, 1903.

L. Forrer. 'Les signatures de graveurs sur les monnaies grecques.' A list of artists' signatures with a detailed account of select specimens.—Reviews. Wroth's *Parthia*; Hill's *Sicily*.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik (Berlin). Vol. xxiv., parts 1 and 2, 1903.

J. Friedlaender. 'J. G. Bononi Friedlaender.' An account of the life of this well-known collector (*d.* 1858) whose ancient coins, Italian medals, etc. were bought by the Berlin Museum in 1861. This paper (which contains some amusing references to Becker the notorious coin-forgery) is by Friedlaender's son the late Dr. Julius Friedlaender, keeper of the Berlin coin-cabinet.—H. Dressel. 'Erwerbungen des Königlichen Münzkabinet in den Jahren 1898–1900.' An account of the principal Greek and Roman

coins acquired by the Berlin coin-cabinet, 1898–1900. *Allifae* in Campania. One of the very rare silver staters of this place, with an inscription hitherto incorrectly published. *Neapolis* (Campania). A stater with the unusual legend *ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ*.

Marcianopolis (Moesia inf.). A coin of Commodus with a magistrate's name that shows that in this reign Marcianopolis was under the authority of the governor of the Province of Thrace. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. Coins of Sept. Severus with the felicitation *εὐτυχῶς τοῖς κυρλοῖς*. *Hadrianopolis* (Thrace). Bronze of Gordian III. with Cybele on lion attended by a figure armed and holding a torch (Corybant?). *Pautalia* (Thrace). A coin of Commodus bearing the name of Asellus Aemilianus. This official already known to have been Legatus of Syria and Proconsul of Asia here appears as governor (*ἡγεμονεύοντος*) of Thrace. *Perinthus* (pp. 34–37). The objects often seen on Imperial coins of Asia Minor and Northern Greece and usually called agonistic or prize urns are discussed. Dressel develops his view that these are not urns, but light metal head-dresses used in crowning the victors in the Games. *Philippopolis* (Thrace). A fine bronze coin of Caracalla (*rev.* Athletes drawing lots) with bust of the Emperor wearing an aegis as on the well-known Strozzi cameo of Augustus in the British Museum. Dressel shows that this kind of aegis decorated with the gorgoneion and a winged and horned head is found on coins of Roman Emperors from M. Aurelius to Probus. The cameo is probably, therefore, not a work of the Augustan age, nor is it likely (as some have contended) to be of the period of Constantine. *Lysimachus, king of Thrace*. A tetradrachm with an unusually fine portrait of Alexander the Great. *Cavarus, circ.* B.C. 219–200, the last of the Gaulish kings in Thrace. A tetradrachm of Alexander's type but with the inscr. *ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*.

Corinth. Antoninus Pius *rev.* Bearded god in short dress holding patera and an object like a pedom—perhaps Silvanus rather than Kronos as Imhoof and Gardner, *Comm. on Paus.* have described him. M. Aurelius. *rev.* nymph Peirene seated on rock holding a vase from which water trickles. Dressel suggests that this may be a copy of a fountain-figure. Commodus. *rev.* Agonistic table on which a pine-wreath and a figure of Melikertes on the dolphin. The latter was perhaps a small metal replica of the famous Melikertes monument, given as a memento to victors in the Isthmian games. *Cynaetha* in Arcadia. An interesting coin of M. Aurelius, apparently representing the buildings around the market-place of the town. This is the first coin of Cynaetha that has come to light. *Persian*. Two minute gold coins, perhaps $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Daric. *India*. A unique quarter-drachm of Sophytes the Indian ruler. *obv.* Head of Athena. *rev.* Cock, and caduceus as symbol.—H. von Fritze. 'Biryitis und die Kabiren auf Münzen.' Discusses the male heads (both bearded and beardless) wearing a *πῖλος* which occur on the coins of Biryitis and other cities and which in several cases seem to represent the Kabiri.—K. Regling. 'Zur griechische Münzkunde.' On erasures of Emperors' heads (Geta, Maximinus), p. 134, f. etc.—Review. Regling on G. Macdonald's *Hunterian Catalogue*, vol. II.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. 58, 1. 1903.

H. Usener, *Dreitheit*. Discusses the trinities of gods in the ancient religions, the number three being very common, especially in magical rites. Besides the Greeks many other nations favoured groups of three, which shows a widespread human tendency to represent godhead in this form. P. v. Winterfeld, *Die Araten des Germanicus*. The poem was dedicated to Augustus, but after the Emperor's death the *Prognostica* was published in connexion with a new edition of the *Phaenomena*, in such a way that while the prooemium was kept the account of the zodiac was altered in order to pay veneration to the dead Augustus. H. Schöne, *Bruchstücke einer neuen Hippokrates vita*. This is in a Brussels cod. of Theodorus Priscianus (Nr. 1342-1350), fol. 52v-53v under the title *Ypocratis genus, vita, dogma*. It contains a pedigree of the Asclepiadae in Cos and is to be dated not before the 5th century A.D. R. Fuchs, *Aus Themisons Werk über die acuten und chronischen Krankheiten*. Gives the text, with critical apparatus, of this physician's handbook for private use, *ιατροσόφιον*. C. Fries, *De M. Favronne a Favonio Eulogio expresso*. On certain similarities between Favonius and Chalcidius, from which it is concluded that the commentary of Posidonius on Plato's *Timaeus* gives the common source for Adrastus and Varro, and so for Favonius who in some points follows Chalcidius, himself the follower of Adrastus, but in most points follows Varro. R. Kunze, *Strabobruckstücke bei Eustathius und Stephanus Byzantius*. (a) Increases the number of Strabo fragments by a further examination of Eust. Homeric commentary, (b) gives some fragments to add to Meineke's collection from Stephanus. H. van Herwerden, *Novae observationes ad tragicorum Graccorum fragmenta*. G. Knaack, *Ein falsches Diodorfragment*. Attributes a reference from Eustathius Hom. Il. T. 400 p. 1190, 50 R. to another Diodorus. E. Goebel, *Ad Gellium*. Conjectures on the text. P. Wolters, *Phaenon*. Makes this out to be a female name. P. Wolters, *Finanznöthe und Kunstwerke in Knidos und anderwärts*. Fr. Adami, *Wormser Verfluchungstafeln*. Contributes towards the elucidation of six leaden tablets in the Paulus-Museum at Worms, found at Kreuznach in 1885. N. Wecklein, *Ueber τοῖος und ταῦτος*. Denies that *ταῦτος* ever has the absolute meaning attributed to it by Radermacher except in Aesch. Pers. 236.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

27 May. E. Schwartz, *Charakter Köpfe aus der antiken Literatur* (O. Weissenfels), favourable on the whole. Fr. Hannig, *De Pegaso* (H. Stending), favourable. J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland. I. Von Epaminondas bis zum Eingreifen der Römer* (R. Oehler). 'Deserves the warmest commendation.' K. Rieck, *Das Excerpt der Naturalis Historia des Plinius von Robert von Cricklade* (J. Müller). 'A useful work deserving of gratitude.' V. Gardthausen, *Sammlungen und Kataloge griechischer Handschriften* (G. Wartenberg). W. Soltan, *Ursprüngliches Christentum in seiner Bedeutung für die Gegenwart* (E. Rodenbusch), favourable.

3 June. *Prosopographia Attica*, ed. J. Kirchner. II. (H. Winther), very favourable. O. Kern, *Über die Anfänge der Hellenischen Religion* (H. Stending), favourable. *Bibliographie der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, herausg. von A. L. Jellinek. I. 1, 2 (Fr. Harder).

10 June. *Paulys Realencyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa. Supplement, I. Helt (Fr. Harder). A. Fuchs, *Die Temporalsätze mit den Konjunktionen 'bis' und 'so lange als'* (W. Vollbrecht). 'Must be used with judgment.' *Pseudacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, rec. O. Keller. I. (J. Endt), very favourable. *Euangelium secundum Matthaeum*, ed. Fr. Blass (R. Knopf). 'Too many conjectures noted.' *Georgii Aepropolitae opera*, rec. A. Heisenberg. I. (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

17 June. *Timotheos, Die Perser*, herausg. von U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. *Der Timotheos-Papyrus*, mit Einleitung und Textergänzung von U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (S. Mekler). C. Morowski, *Catulliana et Cicconiana* (K. P. Schulze), favourable. A. Müller, *Jugendfürsorge in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (O. Weissenfels), favourable.

24 June. *Aristoxenus, the Harmonics*, ed. by H. S. Macran (H. G.), favourable. H. Bretzl, *Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderruges* (R. v. Fischer-Benzon), favourable. P. Rasi, *Die Lucilio 'Rudis et Gracis intacti carminis auctor'* (J. Tolkiehn). *Livi ab u. c. libri*, ed. A. Zingerle. VII. 2 (liber xxxiii). Ed. mai. (W. Heraeus), very favourable. *Eusebius Werke. II. Die Kirchengeschichte*, bearb. von Ed. Schwartz. *Die lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus*, bearb. von Th. Mommsen (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1903.

ON *PHAEDO* 96A-102A AND ON THE δεύτερος πλοῦς 99D.

THIS well-known passage in the *Phaedo* possesses an extraordinary and double interest in that it contains the earliest instance in European literature of a mental history traced through its various phases, as well as the first clear, if tentative, statement of the teleological view or ideal. Commentators and historians have accordingly bestowed ample attention upon it: but there remain certain points of obscurity as regards both the inner nexus of thought in the passage itself and its precise relation to the presumably later and certainly more developed treatment of the same subjects in the *Republic*; and these obscurities have given rise to discussions which, in the view of the present writer, are largely at cross purposes, and admit of a more definite solution than has yet been reached.

In this note I shall endeavour to establish: (1) in what sense the δεύτερος πλοῦς of 99D is really a 'second best'; and, closely connected with this question, what is the exact nature of the surrender implied in the words ἐπειδὴ ἀπειρήκη τὰ ὄντα σκοπῶν, *ib.*; (2) that the 'sun in eclipse' of *Phaed.* c. xlviii is not on a par with the ἀναλογία of the sun in *Rep.* Bk. vi, and that to explain the former by the latter only leads to confusion; (3) that the method thereafter introduced is rather an imperfect and tentative version of the higher intellectual method (διαλεκτική) of *Rep.* vi, vii than to be identified with the lower (διάνοια), as has been contended by Dr. H. Jackson followed by Mr. Archer-Hind; (4) incidentally, that the passage in *Phaed.* 101D εἰ δέ τις αὐτῆς . . . διαφωνεῖ has been

unjustly condemned as an interpolation by the same authorities; (5) again incidentally, that the expression τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα in *Rep.* 533 c, formerly rejected but now defended by Mr. Adam, can hardly be reconciled with what seems to be the drift of the whole passage, and was probably not what Plato wrote.

(1) The true meaning of δεύτερος πλοῦς in 99D can only be arrived at by a careful consideration of the context, which again is conditioned by the preceding narrative. Socrates had begun (96A) by showing how his early physical investigations (περὶ φύσεως ἱστορία) had only led to darkening counsel (οὕτω σφόδρα ἐνυφλώθην, 96c) and hopeless confusion of thought. He therefore (97B) finally abandoned *this*, i.e. the physical, method of enquiry, but retained a dim notion of another and better method of his own (ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄλλον τρόπον αὐτὸς εἰκῇ φύρω). Here we may pause to ask what the latter may be. Jowett (*Introd. to Phaed.* p. 397) doubtfully suggests 'mathematics.' But surely this 'confused notion' is rather a modest anticipation of that very method which is to form the δεύτερος πλοῦς. Note the present tense, φύρω, which, though it may extend into the past, brings the state described into contemporaneity with the narrative.

Next we have, what is really an episode, the 'marvellous hope' excited by the discovery of Anaxagoras's book (96c-98) and his theory of the 'ordering mind,' which seemed to imply design and the principle of 'the best'; the disappointment of that hope

owing to the propounder's inconsistency; and then, once more, the return to the same fantastic 'physical' theories—confusing the true cause with the material condition—from which Socrates had resolved to escape. Since then, he concludes (99 c, d), no one had been able to show him the true cause (τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας=the principle of 'the best', τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δέον συνδεῖν καὶ συνέχειν ἅπαντα) and he could not find it for himself, he will proceed to expound the 'second best' course he has himself devised in his search for the cause.

But here comes the *callida iunctura* of a transition in the argument which may easily lead, and has led, to false antilogies. The difficulty arises from the phrase ἀπειρήκη τὰ ὄντα σκοπῶν, and may be thus stated: (1) If τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν='to investigate nature' after the manner of the 'physicists' described above—and this is what is implied in the opposition in this section between λόγοι and πράγματα or ἔργα—is the δεύτερος πλοῦς of λόγοι and ὑποθέσεις then to be considered inferior to physical speculations? Is not this contrary to Platonism, contrary to the previous rejection of τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον (97B), contrary to what follows soon after (100A) οὐ γὰρ πάνυ συγχωρῶ . . . ἔργους? (2) But if τὰ ὄντα=the higher reality, i.e. the ideas, or 'things-in-themselves' as a modern is tempted to say, how then could the philosopher declare that he had 'given up the search' for them ('I had failed in the contemplation of true existence' is Jowett's translation) and then immediately set out to 'seek in discourse the truth of existence,' making his very first hypothesis the existence of the ideas in their most transcendental form? Could this be called a 'second best' course at all?

Such are the difficulties occasioned by this passage, and it can hardly be denied that they are serious, and raise ἀπορίαι affecting the most vital parts of Platonic theory. I think it will also appear that the best interpreters have failed to steer clear of one or other of the hidden reefs in the argument. It will tend to clearness if I at once set forth what appears to me to be the ἀσφαλὴς λόγος by following which our course will become (to continue the Socratic metaphor) 'plain sailing.' (1) The passage about Anaxagoras and his doctrine of 'mind' being, as above hinted, in the nature of an episode or parenthesis—because that doctrine led to nothing—it follows that the δεύτερος πλοῦς is 'second best' only to that 'wonderful hope' which Anaxagoras had inspired, and

to nothing else. (2) c. xlviii Ἐδοξε τοίνυν μοι κ.τ.λ. links back immediately with the point where the narrative had previously been broken off, at 97B, τοῦτον δὲ οὐδαμῇ προσείμαι. κ. τ. λ. The words ἐπειδὴ ἀπειρήκη (I adopt the plupf. from Prof. Burnet's text, though I am not prepared to stake much of the argument on this reading) τὰ ὄντα σκοπῶν must refer to the physical speculations previously described and condemned (as to this and other views of τὰ ὄντα, more anon). (3) Though the δεύτερος πλοῦς is carried on into c. xlviii, and now takes shape as the discursive method (the contemplation of things (the method of the physicists), yet in this context it lays aside its inferiority, its δευτερότης (if the word may be allowed), as Plato himself warns us (100A οὐ γὰρ πάνυ συγχωρῶ κ.τ.λ.). We need not therefore be puzzled by supposing here any un-Platonic subordination of λόγος to αἴσθησις; the former is no longer a 'second best' but an alternative which turns out to be the better of the two. Νικᾷ ὁ τελευταῖος δραμών.

The whole force, then, of the expression δεύτερος πλοῦς is relative to the vision of 'the good' hastily conjured up and as hastily withdrawn by Anaxagoras—'a moment seen, then gone for ever.' In relation to the physical method the discursive is by no means a 'second best'; but Plato sees that such a misconception might arise from the context (as also from his figure of the 'sun' and 'reflections') and is therefore careful to guard against it (100A). And even in its true application the δεύτερος πλοῦς is only inferior in a qualified sense. Πρὸς ἡμᾶς, as Aristotle would say, it is the best. Here it may be observed that according to its original signification δεύτερος πλοῦς indicates rather a change of *method* than a change of *goal*. Now Anaxagoras had arrived at his doctrine of mind as the regulating principle in the universe only by a flash of intuition; this doctrine had no secure foundations, and was fitfully and inconsistently applied; Socrates's hope of a thorough-going teleology founded upon it was therefore a delusion. A true teleology could only be reached by the μακροτέρα περίοδος of dialectic so much insisted on in the *Republic*; and though to the enthusiast cheated by Anaxagoras into the hope of a speedier and more direct revelation, the 'longer way' seemed for the moment but a 'second best,' yet this 'second best' appears to fall short of the higher dialectic only in that the chain of 'hypotheses' is less clearly and confidently linked to the uncon-

ditioned supremacy of 'the good.' (See the first of Dr. H. Jackson's well-known articles in *J. of Ph.* xix. pp. 137, 149, where, however, though the method of the *Phaedo* is identified with the lower intellectual method of the *Republic*, it is yet maintained that in the former 'the supremacy of the ἀγαθόν is as distinctly asserted as anywhere in the *republic*.')

The view taken above of the δεύτερος πλοῦς is substantially in accord with that of Mr. Archer-Hind (Excursus II to his ed. of *Phaedo*, 1894). As against Prof. Geddes he is right in maintaining that δεύτερος πλοῦς must mean an inferior course, and that it is inferior to the 'great and wondrous hope' of a teleological theory of the universe. But when we come to the τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν the plain sense of the whole passage seems entirely in favour of Prof. Geddes and the majority of commentators, who take τὰ ὄντα as 'phenomena' or 'the external world.' Mr. Archer-Hind, however, having established his first position, and not seeing that, as above contended, the inferiority of the method of λόγοι disappears in c. xlviii, where it is simply opposed to πρὸς τὰ πράγματα βλέπειν, is then led on to identify τὰ ὄντα σκοπεῖν with the πρῶτος πλοῦς. What, then, is this πρῶτος πλοῦς? 'Certainly not the investigation of phenomena by means of physical science. On the study of phenomena Plato is perpetually heaping the most contumelious epithets, etc.' The analogy of the sun, compared with that in the *Republic*, then comes in to confirm the equation τὰ ὄντα = the ideas. I can only say that here Mr. Archer-Hind seems to be out-Platonizing Plato. For, to show that even at the height of his idealism the latter still concedes some kind of οὐσία to phenomena, we have only to refer to *Phaed.* 79A Ὡμμεν οὖν βούλει, ἔφη, δύο εἶδη τῶν ὄντων, τὸ μὲν ὁρατόν, τὸ δὲ αἰεδές; It is unnecessary to labour this point further. 'What is matter?' 'In what sense are γινόμενα also ὄντα?' These are questions which are and remain to the end difficulties in the Platonic theory. But we are not here concerned with such problems; for at this stage of the narrative the theory of ideas has *ex hypothesi* not yet been reached. We are required to put ourselves back into the position of the physicists, or of the 'plain man' of any time or country, for whom undoubtedly 'things,' 'the external world' = 'reality' (whatever other reality there may be). Even the term 'phenomena,' therefore, however difficult it is to avoid it, would be better kept out of

this context. So far, and so far only, am I in agreement with the more guarded language of Dr. H. Jackson (l. c. p. 138 note). 'It would appear that ὄντα generally not ὄντως ὄντα as opposed to γινόμενα, are here contrasted with λόγοι. Hence I am careful not to identify the ἀναλογία of this passage with the ἀναλογία of the sixth book of the *republic*. The commentators with one accord assume that γινόμενα as opposed to ὄντως ὄντα are here contrasted with λόγοι. This limitation seems to me inconsistent with Socrates's narrative of his search for the ἀγαθόν as well as with the parallel passages.' The latter objection has already been abundantly answered above, if it is conceded that the episodic character of the 'search for the ἀγαθόν' cuts it off from any direct bearing on c. xlviii. To sum up once more the view here adopted of τὰ ὄντα (which = πράγματα = ἔργα in this passage): the term must certainly be taken to refer to the material world as the physicists investigated it (see c. xlv. *passim*), i.e. the world as visible, tangible, numerable, etc., but not yet viewed as 'phenomenal' ('noumenal.' Only when we come to the words ἐν ἐκείνοις σκοπεῖν τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν does the vision of 'things-in-themselves' begin dimly to suggest itself behind the presentments of sense.

(2) To come now to the figure of the sun. *Passons au déluge*. For here Mr. Archer-Hind (though the suggestive and stimulating character of his writings must be acknowledged by all students of Plato) seems to be steering us into still deeper waters. In condensing his argument, I trust I shall not do it injustice. It comes to this: (1) τὰ ὄντα must = the ideas, because Plato generally speaks with contempt of 'phenomena'; (2) so too 'the sun' must = the ideas, because it does so in *Rep.* 508c, 516a, and to suppose that here the sun = the material world, would be to reverse all Platonic analogies, for 'Thought is always to him the region of truth and light, matter of dimness and uncertainty.' This is true and finely expressed; yet Plato was not therefore bound to ride one metaphor to death; and there is much in this passage which is unique. But to continue: the words μὴ παντάπασι τυφλωθεῖν βλέπων πρὸς τὰ πράγματα τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπιχειρῶν ἄπτεσθαι αὐτῶν offer considerable resistance to the theory under criticism, and accordingly we learn that 'though by a certain amount of strain capable...of reasonable explanation, yet for sundry reasons it seemed to me, as it had to

Dr. Jackson, that they were probably due to an interpolator'! But a way of adapting them, in the only sense they will bear, to the 'sun-myth' is found in an interpretation suggested by Mr. C. G. Campbell 'by making the eclipse a material part of the similitude,' from which results this parallel:

(1) ἡλιος = τὰ ὄντα, *i.e.* ideas.

(2) ἡλιος ἐκλείπων = τὰ ὄντα eclipsed in the form of γιγνόμενα, or material nature.

(3) Image of ἡλιος ἐκλείπων in water = image of γιγνόμενα in λόγοι, *i.e.* Sokratic universals.

'Thus γιγνόμενα are regarded as eclipsed ὄντα, the light of the latter everywhere struggling through the darkness of the former...'

There is more to this effect: and it must be confessed that in this delicate *chiaroscuro* light and shade are so skilfully blended that the most sensitive Platonist can find nothing to offend his susceptibilities. But surely the Platonic sun has indeed dazzled or blinded the interpreters! It seems almost brutal to point out that the foundations for this ingenious structure of interpretation are entirely wanting in the text of the original. Yet such appears to be the case. The words διαφθείρονται ἔνιοι τὰ ὄμματα are in themselves conclusive against

the view just given; for they clearly refer to a vision 'blasted by excess of light,' and not to one dimmed by the interposition of obscuring 'phenomena.' A much simpler explanation is forthcoming of the eclipsing of the sun in the figure, namely that it is only when the sun is eclipsed that people are tempted to gaze at it, and doing so become dazzled and blinded, unless they use some medium, whether of smoked glass or of 'reflections.' The latter is the medium here adopted, and it consists in λόγοι, which, by a simile surely not without parallel in the history of philosophy, are said to be 'reflections' of the 'external world' (= the sun), though Plato at once corrects himself by adding that with reference to a higher reality, ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν ὄντων, discourse is no more a reflection than are material objects. We may conclude, then, that any comparison of the figure of the sun in this passage with the ἀναλογία of the sun in the *Republic* is quite out of place, and only the more dangerous because of a superficial resemblance. If this explanation is not found to satisfy the requirements of the argument, the burden of proof or disproof surely lies with those who would see κομψότερόν τι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

W. J. GOODRICH.

(To be continued)

ARISTOTLE, *NIC. ETHICS*. V. viii. 7. 1135^b 19.

HAVING lately had occasion to study the reference to Aristotle's theory of the Voluntary in the Introduction to Poste's *Gaius* (2nd edn. p. 14), the writer was struck by a fact which is probably not generally known to students of Aristotle. In quoting *Nic. Eth.* v. viii. 7 Poste reads ἡ ἀρχὴ . . . τῆς ἀγνοίας, without comment, though as well known, the MSS, with the exception of some not first rate ones, which read κακίας, have αἰτίας. Really the exceptions confirm αἰτίας for they probably originated in a gloss, κακίας, to explain αἰτίας which is usually taken in the sense of 'fault.' The emendation is doubtless Poste's own, made *sub silentio*, for he was not the man to conceal an obligation. A few years later the same correction was proposed independently by H. Jackson, and introduced by him,

into the text of his edition of the 5th book of the *Nic. Ethics*. It was accepted by Susemihl (from Jackson) and inserted in the text of his Teubner edn. of the *Ethics*. The expression ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς αἰτίας is difficult and unusual, while the emendation yields an excellent and natural sense: yet the corruption of a reading so easy and appropriate into one so hard and so unusual has never been satisfactorily accounted for. Those who keep the MS text generally seem to explain αἰτία as 'fault' or 'blame' (= guilty act). But recently Mr. J. A. Smith, of Balliol College, has discovered a passage in the *Μηχανικά* which, one must venture to think, is decisive in favour of αἰτίας and also shews that the word here does not mean 'guilty act.' The place is as follows (847^b 16),—πάντων δὲ τῶν τοιούτων

(i.e. the paradoxes of the lever) ἔχει τῆς αἰτίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ κύκλος. Here αἰτίας could not be replaced by ἀγνοίας. One may suggest that ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς αἰτίας is equivalent to 'ultimate cause.' The meaning is very appropriate to the passage in the 'Mechanics,' as the context shews, and it is very appropriate here in the Ethics. For Aristotle is thinking of cases where,

though the agent does not know what he is doing, the act cannot be said to be ultimately due to ignorance, because the ignorance is due to some fault in the man himself, for instance drunkenness or negligence, and the act therefore itself is ultimately due to this same cause.

J. COOK WILSON.

OXYRRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, VOL. III. NO. 464.

THE astrological epigrams whose remains appear upon pp. 123-5 of Messrs Grenfell and Hunt's third volume are not only fragmentary but corrupt; very corrupt, if the editors have deciphered them aright.¹ But in several places they can be restored with probability or even certainty.

I. 6.

[.]κα αλλων δουλους τουσδε νοει ξ. [

See Manetho i 345 ἐκ δούλων δούλους τούσδε νόει ξυνέσει. In l. 3 the papyrus has *τερεισει* forming the end of a verse, the rest of which is lost: Man. i 342 is δούλους ποιήσει καὶ γονέων στερέσει. The neighbouring fragments however do not coincide with Manetho.

II. 12-16.

περι βρεφους ζην. [
 αυταρ επην Φαειθων και φως[....]ση[.....]
 νη Δια κηελιος τουτον ιδωσι τ[οκο]ν ζων
 και[....]ον
 λεγομεν τοδε των δε φαιλων
 αλλοτριων οντων κριτ'τον[.]φουτοθελ[....]

The editors rightly supply ζην [μέλλοντος] in the title and κρείττον [ξ]φν in the last line, but their other suggestions are beside the mark. Write

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν Φαίθων καὶ Φωσ[φόρο]ς ἡ[δὲ]
 σελήνῃ]
 νῇ Δία κῆελιος τοῦτον ἴδωσι τ[όπο]ν,
 ζῶν καὶ[ρονόμ]ον λέγομεν τόδε τῶν δέ <τε>
 φαύλων
 ἀλλοτρίων ὄντων κρεῖσσον [ξ]φν τὸ θέ[μα].

The last Δ is probably only the first half of M. 'If Jupiter and Venus and the moon

and sun aspect this place, we pronounce this sign of the zodiac advantageous. If the malefic planets are inconjunct, the geniture is better.' τοῦτον τόπον, like τόδε κέντρον in l. 18, is the horoscope or eastern point, which is ὁ πρῶτος τῶν δώδεκα τόπων. ἴδωσι signifies that the planets are either opposite or trine or quadrature, or perhaps sextile, to the horoscope. ζῶν τόδε means what Manetho vi 27 calls ὥρης ζῶν, iii 389 ζῶν . . . ὠρονόμοιο, i 262 ζῶδιον ὠρονόμοιο, that sign of the zodiac in which the horoscope happens to be. The φαῖλοι, called κακοί in l. 18 and ὀλοοί in l. 23, are Mars and Saturn, Man. iii 362 φαύλους τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς ἀστράσι, 117 φαύλησιν δ' αἰγαῖς ὀλοῶν βεβολημένος ἀστρων. If a planet, or anything else, is so placed that it cannot enter into the scheme of nativity, that is to say if its aspect is neither opposite nor trine nor quadrature nor even sextile, it is termed ἀσύνδετον: this title has several synonyms, as Paul. Alex. fol. E ἀπόστροφα ἦτοι ἀσύνδετα, E 2 ἀστέρες . . . ἀσύμφωνοι, Heph. Theb. i 11 ἀσύνδετα καὶ ἀπηλλοτριωμένα, Firm. math. ii 23 l 'aversa ab horoscopo et quodam modo aliena'; and here we find ἀλλοτρίων in the same sense. θέμα is the whole scheme of nativity, Man. i 348 εὐτυχὲς ἐκ γενεῆς ἔσειτε τοῦτο θέμα. When the malefics are thus unrelated to the horoscope they are powerless to thwart the benefics, and this improves the geniture: we shall come to a similar clause at l. 20, where I will say more.

I have no confidence in καὶ[ρονόμ]ον, but I would not propose anything like ζῶν καὶ [τρόφιμον] λέγομεν τόδε (Maxim. καταρχ. 217 ὁδὶνα ζωοῖσιν ἐπὶ βρεφέεσσι λύεσθαι, Paul. Alex. L 2 ζώσιμον καὶ τρόφιμον τὸ γεννώμενον ἔσται); for it seems impossible that τόδε should signify τὸ τότε γεννώμενον βρέφος, and ζῶν λ' ἐγ ο μ ε ν is not good sense.

¹ 'Unfortunately the papyrus is both broken and rubbed, and the difficulties of decipherment are increased by the character of the hand, an irregular sloping semi-uncial of about the end of the third century, and by the badness of the Greek.' Edd. p. 123.

ll. 20, 21.

καὶ μηδεὶς α[.] . μα
τοιούτ' εἰσὶ δοα[.] ἐκβολιμὸν τε καὶ φ[

This is an epigram *περὶ βρέφους ἀχρήστου* (see Man. i 49 *στεῖρωδες γὰρ ἔασιν ἀχρήμ' τ' ὀδίνουσιν*): similarly Ptolemy tetr. iii pp. 32 sq. ed. Camerar. and Hephaestion ii 10 discourse *περὶ ἀτρόφων*, Firm. math. vii 1 contains 'expositorum uel non nutritorum geniturae,' and Manetho in vi 19—111 is occupied *ἀμφὶ τροφῆς βρεφῶν ἢ δ' ἀτροφῆς ἀλεγεινῆς*. The epigram begins *εἰ δὲ κακοὶ τόδ' ἐκέ[]ντρον ἐπικρατέοντες . . .*: then follow two broken lines of which I can make nothing; then the passage printed above, which should be restored

καὶ μηδεὶς ἀ[γαθῶν σχῆ]μα τοιούτ' ἐσίδοι,
ἀ[τροφον] ἐκβολιμὸν τε καὶ . . .

. . . 'and if none of the benefic planets aspects such a configuration, then incapable of nurture and abortive and' . . . See l. 50 *σχῆμα σὺν τοῦτο νόει*, Man. iv 80 *ὁ φύς ἐν σχήματι τοίῳ*, iii 253 *εἰ μὴ πως εὐεργὸς ὄρωη σχήματα ταῦτα*, Paul. Alex. O 3 *εἰ μὴ θεωρεῖται τὸ σχῆμα ὑπὸ τινος τῶν κακοποιῶν*, Ptol. tetr. iii p. 32 *μηδενὸς μὲν ἀγαθοποιῶν σχηματιζομένου . . . τὸ γεννόμενον οὐ τραφήσεται*. The meaning is the same as if he had said *τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλοτρίων (ἀσυνδέτων) ὄντων*. One synonym of *ἀσύνδετος* is *ἄβλεπτος* (Firm. ii 23 7); and a planet placed out of relation to a point is called *ἀμάρτυρος* (Man. vi 236 *εἰ κ' ἀγαθοὶ σφιν ἀμάρτυροι ἀστέρες εἴεν*), and the point unrelated to the planet is said to be *ἀκατόπτευτος* (Paul. Alex. N 4 *ἐπ' ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν κακοποιῶν ἀκτίνος ἀκατόπτευτος τύχη*, O 2 *τόποι . . . ἀκατόπτευτοι Κρόνου καὶ Ἄρεως*). Genitures somewhat resembling this of ll. 18—22 occur in Man. vi 95 sqq. *ὥρην | ὀππὸτ' ἂν ἐσθλοδόται μὲν ἀποστρεφθέντες ἴωσιν | οἱ δ' ὀλοὸι λεύσσωσι, τότε ἔκθετα τέκνα γονῆς | ῥίπτονσ' ἐς βαθὺν κύμα βορῆν τ' ἔμην οἰωνοῖσιν*, Firm. vii 1 'si uero ambae maleuolae stellae ita sint constitutae ut uicinis lunae lateribus adhaerescant, nec aliquod eis beneuolarum stellarum testimonium accedat, is, qui natus fuerit, statim cum matre pariter interibit'; and Manetho vi 99—107 has a geniture something like ll. 13—16 of the papyrus.

l. 31.

φαίνων ἦστ[

Apparently *Φαίνων ἢ Στ[ῆλβων]*, Saturn or Mercury.

ll. 37, 38.

[εἰ] δὲ μιν Ὠρον οἰνε[.] . σκρ . [
[σ]τοναχὰς ἐν ναιοτητι[. . .] εἰ κι . [

In l. 26 also the editors print *καὶ παλιν Ὠρον οἰω* [and remark 'cf. l. 37, where Horus apparently recurs; but the context is equally obscure.' But *ωρον* followed by *οἰω* in an astrological context has no obscurity: write in l. 26 *καὶ πάλιν ὠρονόμῳ* or *ὠρονομῶ[ν]*, and in ll. 37 sq. something like this:

[εἰ] δὲ μιν ὠρονομέυ[σῃ Ἄρῃ]ς Κρ[όνου] ἀντίον
ἐστῶς]
[ἄξοντα σ]τοναχὰς ἐν νεότητι [νό]ει.

See Man. iii 244 sq. *Ἄρης . . . ἀθρήσας . . . Κρόνον . . . κακὸς κακοῦ ἀντίον ἐστῶς*, i 356 *λύπας γὰρ στοναχὰς τε βλαβάς τ' ἄξει μερόπαισιν*, which last verse is strangely accented by Manetho's editors.

l. 45.

νον μαρτυρεῖ ἡς μετοχ[

Probably

[— — — — Κρό]νον μαρτυρήσας μετόχ[ου].

That is *εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ Φαίνων τοῖσιν συμμάρτυρος εἴη*, Man. vi 393. In l. 58 of the papyrus we have *εἰ δ' ἀστήρ ἀγαθὸς μάρτυς φαίν . . .*

ll. 51—56.

[βρ]εφον[ς
εἰ δ' οὕτως τουτων[.] τασα[
δώσει πλὴν ἀβεβαιοτάται τοιγάρ τ[
ἀφ[ι]κεσθαι ἐμβρυνον ἐκεκοτὲι ἦσε[
φάος ἵδεν ἀκήριον εσχέ και αντ . [
ἐθηκε τότε

The drift of the passage may probably be recovered as follows.

εἰ δ' οὕτως τουτων [βλάσ]τας Ἄ[ρῃ]ς ἐσ-
αθρήσῃ]

[ἐλπίδας οὐ] δώσει πλὴν ἀβεβαιοτάτας.
τοιγάρ τ[οι λοχίη, δέκατον πρὶν μὴν']
ἀφ[ι]κέσθαι,

ἐμβρυνον ἐκ σκοτίας ἐ[ξέβαλεν θαλάμῃς],
[τέκνον δ', εἰ] φάος εἶδεν, ἀκήριον ἔσχεν . . .

The aorists are gnomic. See Aesch. Eum. 665 *σκότοισι νηδύος*, sept. 664 *φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον*.
A. E. HOUSMAN.

UNCIAL OR UNCINAL?

'The *Uncial* hand from meaning originally letters an inch (*uncia*) long, came to be used for a kind in which all the letters are still capital, except that A, D, E, H, M, Q, have become α, δ, ε, h, m, q.' So says Mr. Falconer Madan at page 26 of his *Books in Manuscript* (1893);—surely a marvellous derivation, if true. More cautiously Sir Edward Maunde Thompson says at page 117 of his *Handbook of Greek and Roman Palaeography* (1893), 'the term "uncial" first appears in St. Jerome's Preface to the Book of Job, and is there applied to Latin letters, "uncialibus, ut uulgo aiunt, litteris,"

but the derivation of the word is not decided; we know, however, that it refers to the alphabet of curved forms.'

Has it never been suggested that 'uncialibus' of the Hieronymic MSS. is due to a mis-reading or rather perhaps to a mis-writing of 'uncialibus' *i.e.* 'uncinalibus'? The word 'uncinalis' is not in Lexicons; but it seems correctly formed from 'uncinus' (adjective and substantive) from 'uncus' (adjective and substantive), so as to mean 'hooked' or 'curved,'—like 'uicinalis' from 'uicinus' from 'uicus.'

SAMUEL ALLEN.

NOTES.

TERNIO OBSERVATIUNCULARUM IN MYTHOGRAPHIS GRAECIS CRITICARUM.—Nuper dum Parthenium et Antoninum Liberalem alterius causa studi percurro, pauca etiam post Sakolowski Martinique labores, corrigenda mihi occurrebant.

I. In Ant. Lib. xxxi (p. 111 Teubner) pro ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπέπλεον Δαύνιοι quorum verborum certam medicinam editor doctissimus se invenisse negat lege, sis, τῆς θαλάσσης (id est, litoris vel orae maritimae, ut passim) ἐπεῖχον (quod potius videtur quam ἐνεμον quod aliter conici poterat) ἐπὶ πλέον. De ἐπεῖχον cf. Thuc. i. 50 § 1 ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν, ii. 101 § 5: de ἐπὶ πλέον cf. Ant. Lib. xxxi (p. 112) ubi codex ἐπιπλέον sed supra i acc. grav. eras.

II. In Ant. Lib. xli (p. 126) pro ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἰόντος ἐδεήθη Καδμείων ἐπὶ Τηλεβόας αὐτῷ συστρατεῦσαι, legendum ἐ. Ἀμφιτρύων Κρέοντος ἐδ. K. (gen. partitiv.) κ.τ.λ.

III. In Parth. xv (p. 29) lege πυκνὰς κύνας.

T. NICKLIN.

* * *

AN ITALIAN PARALLEL TO SOPH. *Ant.* 904.—Mr. L. D. Barnett's note in the *Classical Review* of May on a Persian parallel to Antigone 904 ff. reminds me of an Italian story in which the primitive philosophy of the preference for brother over husband or son is explained in the same way as by Antigone. This anecdote is to be found in 'Il Fuggilozio' of Tomaso Costo (Venetia 1604, p. 522). In the time of Alfonso I. of Aragon a poor woman whose husband, son, and brother were all in prison, begged the king that he would release one of them to aid her in her poverty and desolation. The king granted her request and bade her choose. She selected the brother. The king then asked her reason for the selection. 'Rispos' ella, che di marito, morto che le fusse l'uno potea prendersi l'altro, e così far de gli altri figliuoli; ma che di fratelli non c'era rimedio da poterne più havere.' On this the king, pleased with her 'savva risposta' liberated all three. This does not appear to be a classical reminiscence.

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REVIEWS.

BOVET'S DIEU DE PLATON.

Lé Dieu de Platon, par PIERRE BOVET, (Kündig, Genève, 1902). 4.50 fr.

'ENTRE les écrits du platonisme moyen et les cinq derniers dialogues, une transformation profonde s'est produite dans la pensée de Platon, au point de vue de la

théologie, comme à celui de la psychologie et de la logique' (p. 138). 'Dans les derniers dialogues les idées ne sont plus les substances réelles existant, en dehors des objets individuels et de tout esprit pensant, dans une région transcendante,—ce sont les notions de l'âme du philosophe rendues

parfaites par le travail dialectique,' etc. (p. 131). These extracts may suffice to indicate the standpoint from which M. Bovet approaches his theme. His main conclusions will be evident from the following: 'la divinité, qui a une place dans la pensée de Platon, n'en a point dans sa théorie des idées, c'est-à-dire dans sa philosophie' (p. 76). 'C'est ici, dans ces derniers écrits de Platon, que pour la première fois, chez un philosophe grec, l'idée de Dieu se trouve rattachée à une théorie du monde et invoquée pour l'explication de cette théorie' (p. 139). From this it may be seen that M. Bovet is an adherent of Lutoslawski's system of interpretation; and his object is, in short, to do for Plato's theology what the Polish scholar did for the 'logic.' The truth of the system he practically assumes, on the strength of its endorsement by Weil and Gomperz, without further attempt at verification. His main argument falls into two parts, the first dealing with the 'dialogues of Ideas,' the second with the later dialogues (as fixed in Lutoslawski's chronological scheme). In attempting to establish in the former part his negative conclusion that God has no place in the earlier phase of Platonism, M. Bovet naturally finds occasion to controvert a number of rival theories. First, he examines M. Couturat's view that 'omnia deorum dicta factaque mythica sunt,' which would make of the 'gods' merely another name for the 'ideas.' This is Teichmüllerism over again, and the arguments brought to support it are not wholly convincing. On the other hand, to say that it makes of Plato an atheist is scarcely a valid objection. Having disposed of M. Couturat, the writer proceeds

to criticize the theories of various other interpreters as to the relation in which God stands to the Ideas in middle Platonism. Zeller's identification of God with the supreme Idea; Fouillée's notion that the lower ideas should be regarded as immanent determinations of God; Stallbaum's account of the ideas as the thoughts of Divine intelligence; Brochard's theory that for Plato the Idea dominates God just as, for Greek religious thought, Destiny dominates Zeus,—all these interpretations M. Bovet reviews successively and rejects. None of them can be proved, he argues, for the Platonism of the 'Republic' period; and to ground them on texts drawn from any of the later dialogues is, he contends, a wholly illegitimate procedure.

M. Bovet writes clearly and states his points well; but it does not appear that he has made any valuable contribution to our knowledge of Plato's philosophical development in the present thesis. Perhaps his most original suggestion is that Plato's later theology was in some degree influenced by the writings of Xenophon,—a suggestion based on the fact that the 'Theaetetus' may be supposed to synchronize with the 'Memorabilia.' Unfortunately this piece of originality is not of a kind well calculated to impress his readers with a sense of his capacity for interpreting Plato. His sarcastic reference (p. 52) to those who attempt, like Bayrhammer and Fouillée, to explain Plato by a method 'qui consiste à éluder tous les problèmes par la synthèse des solutions contraires,' sounds somewhat more reassuring, and seems to promise independent thought. But is not that, too, a leaf from the book of M. Lutoslawski?

R. G. BURY.

FAY'S *MOSTELLARIA* OF PLAUTUS.

T. Macci Plauti Mostellaria: with Introduction and Notes by EDWIN W. FAY, Professor of Latin in the University of Texas. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1902. Pp. xlvii, 157.

If the teacher chooses to play the sophist, the young student may be led to believe that the works of Plautus are faultless in metre and meaning throughout. But since Plautus comes comparatively late in Latin studies, the editor had better be frank, and let his readers know that the text of

Plautus defies systematic emendation, and that much of his meaning is lost to us. Professor Fay has taken the former course. For all that he says about manuscripts or variations of reading, his text might be copied straight from the playwright's autograph. If we accept his principles of prosody and metre, and keep an eye on his marks of quantity, every line of the play may be persuaded to scan. His commentary gives an explanation of everything, with few hints of doubt.

In the introductory paragraphs on

prosody and metre the most noteworthy thing is the frequent and undoubting application of the law of the *brevis breuians* to trisyllabic words of which the last syllable is elided. Line 73 is marked thus :

uenīre id quod molēste est quām illud quod
cupidē petas.

Similarly *olēre* in 42, which is commonly regarded as a third declension form, is here treated as a second declension form with shortening of the second vowel. On the other hand the *brevis breuians* might have saved Professor Fay from scanning *dierecte* as three syllables in line 8.

Hiatus is very freely used. In 6 *malum* is left unelided, though *clamatiost* might safely have been corrected to *clamitatiost*. In 152-3, however, where hiatus may be excused by the slow enumeration, Professor Fay rejects this device, and gives us trochees followed by cretics in the same line.

His preface tells us that the text is based on the *editio minor* of Goetz and Schoell. In one place at least his imitation of this excellent model has gone too far, for he reproduces the note of interrogation which Goetz and Schoell, or rather their printers, have placed at the end of 364. But his allegiance is not usually so strict. Some of his sweeping changes will deserve the attention of subsequent editors : but there

is not much to be said for *eri filium*, which Plautus would have expressed by *erilem filium*, in 21 ; and in 1113 *numquam edepol hodie di med inuitum destinant tibi* is not near enough to the reading of the manuscripts, or good enough in point of sense, to justify the irregular ending. These two specimens may suffice.

The editor's explanatory comments are not less open to criticism. For example, he connects the name *Tranio* (1) with *τραπεζῶν*, (2) with Picus, the Roman prophet-king, (3) with *pica*. Thus 667, which might seem a simple statement of purpose, is spoken by Tranio 'qua prophet. Similar is Mark's Gospel, xiii. 11.' Similar! Again, *caedere* does not mean 'peck at,' 'devour': but *if* it means that in 65, 'we have here a further allusion to *Tranio-picus*.' Leaving these etymological puns, we may observe that *deputeo* (146) is a non-existent word, and rightly so; and that *opprobriarier* in 301, in spite of 302, cannot mean 'to be accounted to me for good.'

These few remarks may indicate the faults of the book. Its merits are brightness and clearness, fertility in suggestion, a wealth of 'modern instances' (from Browning, Kipling, Lillian Bell, and some others), and a persevering endeavour, which does not always overreach itself, to get at the author's drift.

E. H.

OWEN'S *PERSIUS AND JUVENAL*.

A Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuuenalis saturae. cum additamentis Bodleianis recognouit breuique adnotatione critica instruxit S. G. OWEN, Aedis Christialumnus. Oxford, Clarendon Press. No date, no pagination. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d., 3s., and 4s.

THIS edition of Persius and Juvenal is certainly the handiest in existence. The paper and binding are good, the print is excellently clear, the notes, by the omission of unimportant variants, are rendered not only briefer than Mr Buecheler's but plainer and easier to use, and the whole is executed with sufficient accuracy of detail. I have only noticed faults or omissions in the text at Pers. v 87, Iuu. vi 132, xii 72, and in the notes at Pers. vi 7, Iuu. i 21, iii 187, iv 99, vi 73, vii 177, 204, xiii 65.

Persius is not difficult to edit. The two

authorities which preserve him, P on the one hand and AB on the other, are both exceedingly corrupt, yet each so well repairs the deficiencies of its rival that emendation is hardly required. Even recension is no troublesome or dangerous business; for where the two witnesses dissent it mostly happens that either the one or the other is unmistakably wrong; and in some places where the choice is doubtful it matters next to nothing how we choose, because both alternatives are good and even equally good. Accordingly one editor's text of Persius will not differ materially from another's, and Mr Owen's departures from Mr Buecheler's edition of 1893 are neither numerous nor important. Some of them are in the right direction, iii 48 and 107-9 and v 73-5 for instance, where Mr Owen reverts to an older and better punctuation, and i 92 *sqq.*,

where he improves matters by giving 92-97 to one speaker, Persius' antagonist, and making 96 sq. a censure of Virgil's style: I do not agree however that 99-102 should be assigned to this same disputant; I take 98-106 to be Persius' derisive retort. But other changes are changes for the worse, and most of these are due to a single cause. There is a strange notion abroad in the world that close adherence to one MS or family of MSS is scientific. It was lately the fashion among editors of Persius to overestimate AB: Mr J. Bieger in a dissertation published in 1890 set the example of underestimating them, and of overestimating P; and Mr Buecheler in his edition of 1893 proceeded as far in this direction as his intelligence would allow. Mr Owen proceeds a trifle further. v 83 sq. 'an quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere uitam | cui licet ut *libuit*' AB, *uoluit* P: 'in definitione libertatis' says Mr Buecheler 'gnari facile intellegent ut *libuit* rectius ferri quam ut *uoluit*.' But what Mr Owen easily perceives is that *uoluit* is the reading of P; and he adopts it, though the next words are 'licet ut *uolo* uiuere,' not 'ut *uolui*.' iii 15-18 'o miser inque dies ultra miser, hucine rerum | uenimus? a, cur non potius teneroque columbo | et similis regum pueris pappare minutum | poscis?' AB: *aut* P, and so Mr Owen; yet the conjunction cannot mean anything. iii 44-46 'saepe oculos, memini, tangebam paruus oliuo, | grandia si nollem morituri uerba Catonis | *discere*' AB: *morituro* . . . *Catonis dicere* P and Mr Owen. But what boys hate is not so much saying their lessons as learning them; and the learning rather than the saying of lessons is hindered by sore eyes: so *discere* is better than *dicere*. 'grandia morituri uerba Catonis' means, as the scholiast interprets, 'Catonis deliberatium,' the lofty soliloquy of Cato meditating death; 'morituro uerba Catonis dicere' will apparently signify a suasoria (counselling suicide, I suppose, else *grandia* is inapposite) addressed to Cato in his last hours: but this is no occasion for a suasoria. v 8 *Procnēs* AB, *Progenes* P, whence Mr Owen elicits *Progenes*: 'cf. Iuuenal. vi 644, nos prolegg. ad Ouid. Trist. p. cv,' where I find the following note, '*Progne* non *Procne* (v 1 60): uide Horatium A.P. 187 ed. Kelleri; Iuuenal. vi 644 ed. Buecheleri; Martial. xi 18 19 ed. Friedlaenderi.' Now the best and oldest Latin MSS which contain this name are the Medicean and Roman and Palatine of Virgil at georg. iv 15, and they spell it *Procne*. But we can ascend far beyond Virgil's MSS and lay our hands on

evidence far better than the spelling of any MS whatsoever: we know that Ovid at met. vi 468 wrote 'ad mandata *Procnes*' and Petronius at 131 'atque urbana *Procne*.' Yet almost all their MSS give *Progne* and *Progenes* in defiance of metre, and teach us what to think of this form when we find it elsewhere in the poets.

Mr Owen says in his preface that the MS tradition 'conietoris arte nusquam eget,' but he records in his notes some eight or nine conjectures. The only certain emendation ever made in the text of Persius, Madvig's *articulis* for *auriculis* at i 23, he ignores; though space might well have been found for it by omitting Heinrich's *uetulum* for *ue turum* at iii 29 or Dr Reid's *bulgam* for *rugam* at vi 79, both of which are based on misapprehensions and injure or destroy the sense. At v 134 'rogas? en saperdas aduehe Ponto,' when Mr Owen writes 'correpto *rogas* more Plautino,' this is an attack upon the MSS, not a defence of them. Plautine scausion is shunned by poets who write hexameters, even by Ennius; and it is shunned by poets of the first century after Christ, even by Phaedrus. If Persius wrote *rogās*, he imitated the colloquial speech of his contemporaries, not the versification of antique comedy.

Editing Juvenal is a graver undertaking, for not only is emendation necessary but the choice among MS variants demands much tact and circumspection. Juvenal's MSS, it is well known, are of two classes. One consists of the single codex Pithoeanus, P; the other of all other MSS, ω. This second family descends from an archetype originally much resembling P but overlaid with interpolation; and all its representatives display the two elements combined in varying proportions. P is far superior to the whole pack of them, but it has plenty of corruptions from which the archetype of the other class was free; and in these cases the true reading is found in the inferior family, sometimes in all or most of its members, sometimes only in one or two. To collate the several hundred extant MSS and to sift from their innumerable corruptions the scattered fragments of original truth which some few of them contain would be a work of vast labour and only slight utility; but until it is done our apparatus criticus is defective. The Oxford MS brought to light by Mr Winstedt, apart from its new page of the sixth satire, preserves about half-a-dozen of such remnants. First and foremost it presents at xv 75 the conjecture of

Mercerius praestant instantibus Ombis, at vii 130 it has Jahn's *Tongilii* and at vi 561 and xv 145 Mr Buecheler's *longe* and *pariendis*, which four readings Mr Owen accepts without mentioning the critics who discovered them; at ii 45 its 'faciunt *nam plura*' is much better than the *hi* of other MSS, and at iv 148 its '*ex diuersis partibus*' (*et P, om. plerique*) is probably right; at xii 93 Mr Owen does not record that in common with Mr Hosius' *Leidensis* it offers '*neu suspecta tibi sint haec, Coruine, Catullus . . . tres habet heredes*,' which is evidently true: Lachmann had already conjectured *ne* for the *nec* of the other MSS. I have found, and published elsewhere, a few such traces in a fifteenth century MS of the British Museum, Burn. 192. Mr Owen has examined one MS at Cambridge, two at Milan, and ten at Venice;¹ but these have yielded nothing new and true (though the Cambridge MS confirms the *ue* of Oxon. at vi 13 and the *leuauit* of Priscian at xiv 83), and his fitful citations of their variants only encumber his notes. Thus on the first page there are two excerpts from Ambr. R, *tantum auditor* for *aruditor tantum*, which involves a false quantity, and *sille dedimus* for *dedimus Sullae*, which deserves no notice; and at viii 5 and 7 and 90 the Venetian MSS, which are hardly mentioned elsewhere, suddenly burst into view for no apparent reason and overflow half-a-dozen lines of the apparatus criticus. The removal of these superfluities would leave room for the repair of defects: it should be stated that *ω* have *atque* for the second *nemo* at vi 442 and *celebrare* for *scelerare* at ix 25; at x 254 their reading '*quaerit ab omni, | quisquis adest, socio*,' which Mr Owen ignores, ought probably to stand not only in the note but in the text. The *socius* of P appears to be a mere accommodation to *quisquis*, just as at xi 85, '*accedente noua, si quam dabat hostia, carne*,' the *carnem* of P¹ and Oxon. and Cant. and several other MSS, which Mr Owen, like Jahn and Buecheler and Friedlaender, inconsistently rejects, is probably a mere accommodation to *si quam dabat*.²

¹ I do not know if he has himself consulted also Monac. 408, but I observe that at ix 150 he cites it as having *cefugit*, which I conjectured in 1891 (C. R. v. p. 295), while Mr Hosius gives its reading as *efugit*.

² In speaking of excess and defect I may add that Mr Owen ignores Hirschfeld's transposition of i 127—31, which ought to be mentioned, and mentions the conjectures *lacernatus* at i 62 and *tergo* at iii 281, which ought to be ignored. Markland's capital emendation of v 137, '*uos estis frater*,'

The lazy habit of preferring P to other MSS even where its readings are inferior to theirs is now not only in fashion but in honour; and I spend no words on the passages where Mr Owen merely follows in the steps of his contemporaries: xiv 215 *sq.* for instance, where we are grown familiar with this wretched spectacle—

parcendum est teneris, nondum impleuere medullas:
naturae mala nequitia est,—

in lieu of the admirable sentence which our fathers saw there and our sons will see there again. I notice rather that in two places at least he has shaken off this inertness, and that he does not read with Mr Buecheler '*angusta Caprearum in rupe*' at x 93 (Scaliger already knew this lection and condemned it) nor '*illa | ire uia peragant*' at xiv 122. But to regain the ground thus lost and earn the praise which is always ready for those who can tolerate what no one ever tolerated before ('Mr — has greatly improved the text by a closer adherence to the best MS' runs the formula) he elsewhere adopts from P corruptions at which even Mr Buecheler has recoiled: in vi 73 the hapless poet is condemned to write '*soluitur his magno comordis fibula*,' because the scribe has failed in his attempt to scratch out the *s* and conceal it from Mr Owen; in vi 120 the reading *et*, which makes sense, is ousted for *sed*, which makes nonsense ('uirum linquebat . . . *sed* intrauit lupanar' ; though I half expect to hear that *sed* is similarly used at v 147 etc.); in x 327, because P has *hesse* or the like instead of *et se*, we are offered this pretty piece of writing: '*erubuit nempe haec ceu fastidita repulsa, | nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit; hae se | concussere ambae*,' *haec* meaning Phaedra opposed to Stheneboea, and *hae* meaning Stheneboea and Phaedra together. Yet Mr Owen has still left something to be done, or suffered shall I say, by future critics of superior insensibility. He can feel, for instance, that at xiii 208 the '*has patitur poenas peccandi sola uoluntas*' of other MSS is right and that the *saena uoluptas* of P is wrong. But probably there are people in the world who cannot feel it; and if one of these worthies edits Juvenal to-morrow he will be congratulated on having produced a text as much purer than Mr Owen's as Mr Owen's is purer than Mr Buecheler's. In this race it is neither the hare nor the tortoise that wins, but the limpet.

proposed at Stat. silu. p. 73, seems to have escaped all editors of Juvenal.

Mr Owen has proposed about two dozen conjectures of his own. Fifteen of these appear only in the footnotes, so I will say nothing about them except in the one case where I can say something favourable: *quoquoque* for *quocumque* at viii 27 removes an almost insufferable asyndeton. Then we come to his alterations of the text.

ix 14 was well emended by Salmasius, 'Bruttia praestabat calidi *tibi* fascia uisci'. *tibi* and *cir* are abbreviated much alike, so P has *circum*; the vulgar MSS have reduced this to metre by addition and subtraction, 'praestabat calidi *circumlita* fascia uisci'. Mr Owen neglects *circum*, which is in all MSS, and adopts *lita*, which is only in the worse MSS, and is useless: 'Bruttia praestabat calidi *lita* fascia uisci'.

At xiv 229 he writes 'nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem, | et laeum monitu pueros producit auaros, | et qui per fraudes patrimonia *conduplicauit* (*conduplicari* MSS), | dat libertatem' etc. This smooths the construction, but it impairs the sense: Juvenal's point is that avarice, unlike other vices, is taught not merely by example but by precept; and the whole context is concerned with the crimes which are fostered by lessons, not patterns, of cupidity (224 sq. 'haec ego numquam *mandavi* . . . nec talia *suasi*').

These two are not so very injurious; but as for the rest, they set one marvelling what Mr Owen supposes emendation to mean. The defective verse x 54 has had many remedies applied to it, the best of which is Mr Buecheler's 'ergo superuacua aut <quae> perniciosa petuntur' | propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum?'. But Mr Owen apparently is not content to repair the metre unless he can simultaneously damage the meaning, and he kills his two birds with this one stone: 'ergo superuacua aut <prope> perniciosa petuntur, | propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum'. *prope* perniciosa! Seianus, Crassus, Pompeius, Demosthenes, Cicero, *prope* perierunt! And unless the reader is much cleverer than I am he cannot guess what the general sense of the distich is intended to be, so let us turn to the translation: 'it results then that the things for which it is our lot to pray to the gods are useless or well-nigh injurious.' As if it were our *lot* to pray to the gods for anything whatsoever; and as if Juvenal could write a satire to chide mankind for their *lot*.

vii 222 'dummodo non pereat mediae quod noctis *ab hora* | sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet | qui docet obliquo

lanam deducere ferro'. So all editors hitherto, and the sense is as plain as a pike-staff: schools began work at an unearthly hour of the morning, Mart. ix 68 1-4 'ludi scelerate magister, . . . nondum cristati rupere silentia galli, | murmure iam saeuo uerberibusque tonas'. But P happens to have *ab oram* (with the last letter expunged), and Mr Owen writes *ad horam*. Where are we now? Why does the schoolmaster sit up till midnight, when all the boys are fast asleep in bed? why does he select for his solitary vigil a place 'qua nemo faber . . . sederet'? and why does he expect to be paid for indulging this singular caprice?

viii 241 'tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi | nominis ac tituli, quantum in Leucade, quantum | Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo | caedibus adsiduus gladio'. *in* is very like *ui*, and if *ui* gave any tolerable sense it would have been conjectured long ago; but Mr Owen is the first editor of Juvenal to imagine that *ui* could mean 'in war'.

vi 473 'sed quae mutatis inducitur atque fouetur | tot medicaminibus coctaeque siliginis offas | *accipit et madidae, facies* dicetur an ulcus?'. This is the vigorous and pointed sentence preserved in almost all the MSS and printed as a matter of course by all the editors. P exhibits *accipite facies madidae*. This MS has long had plenty of partisans, anxious to exalt it even at the expense of Juvenal; but only Mr Owen has possessed the *robur et aes triplex circa pectus* required for proposing this conjecture: 'coctaeque siliginis offas | *accipit, haec facies madida est*, dicetur an ulcus?'. It ruins one clause by subtracting *madidae*, it ruins the other by adding *madida*; it destroys something which was perfect, it creates something which no man of letters could pen.

vi 614. Valla here quotes three verses, omitted by most MSS, which seemingly form an alternative reading to u. 615. Mr Owen has torn this fragment in two, mixed the pieces with the text, and stirred the whole into this bewildering jumble,—

tamen hoc tolerabile, si non	
semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia,	
semper	614 ^a
istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus	
urnis,	614 ^b
et furere incipias ut auunculus ille	
Neronis,	615
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia	
pulli	

infudit. quae non faciet quod principis
 uxor,
 quom ravidum nostro Phalarim de rege
 dedisti? 617^a

in which *ipsis* means nothing at all, *dedisti* is addressed to nobody, and the general sense, as explained by Mr Owen C.R. xvi p. 408, is worthy of Nero's maternal uncle: 'the administration of philtres to her husband by the wife would be endurable if it did not finally produce mania, as for example the hallucination that he is engaged like a Danaïd in filling sieves with water.'

vi 197 Mr Owen punctuates thus, 'quod enim non excitet inguen | uox blanda et nequam? digitos habet, ut tamen omnes | subsidant pinnae, dicas haec mollius Haemo | quamquam et Carpophoro: facies tua conputat annos', and says 'ut tamen distinxi ut praecedentibus adhaereat cf. Mart. ix 37'—this reference has no bearing on the point—'antea segregabant'. Et postea segregabunt. Two other changes of punctuation, at vi 511 and xiv 141, inflict less injury, but they have nothing to recommend them. In short, the single novelty in the text which seems worth considering is the adoption at x 170 of the form *Gyarae*, presented by many MSS and recurring in Pliny. With this exception Mr Owen's innovations, so far as I can see, have only one merit, which certainly, in view of their character, is a merit of some magnitude: they are few.

It is natural that the author of these conjectures should not be easily offended by faults of diction or defects of sense. The satires of Juvenal, as handed down in the MSS, contain a number of stupid verses, repeating in a tame or obvious manner what has been said in pointed or allusive language a moment before, and sometimes even quitting the satirist's theme and snapping the thread of his argument. Many eminent critics in the past have held that these verses were more probably inserted by readers and copyists than by the eloquent and epigrammatic Juvenal, and have bracketed them as spurious. Mr Buecheler in his edition of 1886 removed all the brackets, but he recorded in his notes the judgment and the names of those scholars by whom the several lines had been condemned. Mr Owen, melior magistro discipulus, has suppressed even these, ut Ajax praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea uicit Achilles; and a reader whose familiarity with Latin literature does not warn him of anything amiss may now peruse his Juvenal

undisturbed by the suspicions of connoisseurs. Perhaps at first it seems a trifle presumptuous in Mr Owen thus to ignore the opinions of editors like Heinrich, C. F. Hermann, and Jahn, and of critics like Bentley, Markland, Dobree, and Lachmann; but I suppose his confidence is explained by the motto on the first page of his book: DOMINVS ILLVMINATIO MEA.

The Oxford fragment of the sixth satire¹ is included in this edition; it is printed, where the MS presents it, after u. 365, and uu. 346–8, as Mr M. Maas recommended, are deleted. At the end of his preface Mr Owen discusses the question how this fragment comes to be preserved in the Oxford MS alone: an interesting question, though not, as Messrs Owen and Winterfeld endeavour to make it, an important one; for the genuineness of the verses does not depend on our success or failure in guessing what lucky accident has saved them. Mr Owen begins by saying that he, immediately on the discovery of the fragment (C.R. xiii. p. 267, June 1899), con-

¹ At u. 6 of this fragment the note runs '*colocyntha* (i. q. *σικλία*)...*barbata chelidion* (i. q. Socraticus cinaedus ii 10) scripsi Housmanno obtemperans'. If Mr Owen chooses to tax Roman householders with the incomprehensible vagary of maintaining Socratici cinaedi in their establishments, that is his own concern; but I wish he would not represent it as a concession to me, who explain *barbata chelidion* very differently indeed (C. R. xiii p. 266).

I cannot always be writing papers on this precious relic of antiquity, so I use this opportunity to make two remarks on Mr H. L. Wilson's article in the American Journal of Philology xxii pp. 268–82, which he has been good enough to send me. In u. 1, where some think *quicumque* indefinite (= *qualibet*), I think it relative; because otherwise the construction is disjointed and the sense is untrue. Mr Wilson objects 'but *quicumque* is never relative in Juvenal after prepositions except viii 60'. I do not dwell on the fact that Mr Wilson has overlooked viii 134 'de quocumque uoles proauum tibi sumito libro', because I much doubt whether this verse is Juvenal's: I only comment on the singular argument that an author who uses a construction once is not likely to use it twice.

At u. 24 'in teneris haerebit dextera lumbis' Mr Wilson says that notwithstanding my positive assertion '*teneris h. d. lumbis* (*ipsius* of course)' he still believes *teneris* to mean *tenerorum*: this inclination, he says, 'regularly indicated indifference to women'. I do not ask Mr Wilson to quote a single passage which supports this statement; I only invite him to emend away the hundreds of passages which contradict it, beginning, say, with Hor. serm. ii 3 325. He adds 'otherwise we lose the point of the passage, viz. the attempt on the part of the *obscenus* to conceal from the husband his real character.' The truth is just the contrary: between *φίλοπαῖδα* and *φιλογυνία* the Romans saw no incongruity at all, but they did see incongruity between *τὸ πάσχειν* and *τὸ δρᾶν*.

jectured that a page of about 30 verses had dropped out of the archetype; and that Mr Winterfeld recently (Goett. gel. Anz. November 1899, pp. 895 sqq.) has embraced his opinion. This is not the case. Mr Owen's conjecture was that a page of 34 verses (the fragment has 34) had dropped out: Mr Winterfeld, not in November 1899 but on June 24th (Berl. phil. Woch. p. 793), when the Classical Review (published on June 7th) had not come into his hands, conjectured the loss of a page of 29 verses (34 minus 5, uu. 30-34 being the remnant out of which 346-348 were fabricated), and remarked that both P and the Aarau fragments have 29 verses to the page. Mr Owen however has now abandoned his opinion: 'sed iam uereor ut (he means 'ne') haec ratio parum prosit. nam cum O totiens cum familia ω congruat, aliquotiens cum P, cur, si archetypi folium periit, O solus omnia reposuit?' Mr Winterfeld answered this question long before it was asked (Goett. gel. Anz. l.c.): he supposes that O was copied from a MS of the ordinary ω type, but that it was copied in a library (probably Italian, for O, unlike most of Juvenal's MSS, is Langobardic) containing an ancient MS in which the verses were still extant; and that the scribe, having this book at his elbow, observed the additional paragraph and incorporated it in his text. Mr Owen does not argue against this hypothesis, but deals with it in a much shorter way; he denies that it has ever been propounded: 'id nemo edocuit, securis omnibus et cardinem ignorantibus, in quo tota quaestio uersatur'. So now let us hear the theory of Mr Owen, who does not share this universal heedlessness and ignorance of the main point: 'una solum uia, si quid uideo, nodus expediri potest. equidem censeo in codice Oxoniensi strui triuiale Iuuenalis textum, qualis ante Nicaeum lectitabatur: uersus Canonicianos suapte ingenio ita expulisse Nicaeum ut ultimis quinque in tres redactis, tres uersus sic contractos post 345 poneret, liquidumque orationis flumen interrumperet. igitur . . . fragmenta loco quo leguntur in codice inserui. sic spinoso agro purgata rudera; reddita Iuuenali lux. nam quiuis nostram dispositionem concinnio-rem, ueternosam Nicaei indicabit'. *quiuis indicabit*: then why did Nicaeus judge otherwise? Because he was a monstrum ex machina: Providence, suborned by Mr Owen, deprived Nicaeus of ordinary human

intelligence, and caused him to behave as follows. He struck out, simply in Mr Owen's interests, a whole paragraph described by Mr Owen himself as 'uerba plena indignationis irae uigoris acerbitalis'; in order to baffle those who were not in the secret he ejected exactly 29 verses, foreseeing that P and the Aarau fragments would have pages of that size: this was highly inconvenient, because it forced him to break a sentence in two, but his anxiety to oblige Mr Owen and throw Mr Winterfeld off the scent carried him over all difficulties: he rewrote the verse which he had mutilated, struck out two more in a pure ecstacy of benevolence, transported what was left into an inappropriate context twenty lines away, and then laid down his pen in the full assurance that nobody but his employer would ever detect what he had been doing. And this obsequious madman is the editor who framed our text of Juvenal: not merely ω 's text, but P's. One is therefore relieved to hear from Mr Owen that O is a 'recensio ceteris omnibus antiquior planeque singularis' and exhibits a text of Juvenal 'qualis ante Nicaeum lectitabatur' (though strange to say it contains the verses vi 346-8, which according to Mr Owen are Nicaeus' composition). Of course then he makes O the base of his own recension, and deeply distrusts the other MSS, ravaged as they needs must be by the industrious idiocy of Nicaeus, whose true character he has just unveiled. Oh no, not a bit of it: he clings tenaciously to P, and very seldom indeed does he prefer the peculiar readings of O. And quite right too, for O is not what Mr Owen says it is: O, except in those verses which it alone contains, is nothing but a MS of the ω family; and Mr Owen throughout his edition acts upon the assumption that this view (Mr Winterfeld's) is true and that his own view is false. When he says 'iam tandem liquet cur Oxoniensis aliquotiens cum Pithoeano, saepius cum ceteris consentiat', he has forgotten that this is no peculiarity of O's but appears in every single MS of the ω class which has yet been collated.

If theories of this sort are to be published at all, which is highly undesirable, it is best not to preface them with comments on the *securitas* and the *ignorantia* of other folk, who do not publish such theories.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

HILL'S *ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCHOOL CLASSICS*.

Illustrations of School Classics. Arranged and described by G. F. HILL, M.A. Macmillan: London and New York, 1903. Pp. x., 503. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. With 29 coloured plates and numerous illustrations.

Mr. HILL has been well advised to collect in a volume of fairly handy compass the illustrations which have appeared in the little text-books of 'Elementary Classics' published by Messrs. Macmillan. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for the trustworthiness of the illustrations and descriptions. The book consists of 462 pages of text; 17 pages of Bibliography, which should be most useful to teachers desirous of extending their knowledge of Greek and Roman life; and an index of 23 pages. Of the 462 pages of text 195 are devoted to Religion and Mythology, 69 to History (would there were more), 151 to Antiquities, 34 to Buildings, Cities, and Countries, 7 to Maps (these might well be omitted in a book of this kind), and 16 to 'the Barbarians.' Assyrians, Persians, Egyptians, Etruscans, and Gauls are summarily treated of in these last 16 pages. Would that we knew more of them; recent Histories of Mankind are teaching us to sympathise more with these despised 'lesser breeds without the law.'

It is to be feared that the circulation of this admirable book will not be large. It is too big and expensive for schoolboys generally, except for those in the highest forms; but it ought to be in all school- and house-libraries, every classical teacher ought to possess it, work at it, and use it, and it would be a handsome school prize. Perhaps it should be considered as specially adapted to teachers, and may be best regarded from this point of view.

Experts, like Mr. Hill, cannot too often be reminded that the schoolmaster has to be taught. The average schoolmaster is a man of little leisure, he is not a specialist, but assuming his willingness to be always widening his knowledge—and if he is not willing, he has mistaken his calling—it is to the guidance of experts that he must look. He will find great help in this volume, but in some points he will with reason look for more, and if a second edition is reached before very long, which is much to be desired, it is to be hoped that Mr. Hill will supply such help. For instance

the busy and comparatively uninstructed teacher will not always be able to answer the inquisitive pupils' questions concerning the letters of the alphabet in the inscriptions on vases, etc., e.g., 10, 109, 122, 134, 238 (a most interesting specimen). Sometimes, on the other hand, most helpful guidance is given, as in 176, 239, 376. Perhaps a short paragraph on the alphabets, or a reference to an accessible book, would meet the case. The date and *provenance* of the object described are generally, but not always, given, e.g., 18, 23, 72, 382. The explanations as a rule are most useful, e.g., 28, 117, but now and again the teacher, like Oliver Twist, will ask for more, e.g. 41, (Vediovis or Veiovis), 44, 57, 36 (a word or two might be said about the Ionic Chiton, the Doric Chiton, the Exomis), 19 (why has Zeus Ammon ram's horns?) and so on.

It may appear ungrateful to pick out small points; but the aim of the writer, and the execution of the work are as a rule so good that he would certainly desire to withhold no reasonable assistance in furthering the one object to be achieved, that of teaching the teacher, and through the teacher the taught.

But to turn from criticism to praise, some sections may be commended as singularly interesting, e.g. 250 (the Carthaginian tetradrachm of the fourth century), 251 (the figure of Ahura-mazda), 359 (the women's apartments and the life of women), 376 (the Scene at an Inn. Some objects will seem quaint and inadequate to the modern schoolboy's eye, and perhaps reasonably so; others will appear comical, and he will probably feel contempt for the hoop-driving (394), and the ball-playing (395). But he must be a Philistine indeed if he cannot appreciate the beauty of many of the illustrations, e.g., of the noble busts and statues from 309 onward (how Pompey the Great reminds one of Mommsen's disparaging description!); he will understand his text-books (Greek and Latin ever so much better, by examining the illustrations of Homer which are given at 499–501, of Vergil at 37 (the Grynean Apollo, *Ec.* vi.), 298 (Columna Rostrata, *Georg.* iii. 29), 381 (the pastoral scene, *Georg.* iii. 327), of Horace at 303 (the looked for return of Augustus, *Od.* iv. 2), 308 (apotheosis of Augustus drinking nectar with empurpled lip, *Od.* iii. 3). On almost every page he will come across some presentment of Greek and Roman life, the market,

the inn, the sea-side villa, spinning, hunting, shipping, the counting-house, books and writing materials, and so forth. Such touches make 'the whole world kin.' We feel that we are dealing with men, women, and children, who worked, played, worshipped, hoped, feared, wept, and laughed like ourselves.

Books like this make the study of the classics human; they may well appeal to the more 'general reader.' Indeed the reviewer confesses that more than once he has put it in his pocket, though somewhat bulky, for enjoyment on a railway journey.

F. E. THOMPSON.

SOME RECENT ELEMENTARY LATIN BOOKS.

Ora Maritima. A Latin Story for Beginners, with Grammar and Exercises. By E. A. SONNENSCHN, D.Litt., Oxon., Professor of Latin and Greek in the University of Birmingham. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1902. Pp. x, 157. 23 Illustrations. 2s.

The Fables of Æsop. By A. D. GODLEY, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. London: Edward Arnold. 1902. Part I. (Third Edition). Pp. 56. 16 Illustrations. 9d. Part II. Pp. 59. 16 Illustrations. 1s.

Dent's First Latin Book. By HAROLD W. ATKINSON, of Rossall School,¹ and J. W. E. PEARCE, Head Master of Merton Court School, Sidcup. With twelve coloured illustrations by M. E. DURHAM. London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1902. 2s. 6d. net. Pp. xxiii, 328.

A First Latin Reader. By R. A. A. BERESFORD, M.A., Head Master of Lydgate House Preparatory School. With sixty-seven illustrations. London: Blackie & Son. 1902 (reprint). Pp. 100. 1s. 6d.

Latin Elegiacs and Prosody Rhymes for Beginners. By C. H. ST. L. RUSSELL, M.A., Assistant Master at Clifton College. London: Macmillan and Co. New York: the Macmillan Company. 1902. Pp. vi, 134. 1s. 6d.

A First Latin Course. By E. H. SCOTT, B.A., and FRANK JONES, B.A., Assistant Masters, King Edward's School, Aston, Birmingham. London: Blackie & Son. 1902. Pp. 148. 1s. 6d. No illustrations.

Latin Picture Stories: Being a new method of teaching Composition. Edited by W. H. S. JONES, M.A., the Perse School, Cambridge. The Norland Press, Shaldon, S. Devon. London: 298 Regent Street, W. 1903. 1s.

¹ Mr. Atkinson is now a Head Master in South Africa.

Pro Patria. A Latin Story for Beginners: being a sequel to *Ora Maritima*. With Grammar and Exercises. Same author and publishers as no. 1. 1903. Pp. x, 181. 2s. 6d.

[*Cornelius Nepos.* Twenty Lives. Edited by JOHN EDMUND BARSS, Latin Master in the Hotchkiss School. New York: the Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. Pp. xiv, 316. 5s.]

THE four First Latin books in our list have each some merit of their own and give welcome proof that some of the fundamental principles of elementary instruction are at last to be applied to the teaching of Latin. They deal with the concrete side of life and matters likely to interest the young and they have the advantage of being illustrated. The framework of Prof. Sonnenschein's *Ora Maritima* is narrative—a series of sketches in easy Latin of family life at the seaside. Accidence and elementary syntax are worked in along with the translation by means of exercises skilfully and, to judge from some actual experience, felicitously constructed. The book may be confidently recommended to teachers.

Since the above was written Prof. Sonnenschein's *Pro Patria* has come into my hands. 'The first part' says the author 'is taken up with a study of Roman Britain in connexion with a visit to Richborough Castle: the second with the Boer war.' I must content myself with drawing attention to this book, which it may be hoped will prove as useful as its predecessor. Upon two points, however, I should like here to register my doubts. Prof. Sonnenschein has 'ventured on some novelties in the realm of grammar teaching' amongst which is the term 'Injunctive' used to express the fundamental meaning of the subjunctive as the mood of *desire*. I am sceptical of the value of all novelties in

grammatical terminology for elementary teaching, and I am certain that we want no more epithets in *-tive* heaped upon a long-suffering mood. Secondly, I should like to have chapter and verse for using *res publicae* (plur.) of the Boer or any other republics.

Mr. Godley's *Fables* are a reader only. Of its two Parts the second is the better: and might I think be used soon after the *Ora Maritima*. The simple sentences of Part I hardly bring out Mr. Godley's powers, and in point of difficulty there is too much difference between the two parts for a learner to pass straight from one to the other. The 'Fables' are anecdotes, chiefly and perhaps (for boys at least) too prevalently of a humorous character. They are told, as we should expect, in correct and elegant Latin (a most important point); and the protean forms of the subordinate clause and oratio obliqua are introduced and dwelt on with unobtrusive skill. In one case Mr. Godley has attempted the impossible. The point of the 'chestnut' about the Prussian Monarch and the recruit, to whom he put his three questions in the wrong order, turns on an ambiguity in the gender of *both* which cannot be rendered in direct discourse in Latin, since *ambo* is not a synonym of *uterque*.

Messrs. Atkinson's and Pearce's book is not so easy to estimate; for an adequate judgment a prolonged trial would be required. It is on an ampler scale than either of the two preceding, and Miss Durham's coloured pictures are more attractive than anything of the sort which they contain. It too appeals to the concrete side of life: not however the life which lies about us but that of the ancient world. The authors draw the material of their extracts and exercises from classics like Horace, Catullus, the younger Pliny, and Petronius. This has the advantage of bringing at once before the beginner the reality of the classics, but it is probably better that at the first he should not be taken beyond the field where ancient and modern meet. The book is well planned; but for a first one it is perhaps a little hard and too closely packed with information. The stress which it lays upon a correct pronunciation is entirely praiseworthy, and as a whole it deserves the careful consideration of teachers.

The scenes described in Mr. Beresford's *First Latin Reader* are both liberally and judiciously illustrated from ancient and modern sources, and their prevailingly martial character will appeal to the taste of the schoolboy. Mr. Beresford's pieces

'with a few exceptions which have been taken or adapted from Latin authors are original, the sources being mainly classical.' His Latinity is generally correct, but there are slips here and there: 'portator' (for 'portitor' text and vocabulary) 'eum Pharsaliae superavit' p. 55 for 'apud Pharsaliam' or 'Palaepharsali' and p. 32 'Ego pro coena (*sic*) curro, ille tamen pro vita,' a sentence fitly placed in the mouth of a *canis*. And this leads me to repeat a remark which I have made elsewhere that when the practical schoolmaster puts out Latin or Greek of his own, he should first submit his compositions to the most fastidious scholar of his acquaintance.

Mr. Russell's *Latin Elegiacs and Prosody Rhymes* embodies a good idea. The 'non-sense verses' of, let us hope, the past were a device which lent too much colour to the charge that teaching classics had little to do with sense. Mr. Russell by coupling the words of Ovidian or quasi-Ovidian lines to a translation shows the pupil that he has been set to a task which has a meaning and schools him without detection in the construing of Latin poetry as well as in the composing of Latin verse. The introduction is on the whole full and clear enough. But the statement 'A short vowel at the end of one word cannot stand before two consonants at the beginning of the next,' etc., will cause trouble to the young, who cannot be expected to check a rule on p. 5 by a rule on p. 10. The Prosody Rhymes (pp. 9-13) are seemingly a versifying of the rules in the *New Latin Primer* (pp. 199, 200). Of the few deviations still fewer are improvements: certainly not *Gaius* (p. 10), *vēr* (p. 11) or the verses on p. 12—:

Compounds of *ēs*, *penēs* and Noms.¹ in *es*
Which have short stems in *-ēt-*, *-īd-*, *-ēd-*,
as *pēs*:

But *abiēs*, *ariēs*, *pariēs*, Long will be,
Though in the genitive they have Short *e*.

The *N. L. P.* has § 447 'Es is short in (a) *penēs* and compounds of *ēs* thou art: (b) N. Sing. 3rd Decl., with Gen in *-ētis*, *-ītis*, *-īdis* except *ariēs*, *abiēs*, *pariēs*.' The quantity of *pes* Mr. Russell must settle with Ovid (e.g. *Amores* 3. 1. 8). Personally I regard Prosody Rhymes as unnecessary evils. And Mr. Russell's practice of marking no quantities presupposes the use of a *gradus* or dictionary from which the requisite information can be gained.

¹ This would rhyme with *Toms*.

Mr. Russell's prosody rules lead me to speak of what is the most serious educational defect in the books that we have been considering—their insufficient recognition of quantity. This is closely connected with the two worst faults of the British educator—his rooted and unreasoning antipathy to change and his unwillingness to take any trouble about details which do not interest him. Mr. Beresford and Mr. Godley in Part I, do not mark a single quantity either in text or vocabulary. In Part II. Mr. Godley does more, marking the majority of the root and stem vowels in the word lists at the head of the extracts but not in the text or the vocabulary. The printer we may suppose is to blame for *biduum*, *experimentum*, *ūter*. Prof. Sonnenschein marks the long vowels systematically, *except* in the consecutive text. Messrs. Atkinson and Pearce mark long and short vowels, but on what principle I have not been able to discover.

For all this inconsistency in practice there is no reason whatever. If the object of marking quantity in Latin words is to enable us to read these words correctly (and what else should it be?) then it must be marked constantly and uniformly until the learner can dispense with this aid. Let the compilers of elementary school books take the trouble, (and what is done as a matter of course in America is not too much to ask for in England), to mark all long vowels whether in closed syllables or not, wherever they occur in text or vocabulary; and let the teacher take the trouble to insist that these marks are attended to: and false quantities will disappear from the land. The false quantity is impossible to those who have only heard the true. There is at present another reason for introducing this practice. Many of the teachers of Latin in this country have a very insufficient knowledge of quantity, and they also want all the help they can get. I grieve to write this, but I must: *amicus Orbilius, amīca Orbilia: sed magis amīca ueritās*.

The question of spelling is an allied one though of less importance. Those who copy mis-spellings into elementary books are probably not aware how much useless discomfort their default inflicts upon wholly innocent persons. Prof. Sonnenschein's spelling is, as we might anticipate, correct; and 'lagena' is the only mistake that I have noticed in Messrs. Atkinson and Pearce. Mr. Godley is generally right: yet he has 'solatium' and 'poenitet.' He dis-

tinguishes *cum* conjunction and preposition, a distinction useful in an elementary book, by means of the barbarous and now generally discarded *quum*. He could have obtained the same result by using *quom* of the Republican age or the *qum* of the age of Quintilian (Inst. 1. 7. 5). Amongst Mr. Beresford's mis-spellings are 'coena,' 'conditio,' 'coniuu,' 'epistola,' 'sepimentum' (but 'saepio' correctly). Mr. Russell has the most lapses: 'thura,' 'conditio,' 'uaenire,' 'annulus,' and even 'coelum' and 'coelestis.'

Messrs. Scott and Jones' *First Latin Course* is not illustrated; but in most other respects it deserves to be praised. It consists of 'a series of reading and grammatical lessons; corresponding English-Latin exercises; a short grammar, vocabularies, and lists of words for practice.' It is clear and practical in its plan and arrangement, the sections (*capita*) seem to be of the right length and properly graduated in difficulty, the importance of pronunciation is recognised; in a word it appears to be a very 'teachable' book. In one respect a change is desirable. The medieval 'proverbs' should be eliminated. They are not wanted, and a schoolbook should only teach classical Latin.

Mr. W. H. S. Jones' *Latin Picture Stories* came into my hands after the rest of these notices were written. He describes them as 'a series of twelve cards, each having six illustrations, with short sentences in Latin as keys to the stories depicted. The object of these cards is to afford practice in composition which cannot degenerate into a merely mechanical finding of Latin equivalents for English words and phrases. Such exercises are meant to supplement and not supersede translation. The pictures are suitable for more forms than one, since the story may be told in more or less simple language.' I take the third as a specimen. Its subject is the death of Milo the Athlete. Sc. 1, Milo iter faciens, 2. Milo looking at the tree, *Possumne?* 3. *experiar certe*, 4. *Fortis senex*, 5. *Captus*, 6. *exitus miserandus*. Other subjects are Horatius at the Bridge, The Saving of the Capitol, The Landing of the Romans. In these stories which may be made a peg for teaching Latin *viva voce* Mr. Jones has hit upon a good idea and one that should be useful to teachers. But some of these are certain to ask for fuller directions, and Mr. Jones will do well to give as soon as possible an example of the best way of using his stories in class. Mr. Jones also marks no quantities.

In conclusion I would refer to a book

which though not quite recent nor as elementary as those noticed above contains so much to exemplify and enforce what I have been saying that I am loth to pass it over, Mr. Barss's *Cornelius Nepos*, with exercises and vocabulary, well printed and pleasingly illustrated. The quantities are marked consistently and correctly both in text and vocabulary. The exercises in translation from English to Latin are based on the excellent principle of giving no Latin equivalents for the English words and so

forcing the learner to use the text of the Life which he has just translated, where with a little trouble he will find all that he wants. Another excellent feature is the section called 'Word-Groups' where the memory is helped by the arrangement of obviously cognate words under one common head. The only suggestion I can offer to Mr. Barss is that he should add citations from English Latin grammars to those from American ones.

J. P. POSTGATE.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Xenophontis Cynegeticus. Recensuit GINUS PIERLEONI. Berolini apud Weidmannos. MCMII. vii. 98. 3 mk.

Like the other volumes, it has a complete verbal index.

THE new texts of the *De Re Equestri* and the *Hipparchicus* were noticed in this *Review* not long ago. The *Cynegeticus* is another of the same series. A Viennese and a Vatican MS., both little (if at all) known previously, are the foundation of Mr. Pierleoni's text. *Ut mire inter se consentiunt, ita a ceterorum librorum scriptura longe abhorrent . . . Neque cuiquam dubium erit . . . quin hi duo codices soli textum genuinum et antiquitatis aerugine nobilem nobis tradiderint*. It is in the first chapter, which contains several strange things and for more than one reason lies under special suspicion, that we find much the most marked difference. Some passages in it are quite transformed by the Vienna MS. (the Vatican unluckily wants the first leaf), but I do not know that any light is thrown on the problem of authorship, though it is curious that it should be Chapter I which is so changed. In § 3 the suggestions I made here (12. 383) to omit *καί* and add *πᾶσι* are confirmed. In this connexion I may remark that the editor does not seem to have seen my notes on the *Cynegeticus* and that they are not the only contributions which have escaped him. In 8. 1, where I pointed out that *ὄταν μὲν ἐπιτέλλῃ* makes no sense and proposed *μή* for *μὲν*, van Leeuwen in *Mnemosyne* very shortly after or just at the same time suggested *ὄταν μὲν ἐπιτέλλῃ*, which I gladly recognise as better; but Mr. Pierleoni seems unconscious of the difficulty and unaware of either suggestion for removing it. In these matters his text leaves a good deal to be desired, but for the evidence of the MSS. it is indispensable.

Problems in Greek Syntax. By BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. (Reprint) 1903.

To appreciate this book a man must himself be a bit of a grammarian; but, the more his knowledge of Greek grammar, the more he will appreciate it and the more in many cases he will learn from it. He must indeed be no mere dry-as-dust grammarian, if he is to appreciate it thoroughly. In the first place Mr. Gildersleeve writes in his own characteristic style, which is not that of the ordinary grammar. Secondly, the problems he propounds are those of what he calls moral and aesthetic syntax: in other words he tries to connect the variations in the phenomena of syntax with the variations in the writers and departments of literature that exhibit them. Taking such points as the omission of the copula, the development of the uses of the infinitive, the relations of subjunctive and optative, the employment of cases, tenses, final conjunctions, negatives, he has many subtle remarks to make, often very forcibly expressed, and in their nature such as could come only from an acute mind remarkably well stored with the results of long, wide, and minute observation. The theme throughout is the connection of grammar with style, and any competent scholar who cares to approach Greek from this point of view will find these pages, all too brief as they are, singularly instructive. As was implied above, they are not easy reading, and they are not intended for the everyday scholar.

The genuine scholar will set a high value on them.

H. RICHARDS.

Spicilegium Tragicum: Observationes criticae in Tragicos poetas Graecos continens. Scripsit F. H. M. BLAYDES, M.A. Oxon. Halis Saxonum. 1902. Pp. 263. 6 mk.

This 'farrago' of 'observations' will not add to Dr. Blaydes' reputation. The notes are, for the most part, ill-digested, and jejune to a degree. Moreover, many of them are repeated from his 'Adversaria Critica'; and there are numerous minor errors and contradictions as well. A great number of the emendations proposed have either been anticipated by other scholars, or by Dr. Blaydes himself. Occasionally a fresh interpretation is forthcoming, e.g. on *Agamnn.* 365, 1045; *Oed. Col.* 35 where, discarding the τῶν ἀδελφῶν φράσαι of the MSS (ὧν Elmsley) Dr. Blaydes proposes, in place of his former conjecture ταῦθ' ἃ μὴ ἔξιμμεν φράσαι, the following: ἄστ' (ἃ 'στ') ἀδελ' ἡμῖν φράσαι.

An examination of his emendations upon a single play, the *Hercules Furens*, shows that Dr. Blaydes has already, in his 'Adversaria in Euripidem,' printed about three-quarters of the notes that now appear in the 'Spicilegium.' Is this quite fair to his readers? The book appears to have been put together without much regard for order or selection. No doubt there are useful notes scattered up and down the book that would be quite sufficient to demonstrate the immensity of Dr. Blaydes' erudition, had such demonstration been necessary. What we regret is that this book should have been allowed to appear at all in its present haphazard condition.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art.

With a Critical Text and Translation of the *Poetics*. By S. H. BUTCHER. Third Edition. Macmillan & Co. 1902. Pp. xxxvii, 418. 12s. net.

THIS is the third edition of Prof. Butcher's *Poetics* noticed in the *Classical Review* in the last eight years, a signal proof of the correctness of Mr. H. Richard's forecast when reviewing the first edition that it would 'be indispensable to all who wish thoroughly to

master Aristotle's theory of the drama and the epic in relation to art and life' (*C.R.*, 1895 p. 214) and a welcome indication of the interest taken in Greek literary criticism and aesthetics. This edition differs but little from the previous one: but Prof. Butcher could hardly revise a piece of work, even of his own, without improvements here and there, and both text and essays show traces of such revision. The chief differences between the text of the second and third editions are noted in the preface. They are these: vii. 6, the MS reading ὥσπερ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε φασὶ is restored; ix. 7, Welcker's Ἀνθεῖ is accepted; xvii. 5, the MS ἀναγνωρίσας τινάς with Vahlen; xix. 3, for ἡδέα MSS ἡ διάνοια is read with Spengel; xxii. 6, for μέτρον MSS μέτριον with Spengel.

In ix. 5 the editor still reads his conjecture οὐ τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα based on the Arabic version, but he has considerably modified his statement in defence of it against the vulgate οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα. The choice is doubtless a difficult one; but I think Aristotle is not specially concerned with the question (interesting though it may be) whether the names of characters in comedies were significant or not. His point is that the comedian, unlike the lampooner, did not lash real individuals. He then goes on to explain the apparently discrepant practice of tragedy by showing how its 'real nomenclature' falls under the general principle of pursuit of τὸ πιθανόν. In xiv. 8 he approves but does not adopt Neidhardt's interchange of δεύτερον and κράτιστον. I cannot think this the remedy. It is more likely that εἰδότα has fallen out of the sentence τὸ δὲ πρᾶξαι δεύτερον (as I suspect must have been already suggested) δεύτερον meaning second in the ascending order here adopted. Brandscheid and Vahlen assign the same sense to the passage: but the latter's explanation that γινώσκοντα is to be understood from 1453 b 38 seems hardly possible. Acknowledgments are made to Tucker's and Bywater's recent texts. The latter has enabled the editor to substitute MS authority for conjecture in some sixteen places. But when the name of the MS (Parisinus 2038) was inserted, the name of the emender should not have been expunged. It is important that these corroborations of the value of the critical method should not be buried out of sight; and to an edition on the scale of the present one the space saved by the omission of a few scholars' names is of little moment.

Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta Leidensia Parisina Vaticana phototypice edita. Praefatus est LUDOVICUS TRAUBE. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1902. 22 mk.

THIS book forms the first volume in a 'Supplementary Series' to de Vries' issues of facsimile reproductions of ancient Classical MSS. The cost of the volumes in the principal series ranging as it does from £10 to £18 is more than many scholars can afford. But here is a chance of obtaining for a less outlay than the price of a return ticket to Paris all that remains of the oldest MS of Jerome's Chronicles. These fragments amounting to 44 pages and dispersed in the libraries of Leyden, Paris, and the Vatican have been photographed under the direction of Dr. de Vries and it need hardly be said in a style that is worthy of the series. Dr. L. Traube of Munich prefixes a learned interesting and enlightening preface in which the history of the Fleury MS is pieced together by means of testimony and inference. The date assigned to the interesting uncial codex of which only these fragments remain is the middle of the 5th century and the place of writing Italy.

Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum: confecit G. GOETZ. Tom. II, pp. 439-714. *Index Graeco-Latinus* (pp. 439-687), *Index Anglosaxonico-Latinus* (pp. 689-714): confecit GUILIELMUS HERAEUS. B. G. Teubner, Leipzig. 1903. 12 mk.

THESE indices are a necessary complement to the 'Thesaurus of emended glosses' already noticed in this Review (xvi, pp. 63 sq.). A valuable feature in the Graeco-Latin Index is the prefixing of an asterisk to Greek words which are not registered in the last edition of Stephanus' Thesaurus or Sophocles' lexicon (1887) or are only cited

from glossaries. We are glad to note the completion of a useful undertaking.

J. P. P.

History of Rome for High Schools and Academies. By G. W. BOTSFORD. Pp. 14 + 396. Numerous Plates and Engravings. Macmillan: New York. 6s. net.

THIS is a book written with considerable skill. It is short and scientific, and yet it is not dull: and though its main object is to present general tendencies, and not to give the detail of particular events, yet where military incidents are of first class importance, such as Hannibal's march into Italy, it finds space for a surprisingly full and graphic description. Whether there is enough of the personal element for young boys may perhaps be doubtful. For sixth form boys, for *ὁψιμαθεῖς*, for a general public that wishes to learn clearly and concisely what is the debt we owe to Rome, a better book could not be found. Dr. Botsford is particularly happy in his extensive use in the body of the narrative of passages directly translated from ancient authors. The views expressed, are for the most part sound and vigorously put. It is rather a paradox in a school history to call Tiberius a "stern unsympathetic moralist" (p. 222)! One would like at least a cross reference to Tacitus' unfairness, (p. 257). Some of us, who were brought up on Mommsen as expounded by Professor Pelham and are not yet converted by Professor Ridgeway, will not be sorry to see the 'strange theory,' that the plebeians were either resident aliens or conquered subjects, treated as based on no evidence. Such pleasure is compatible with an open mind, should new evidence be forthcoming: and such a thing is not improbable. It need only be added that the printing of Dr. Botsford's book is fine, and the illustrations beautiful.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—EASTER AND TRINITY TERMS, 1903.

On May 15th, a paper was read by Mr. MYRES on the results of recent excavation in Crete. The object of the communication was to illustrate a retrospect of ten years' work in Crete, by observa-

tions made in the course of a recent visit. Special attention was drawn (1) to recent discoveries of Neolithic remains, explanatory of the Neolithic stratum of Knossos, on a number of sites especially

in Eastern Crete; (2) to the results obtained during the current season at Knossos, Agia Triada, Palaeokastro, and Gournia; (3) to the author's own investigation of a pre-Mycenaean sanctuary with votive terracottas, in the immediate neighbourhood of Palaeokastro. The last-named will be published in full in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.

On May 18th, a special Meeting of the Society was held and Professor RAMSAY, of Exeter College, Oxford and Aberdeen University gave an address on the organisation of Research in Asia Minor, advocating the establishment of a home for students in some important centre in the interior.

On May 29th, a paper was read by Professor ROBINSON ELLIS which will be published in the album gratulatorium to be presented to M. Gaston Boissier on his attaining his eightieth birthday. It discusses certain passages of Ovid.

In Trist. I. 3, 73-6 the vv. *Sic doluit Priamus tunc cum in contraria versos Ultores habuit proditiōis equos* are to be explained of Priam's complicity in the treason of Antenor, the preconcerted signal of which was the figure of a horse painted on the Trojan gate which Antenor opened to the Greeks, or, according to others, of horses painted on the house-doors of those Trojans who favoured the Greeks. These figures of horses instead of saving Troy had a directly contrary result: they encouraged the Greeks to turn against their Trojan accomplices and destroy the city.

In Ibis 329, 330 *Aut ut Amastriacis quondam Lœnaeus ab oris Nudus Achillea destituatur humo*. For *Achillea* the MSS of Modena, Holkham, Florence (Laur. 33. 31), as well as Conrad di Mure's *Repertorium*, point to a word containing *m* or *n*; this would be *Echidnea*. Then we must interpret *Echidnea humo* of Scythia; for Herodotus tells us (iv. 8. 9) that Scythes, the eponymous hero of Scythia, was the son of Herakles and the half-human, half-serpent-form maiden Echidna. Mithridates (*Lœnaeus*) is stated by Appian Mithr. 101, when in flight from the Romans, to have traversed Scythia; Cicero says of him *Amissa exercitu, regno expulsus tamen in ultimis terris aliquid etiam nunc molitur atque ab iniuicta Cn. Pompei manu Macole et illis paludibus . . . defendatur* (leg. agr. II. 19 52). The name *Lœnaeus* may perhaps have been chosen by the poet in preference to Dionysus or Nysæus to point more clearly to Mithridates, whose work on poisons and antidotes had been translated into Latin at the command of Pompeius by one of his freedmen named *Lœnaeus*. In this way the allusion would facilitate the solution of the riddle.

Ib. 417-8 *Qualis erat nec non fortuna binominis Iri, Quicque tenent pontem, qui tibi maior erit*. Adolf Neubauer long ago suggested that, *maior* concealed an Oriental word. This word may have been the singular of *magalia*, an African name for huts. The nom. singular of this, we are told by Servius on Aen. I. 421, was *magar*, not *magal*. The poet, possibly not Ovid, would use an African word of contemptuous or even obscene connotation, to show his disgust more undisguisedly. 'May you have the lot of the beggar Iru, and of the mendicants who haunt the bridge; and your bridge shall be a veritable Moor's hovel to remind you of your native Cinyps by the wretches you consort with and their filthy surroundings.'

A. A. III. 287-288 *Est quae percurso distorquet ora cachinno, cum risu fusa est altera, flet putes*. Rappold would change *usa est* to *quassu est* ingeniously, but not with certainty. The corruption points rather to *uisa est*, or perhaps *fusa est*. In the former case, *cum* will be a preposition 'another

woman has been seen smiling: you would fancy she was crying,' i.e. suppose you see her laugh, it looks more like crying. With *fusa, cum* will be 'when': *fusa* = *effusa*, i.e., sine more soluta in risum. A. A. III. 343, 4. The first of these verses is written in the best MS R m. pr. *Decem cerem libris titulos quo signat Amorum*. Prof. Ellis suggested that the original was *Decem recente libris titulo quo signat Amorum* 'from the books which the poet (Ovid) marks with a new title *Amores*': in reference to the change he made in the work, edited at first in five, afterwards in three books.

The Professor added two notes on Catullus, (1) xi. 11 may be a corruption of *Galliam Rhenum, horribiles citroque ul- | troque Britannos*, if we might suppose a two-fold division of the Britanni, one on either side of the channel. (2) The figure of a long-legged bird which recurs so often in the Canonici MS of Catullus may perhaps be taken from the original codex brought to Verona by a compatriot of the poet about 1315-1320 and called *papyrus* in the epigram of Benvenuto de Campesanis, describing the re-discovery of the Veronese poet.

Quo licet ingenio, uestrum celebrate Catullum,
Cunis sub modio clausa papyrus erat.

A very similar figure of a long-legged bird occurs in column V. of the recently-edited papyrus of Timotheos the Milesian. It stands in the margin, its head at the front of line 12, its foot of line 14. Wilamowitz suggests that it served the purpose of the later coronis, p. 8 of his edition. Some such use it may have had in Catullus.

(2) A paper was read by Mr. A. SIDEWICK on 'Relative Parataxis' which he suggested as a convenient name for the known usage whereby, when a sentence has two relative clauses with the same antecedent, but the second relative has to be in a *different case*, the Greeks, apparently objecting to the changed case, substitute a demonstrative clause. The best known example is *Od. ii. 113 γήμασθαί... τῷ, ὅτεω θυμὸς κέλεται καὶ ἀνδάνει αὐτῇ*. The subject to *ἀνδάνει* is 'he' not 'who' as other instances show, for whenever the second pronoun is expressed, it is always a demonstrative: cf. *Plat. Rep. 419 A ... δι' ἑαυτοῦς, ὧν ἔστι μὲν ἡ πόλις... οἱ δὲ μὴδὲν ἀπολαύουσιν* ('the blame rests on themselves, to whom the city belongs... but they get no good' (instead of 'but who get no good').

He also drew attention to the *μὴδὲν* in this (and other) instances, as showing that the *relative* character of the clause was still felt in spite of the parataxis. Similarly in *Plato Prot. 327 c* ('realise that the greatest scoundrel would be considered a just man, εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν κρίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπου οἷς μήτε παιδεία ἔστιν μήτε δικαστήρια... ἀλλ' εἰ ἐν ἄγγροι...') where *εἰ ἐν* would be normal after *οἱ*, but is abnormal in the parataxis.

A still more interesting example is *Plat. Legg. 798 A, οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἐντραφῶσι νόμοις, καὶ... ἀκίνητοι γένωνται*... where the subject of *γένωνται* is sometimes taken to be 'the men' as *ἐντραφῶσι* at first sight suggests, but really is *νόμοι* (or strictly *οἱ ἂν* carried on from *οἷς ἂν*) which suits far better the word *ἀκίνητοι*.

The exceptions, *Plat. Rep. 352 c*, and *364 E*, were also discussed; and it appeared that the two relative clauses are *differently* related to the main clause. The absence of *καί* in both is also significant.

On June 12th, a paper was read by Mr. ROSS discussing three passages in Aristotle *Met. A*.

(1) 1069^b, 20-23. Lütze and others transpose 'Ἀναξαγόρου and 'Ἀναξιμάνδρου and Zeller, keeping the MS reading, says that *μῆγμα* is applied strictly to Empedocles and extended by a Zeugma to Anaxi-

mander. But *μίγμα* means strictly in A. a chemical combination, which is just what Anaximander's *ἄπειρον* was. Nor are Lütze's other arguments valid. (1) *ἐν* is a natural enough word to apply to Anaxagoras' *ἑμοῦ πάντα* when A. is bringing this into line with his own view of *ἕλη*. In *Phys.* 187^a 16 fl. Anaxagoras is quoted as having identified the One with matter, though he is distinguished in another respect from Anaximander. (2) Chronological order in references is by no means invariable. Cf. for instance: *De An.* I. 2.

(2) 1070^a 5-21. The text may be defended throughout except in 1.19. In 1.10 Alexi's explanation of *τῷ φαίνεσθαι* as 'from the (permissible, though inadequate) point of view of *φαντασία*' seems to be right. Cf. *Z.* 1029^a 16-19. In 1.19 *ἅλλα τούτων* would give a good sense ('there are forms of as many things as exist by nature, if there are really forms apart from these things themselves') but then *οἶον...τελευτάτα* is quite irrelevant, for as the things here named are mere matter, there could not possibly be forms in Aristotle's view of them. Hence Alexi thinks *οἶον...τελευτάτα* out of place. But it is better to change *ἅλλα* into *ἅλλ' οὐ*.—*πῦρ* is *ἕλη* to *σάρξ*, *σάρξ*

is *ἕλη* to *κεφαλή*, *κεφαλή* is *ἕλη* to *ζῶον*, which is *μάλιστ' οὐσία*. The same three stages are given in *De Part. An.* 646^a 12-24.

(3) 1071^a 4-17. L. 7 *πῖπτει...1.11 ἄμφω* is parenthetical. For the ambiguous position of *στέρησις* cf. *Phys.* 201^b 33.—*ἅλλα ἅλλοι* is too simple to need explanation; *ἄλλως ἅλλοις* A. explains by *ἐν ἐνίοις μὲν...ἄλλως δ'*... This is the distinction between immanent *δύναμις* where the same thing exists first in an undeveloped, then in a developed state, and transeunt *δύναμις* (ἡ κατὰ κίνησιν λεγομένη of θ 1). The *ἕλη* and the *εἶδος* and the *δύναμις* of a thing in the first sense; the proximate efficient cause (*δὲ πατήρ*) is so in the second sense, and so is the remote efficient cause, which is not even, like the proximate cause, *ἁμοσιδές* with the product. In 1.12 *μή* and *οὐ* imply that the first clause states the concept of the class while the second states a matter of fact; the 2nd *ὢν=καὶ τούτων*. Things which have different matter, i.e. different individuals, must, strictly speaking, have different forms (cf. 1.28).

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

Hon. Sec.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(Continued from p. 278.)

In the present paper I propose to show that the cult of Zeus as it existed in the Oasis of Ammon and in several towns of ancient Crete, Caria, etc., was essentially the same as the cult of the Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona, i.e. that Zeus was at each of these cult-centres conceived as a triple divinity (sky-god + water-god + earth-god) dwelling in a sacred oak and served by a priestly-king, who was regarded as an incarnation of Zeus himself and whose duty it was to maintain the sun's heat by magical means.

The priestesses of Dodona are reported to have said that of two black doves (*πελειάδες*), which flew from Thebes in Egypt, one came to Epirus and founded the oracle of Dodona, the other to Libya and founded that of Zeus Ammon (Hdt. 2. 55). This implies that the cult of Zeus at the famous Ammonium in the Libyan desert was similar to that of Zeus at Dodona; and Herodotus definitely states (2. 57) that such was the case. The details known to us fully bear out the resemblance. Zeus had a female consort Hera 'Αμμωνία (Paus. 5. 15. 11 with Frazer's note, cp. the gem figured by Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus Gemmentaf. 4, 13 and Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* ii. 1 pl. 5, 3). His cultus-image was an old wooden statue

(Diod. 17. 50 *ξόανον*) or stump (Curt. 4. 7) 23 umbilico maxime similis) covered with emeralds¹ and other precious stones. Now a sacred stump of this sort almost presupposes a sacred tree. And, in point of fact, at the Ammonium there was or once had been an ancient oracular oak, a circumstance commonly neglected or discredited,² but distinctly stated by Clem. Al. *protr.* 11 Dind. = Euseb. *prep. ev.* 2. 3 Dind. *γεράνδρουν δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμαις τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντείον αὐτῇ δρυὶ μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγηρακόσι καταλείψατε*. Sil. Ital. 3. 688 ff. says still more explicitly that at the Ammonium there was an ancient grove of oaks (*premunt nunc sidera quercus*) and one tree of especial sanctity in which the deity resided and before which altars were kept burning (*arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris*). There were also sacred birds (Aristoph. *av.* 716, Strab. 814, Plut. *v. Alex.* 27, Curt. 4. 7. 15),³ the *κρήνη Ἥλιου*

¹ Emeralds, which shone with a peculiar radiance of their own (Hdt. 2. 44), were associated elsewhere with solar gods (Theophr. *de lap.* 24 f., Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 f.).

² On the ground that oaks would not be found so far south. But Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 32 expressly states that one species of evergreen oak (*parva aquifolia illex=quercus coccifera* Linn.) grew in north Africa; and modern writers cite several others (*qu. ballota* Desf., *qu. suber* Linn., *qu. Mirbeckii* Durieu: *La Grande Encyclopédie* x. 1065 b, 1066 a, b).

³ These authorities mostly mention ravens. But the myth in Hdt. 2. 55 speaks of a dove, as does

whose waters were cold at noon but warm in the morning and evening (Hdt. 4. 181, *al.*), a perpetual lamp (Plut. *de def. orac.* 2), and 'the ancient palace of the kings' (Curt. 4. 7. 21). In short, the whole apparatus of the oracle bore a striking resemblance to that of Dodona. Strabo (329 *frag.* 1) adds that they both gave their responses in the same way, οὐ διὰ λόγων ἀλλὰ διὰ τινων συμβόλων. And tradition relates that in early days Zeus Ammon, like Zeus Naïos, had enjoined human sacrifice (Apollod. 2. 4. 3). It may well be, then, that the Ammonium too was a site of Pelasgian worship. There is every reason to believe that the Pelasgians had a footing, not only round the shores of the Aegean, but also along the north coast of Africa. These 'Graeco-Libyans' or 'Libyo-Greeks,' as Prof. Flinders Petrie called them in 1890 (*J.H.S.* xi. 271 ff.), may therefore have had a cult of their god in the Oasis, a cult naturally fused (*a*) with that of the Egyptian ram-god 'Amūn (on whom see Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Ammon') if the ram was traditionally associated with the Pelasgian Zeus (see p. 184 f.) and (*b*) with that of the Punic Ba'alchammān, 'dweller in the sacred post' (see E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex.* i. 2870, who figures the Baal-stele of Lilybaeum with its three sacred posts or stones), if the Pelasgian Zeus likewise had his sacred stump. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* § 198 n. 7 was the first in modern times to question the Egyptian character of Zeus Ammon; and Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 273 ff. brings forward weighty arguments in favour of the view that he was a genuine Greek divinity. We need not, then, with Küster, emend or explain away Suid. Ἄμμων ὄνομα θεοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Zeus of the Oasis was in truth the same god as Zeus of Dodona. The former, like the latter, was a sky-god or sun-god (Pind. *frag.* 36 Chr. Ἄμμων Ὀλύμπου δέσποτα, Mart. Cap. 192 Kopp. Ammon identified with Phoebus, Macrobi. 1. 21. 19 Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyes existimant; cp. the κρήνη Ἠλίου, etc.), who controlled the rain and springs of water (Plut. *v. Alex.* 27 sends rain, Serv. *Aen.* 4. 196, *alib.* his ram finds water; cp. Ammon-masks as fountain-mouths in Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 277, 285, also Parthey *das Orakel u. die Oase des Ammon* p. 136), exercising at least one chthonian

prerogative, that of giving oracles. Whether the ancient kings of the Oasis mentioned by Q. Curtius were regarded as incarnations of Ammon we do not know. But it is highly probable. For, not only did the Euhemerists declare that Ammon was a Libyan king (Diod. 3. 68), but it was the regular thing in Egypt for the king to imagine that his father was the sun-god Ammon-Ra incarnate (Budge *Hist. of Egypt* vii. 145). M. A. Moret in his remarkable treatise *du caractère religieux de la royauté Pharaonique* Paris 1902 has proved this to demonstration (chap. 2) and has further shown that the Egyptian king habitually listened to 'des incantations magiques qui écartent de lui, dieu solaire, les ennemis du Soleil' (p. 314). In this connexion the various accounts of Alexander's visit to the Ammonium merit attention. According to Callisthenes (Strab. 814, cp. Plut. *v. Alex.* 27) and Aristobulus, 'whose account is generally admitted as correct' (Arr. *anab.* 3. 3), Alexander was guided thither by two ravens (cp. also Curt. 4. 7. 15, Diod. 17. 49). On his arrival he, and he alone, was allowed by the priest to enter the temple without changing his garments. Moreover, the priest, who ordinarily gave his responses by nods and tokens, told Alexander plainly that he was the son of Zeus (Callisth. *ap.* Strab. 814); and as such¹ he used afterwards to wear the purple cloak, the special shoes (περισχιδεῖς), and the horns of the god (Ephippus *ap.* Athen. 537 E). The conquering hero guided by the birds to the oracular seat and accepted by the priest as the son of Zeus is indeed a highly suggestive incident. Ptolemy I had a *temenos* at Dodona (Athen. 203 A); Philip of Macedon had 'a round building' near the Prytaneum at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20. 9); Alexander was deified at the Ammonium. Were they not each and all victorious embodiments of the god?

Dodon or Dodonos, from whom according to one version Dodona took its name, was the son of Zeus by Europa (Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη, schol. *Il.* 16. 233 cod. V). Zeus had consorted with Europa by a fountain at Gortyn under an evergreen plane (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 5, Varr. *de re rust.* 1. 7. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 11), which on account of its remarkable foliage Theophrastus compared with an oak growing at Sybaris (Theophr. *loc. cit.*, Varr. *loc. cit.*). The

that of Semiramis in Diod. 2. 20. Wild doves are so numerous in the Oasis nowadays that the Fountain of the Sun is known locally as the Fountain of Doves (Rohlfis *von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² ii. 121).

¹ Apelles painted Alexander holding a thunderbolt (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 92), i.e. with the attribute of Zeus himself; cp. the gem figured and discussed by Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* p. 47, pl. 4, 9.

comparison suggests that the plane, the finest of all Cretan trees (Hoeck *Kreta* i. 40), did duty for an oak; and the same may be true of the various plane-trees connected with Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων (p. 277 n. 2). But, apart from this possibility, more certain traces of the oak-cult at Gortyn survive in a well-known series of silver didrachms, of



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

which two samples are here given (fig. 1 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Crete p. 38, pl. 9, 5; fig. 2 = *Bunbury Cat.* no. 1179, now in *Brit. Mus.*). Mr. J. N. Svoronos in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 1894, p. 113 ff. has shown that the usual description of these types as Europa in the plane-tree is quite mistaken. The tree is not a plane at all, but an oak. He cites the opinion not only of numismatists such as Prof. P. Gardner (*Types of Gk. Coins* p. 166) and Messrs. Imhoof-Keller (*Tier- und Pflanzenbilder* p. 63, 40), but also of Mr. Spyridion Miliarakis, Professor of Botany at Athens, who states that 'les feuilles des arbres . . . qui sont les mieux représentées de toutes, ainsi que tout le reste, laissent reconnaître facilement à toute personne qui connaît les arbres de la Grèce, que ce n'est pas un platane, mais bien un chêne (δρῦς).' Mr. Svoronos argues with much probability that the coins in question illustrate a myth preserved by Callim. *h. Dian.* 189 ff. Britomartis, a Gortynian nymph in the train of Artemis, was loved by Minos and, being pursued by her lover, took refuge *λατίζουσα ὑπὸ δρυσί.*¹ When after a nine months' chase he was about to seize her, she plunged from a height into the sea; and, being caught by the nets of the fishermen, was thenceforward called Dictyna, while the height was named Mt. Dicte. The latter part of this tale is aetiological and late. Mr. Svoronos thinks that the earlier version of it can be restored from the coin-types: Minos, taking upon him the form of an eagle, wooed and won

his oak-nymph in a Cretan oak. If it be objected that this metamorphosis of Minos is nowhere mentioned, Mr. Svoronos bids us remember that Minos was a hypostasis of the Cretan Zeus and as such might well adopt this animal disguise. He supports his contention by citing the singular variant according to which Ganymedes was carried off, not by Zeus transformed into an eagle,² but by Minos (Echemenes *Κρητικά* ap. Athen. 601 E). From Crete, he adds, the cult of Britomartis made its way to Aegina (Anton. Lib. 40, Paus. 2. 30. 3); and the Aeginetans averred that to win their eponymous nymph Zeus had taken the same form, that of an eagle (Roscher *Lex.* i. 148, 40 f.). Here Mr. Svoronos might have strengthened his case by noting that in Aegina too Zeus was connected with an oak. *Ov. met.* 7. 622 relates how the island was peopled in answer to the prayer of Aeacus, son of Aegina, who stood beneath an oak that was sacred to Jupiter and had sprung 'de semine Dodonaeo.' Quite possibly Αἴγινα means 'Oak-island' and is a cognate of αἰγίλωψ, αἰγίς, *Eiche*, oak. However that may be, it was no hap-hazard choice that made Aeacus the colleague of Minos.

The two coins that I have figured correspond to the first and last chapters of the Gortyn myth. The first shows the oak-nymph seated in maidenly modesty on her tree with no hint of Zeus-Minos or his designs. The second shows her later on in a very different guise; she is here the divine queen: like Hera at Argos she wears a crown and holds a sceptre surmounted by a bird; with her left hand she raises her *peplos* after the fashion of a bride, while with her right she caresses the eagle. The tree-trunk has become a veritable throne; and its bare surface is everywhere bursting into bud, for the tree-nymph has been fertilised indeed by her royal and divine consort. That consort was probably credited with solar powers; for one coin of Gortyn has the whole design of Britomartis and her eagle in the tree surrounded by a circle of rays (*Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pl. 4, 14),³

Didrachms of Tisyros also bear the type of Britomartis seated in her oak (*ib.* pl. 4, 3). But it is to Cnossus, the home of Minos, that we naturally turn for the most definite

² A sarcophagus-relief in the Vatican (Wernicke *antike Denkm.* ii. 1. pl. 8, 19) and a cameo of the Marlborough collection (Furtwängler *Steinschneidekunst* pl. 65, 52) show Ganymedes feeding the eagle in front of an oak with acorns.

³ Cp. the solar rays round the eagle that is carrying off Thalia on a red-figured vase of the Hamilton collection (Tischbein i. pl. 24).

¹ The oak-woods of Crete, now fast disappearing (Hoeck *Kreta*, i. 39), are mentioned by Dionys. *orb. descr.* 503.

evidence of the relation between the king and the oak. And here we are not disappointed. Unless I am much mistaken, the throne of Minos discovered by Mr. A. Evans is simply a modified tree-trunk, an oak-stump conventionalised into a stone seat. Nothing short of this will account for its unique design. The back of the throne, as Mr. H. R. Hall observed (*The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 294), is shaped like an oak-leaf; the quasi-Gothic arch formed by its legs resembles the hollow seen on the oak-trunk of several Gortyn coins (e.g. *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pl. 4, 1-3, 7); and the crockets on the arch exactly tally with the buds visible on some coins of the same series (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Crete, pl. 9, 6).

Mr. Svoronos spoke of Zeus-Minos. So does Mr. A. Evans (*J.H.S.* xxi. 181), regarding this equivocal personage as 'a solar deity.' But the precise connexion between Zeus and Minos is a little difficult to come at. Helbig in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 3001, 54 ff. sums up as follows: 'The intimacy subsisting between Zeus and Minos, whom the earliest legends represent as his son and confidant, the importance attached . . . to the number nine in Minos' career . . . , the myths associated with him, viz. those of the Minotaur, Pasiphae, and Talos, all make it highly probable that in early days the Cretan Zeus, sky-god and sun-god, was confused with the human king. A complete identification of the two, though it has been repeatedly asserted by recent investigators, seems incompatible with the evidence supplied by tradition.' May not the solution of this problem be found in the conception of a priestly-king, who was regarded as the embodiment of a solar Zeus? This would explain a small point shrewdly observed by Winckelmann (*Gesch. d. Kunst d. Altert.*⁴ p. 294): 'Minos auf Münzen von Gnosus würde ohne einen stolzen, königlichen Blick einem Iuppiter voll Huld und Gnade ähnlich sehen.' It would account for the bald Roman belief that Jupiter was 'a Cretan king' (Firm. Mat. 6. 1 and 16. 1), and justify the subtler Greek tradition that there were two Zeuses, of whom one was Zeus 'Ολύμπιος, the other a king of Crete (Diod. 3. 61). It would also suit the mythical relations of Minos to Britomartis and to Ganymedes. Other arguments in support of it are adduced below: for the moment these will serve.

The Cretan Zeus, of whom Minos appears to have been the human representative, was (1) a sky-god. His solar character is shown

by his cult-title Ταλαῖός or Ταλλαῖος (Hesych. s.v. Ταλαῖός, *C.I.G.* 2554) taken in connexion with the Hesychian gloss τालῶς ὁ ἥλιος. He was likewise a god of the starry sky; for at Gortyn he bore the name Ἀστέριος (Cedren. i. 217 Bonn., Tzetz. *antehom.* 100 f., *chil.* 1. 473). Again, he seems to have been a rain-god; for he was identified with Marnas, the chief divinity of Gaza Minoa (e.g. by Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάζα, who derives Μινῶα from Μίνως), and Marcus Diaconus (v. *Porph.* p. 180 Haupt) speaks of Marnas as κύριον τῶν ὀμβρῶν.¹ The double axe, which occurs so often on the monuments of Cnossus, etc., probably belonged to him in his capacity of a thunder-god: votive double axes are marked with diagonals and zig-zags (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900-1901, vii. 53, fig. 15), which perhaps denote lightning. (2) Another symbol frequently found on the stones of Minoan palaces is the trident. One block at Cnossus is marked with both the double axe and the trident. This combination, when it occurs on Carian coins, betokens the cult of Zenoposeidon. In Crete too Zeus seems to have been one with Poseidon. The Zeus who in bull-form carried off Europa from Sidon to Gortyn was doubtless the θαλάσσιος Ζεὺς worshipped at Sidon (Hesych. s.v.). Pasiphae's bull is described sometimes as the bull of Poseidon, sometimes as the bull of Zeus (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1667, 59 ff.). Minos, though usually the son of Zeus, is spoken of by Lyc. 431 as the son of Erechtheus, a name better known as belonging to Poseidon (Hesych. s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς). (3) Lastly, the constant connexion of the Cretan Zeus with the Dictaeon and Idaean Caves is suggestive rather of an earth-god; and in a fragment of Euripides' Κρήτες Zeus is actually called Hades—Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἀΐδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις κ.τ.λ. (*frag.* 904 Dind.). Thus the Cretan Zeus united in his person the attributes of sky-god, sea-god, and earth-god. He was at once Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades.

In the Idaean Cave was found a lentoid gem of rock-crystal, which represents a horned altar placed in front of three trees, while a female votary blows a triton-shell before it. Mr. A. Evans in his invaluable essay on the 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' rightly regards this scene as 'the worship of a trinity of sacred trees,' and cites other examples of tree-trinities venerated in Greece and elsewhere, e.g. 'a triple

¹ The Cretan Zeus Βιδάρας (*C.I.A.* ii. 549) was identified with Zeus ῥέτιος by Voretzsch (*Hermes* iv. 267), who derived the epithet from a Cretan βιδωρ=ἔδωρ, cp. the Phrygian βέδν (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5 p. 673).

group of trees, with their trunks closely drawn together' on a gold ring from Mycenae (*J.H.S.* xxi. 141 ff. figs. 25, 56). I would suggest that the provenience of the gem from the Idaean Cave points to the cult being that of the Cretan Zeus, and that the three trees behind the altar are those in which his triple godhead resided. Even as late as Theophrastus' time there grew in the mouth of the Idaean Cave a remarkable poplar that was thought to bear fruit (*Theophr. hist. plant.* 3. 3. 4, cp. *ib.* 2. 2. 10, [*Aristot.*] *mir. ausc.* 69 Westerm.), and we have repeatedly seen the αἰγείπος serving as a substitute for a sacred oak (p. 273).

base and each supporting the figure of a dove (fig. 3 reproduced by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. 29 fig. 14). 'The trinity of baetylic columns,' says Mr. Evans, 'recalls the fact that in the case of the gold shrines of Mycenae, and again in the Temple Fresco from the Palace of Knossos, we find a triple group of pillar cells.' Mr. Evans takes the three-fold shrines of Cnossus and Mycenae to be those of a dove goddess, though he is careful to note that 'the dove also appears as the "Messenger" of Zeus' (*ib.* p. 29 n. 3). In view of the fact that doves were believed to have fed Zeus in a Cretan cave (*Athen.* 491



FIG. 3.

On the floor-level of the original palace at Cnossus Mr. Evans discovered 'the remains of a miniature Sanctuary including a Pillar Shrine with sacred doves, altars with their ritual horns, a kind of portable seat for a divinity, and other accessories,' e.g. three small triton-shells like the one figured on the gem from the Idaean Cave. The pillar shrine was clearly the object of chief importance in this most interesting deposit. It consisted of a group of three terra-cotta pillars standing on a common

base and each supporting the figure of a dove (fig. 3 reproduced by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. 29 fig. 14). 'The trinity of baetylic columns,' says Mr. Evans, 'recalls the fact that in the case of the gold shrines of Mycenae, and again in the Temple Fresco from the Palace of Knossos, we find a triple group of pillar cells.' Mr. Evans takes the three-fold shrines of Cnossus and Mycenae to be those of a dove goddess, though he is careful to note that 'the dove also appears as the "Messenger" of Zeus' (*ib.* p. 29 n. 3). In view of the fact that doves were believed to have fed Zeus in a Cretan cave (*Athen.* 491

So, as I have just shown, was Zeus in Crete. Zeus at Dodona had a sacred oak. So had Zeus-Minos in Crete. About the Dodonaean oak were ranged three doves, as we see from a bronze coin of Epirus (fig. 4 redrawn



FIG. 4.

from Imhoof-Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder*, pl. 5, 28). When, therefore, we find three doves perched upon a triad of pillars in the palace of Zeus-Minos himself, are we not right in regarding them as the sacred birds of a triple tree-Zeus?¹

This analogy between the Zeus-cults of Dodona and Cnossus is strikingly confirmed by another of Mr. Evans' brilliant discoveries. He found a later chamber of the same palace actually arranged as a shrine with its cultus-objects still in position (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902, viii. 97, fig. 55). Behind a low tripod-stand for offerings stood the horned sockets of two double axes. Round these sockets were grouped sundry terra-cotta figurines, including one of a male votary holding a dove and another of a goddess with a dove on her head. Against one of the sockets was resting a small double axe of steatite with duplicated blades. Mr. Evans justly infers 'a dual cult' (*ib.* p. 101), *viz.* that of a goddess as well as a god, who wielded the symbolic weapon; and he publishes a Cnossian gem on which a goddess bearing a double axe is engraved (*ib.* p. 102).² 'The accumulating proofs,' he says, 'supplied by signets, gems, and seal impressions of the cult of a divine pair in Minōan Knossos, not infrequently associated with lions, make it probable that the cult of the Cretan Zeus was here linked with that of Rhea, the ruins of whose temple with its sacred Cypress Grove were pointed out at Knossos in later days (Diod.

5. 65).' In other words, there was at Cnossus, as at Dodona, the joint cult of a sky-god and an earth-goddess. And, if we may identify the goddess with a dove on her head as Aphrodite (*cp.* the gold plaques from Mycenae in Perrot-Chipiez *op. cit.* p. 652, figs. 293 f.), we obtain one more point of contact; for Aphrodite also was worshipped in the precinct at Dodona. To complete the parallel, I must show that not only Zeus-Minos but also Rhea and Aphrodite had sacred oaks.

If Zeus was lord of sky and sea and earth, it must be admitted that Rhea made him a suitable partner: *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Πέας καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ οὐρανὸς συνέχεται* (schol. *Ap. Rhod.* l. 1098). The passage on which the scholiast is commenting describes how the Argonauts, in order to lay a storm, went up Mt. Dindymon and sacrificed to Rhea. They cut down an old stump of a vine, which Apollonius calls a *γεράνδρυνον* (l. 1118), and Argus of Dodonaean fame shaped it to serve as the image of the goddess. They next covered it with boughs of oak (1121), and when they had wreathed themselves with oak leaves (1123 f.) proceeded to offer sacrifice. The scholiast's remark on 1124 is almost superfluous: 'They wore a wreath of oak leaves because the tree is sacred to Rhea. It is sacred to Rhea, as Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν* bk. iii. states, because it is useful for building purposes and for food.' Autonomous coins of Smyrna show the head of the same Great Mother surrounded by an oak-wreath (fig. 5 = *Brit.*



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins, Ionia pl. 25, 10) or the name of the eponymous magistrate similarly placed (fig. 6 = *ib.* pl. 25, 6). Aphrodite too had her sacred oaks, as is evident not only from the cult of Aphrodite *Ἀσκραία* (*infra*) but also from the 'oak-grove of Aphrodite' near Psophis in Arcadia (Paus. 8. 25. 1).

Again, the double axe exalted in the Cnossian shrine can be paralleled from

¹ The gold models of a temple-façade from Mycenae show two doves as acroteria on the triple shrine (Perrot-Chipiez *La Grèce primitive* p. 337 fig. 111) and Soph. *Trach.* 172 speaks of 'the two doves at Dodona'; but most authors give the number of the latter as three (Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* p. 204).

² Mr. Rouse (*J.H.S.* xxi. 270) cites a female figure holding a double axe in either hand from a metal belt found in Crete (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900 p. 37).

Dodona. 'Yonder,' says Philostratus in his description of the Dodonaean precinct (Philostr. *maj. im.* 2. 33. 1), 'is placed the axe (πέλεκυς), which was left by Hellus the woodcutter, from whom the Helli of Dodona trace their descent.' And a miniature double axe of bronze was found at Dodona by Carapanos (*Dodone* pl. 54). We need not hesitate, therefore, to treat the Cnossian finds as evidence of the same cult of a Pelasgian tree-Zeus, who was supreme over sky and sea and earth.

Minos his vice-gerent had similar powers. At any moment he could produce a thunder-storm by an appeal to Zeus (Bacch. 17. 50 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5). He married Pasiphae, a daughter of Helios, and kept as his sentinel Talos the sun. When the Cretans disputed his right to reign over them, he prayed to Poseidon, who sent him a bull from the sea by way of proof (Apollod. 3. 1. 3, *alib.*). And the story of his flinging his ring into the sea (Bacch. 17. 60 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5, Paus. 1. 17. 3) is very possibly based upon the old custom of sea-marriage common to Pelasgian kings (cp. Polycretes and the Doges of Venice). Finally, after death Minos became a judge in the Underworld.

Tzetzes, to whom we owe so much out-of-the-way mythological lore, has preserved a yet more explicit tradition concerning Minos, which has not attracted the attention that it deserves. 'Minos the Cretan,' he says (*chil.* 1. 473 f.), 'was the son of Zeus Ἀστέριος. *In by-gone days it was customary to call all kings Zeuses (τοὺς βασιλεῖς δ' ἀνέκαθε Δίας¹ ἐκάλουν πάντας).*' This statement is repeated in Tzetz. *antehom.* 100 ff., where we read that Menelaüs 'sailed to Crete to sacrifice to his forefather Zeus Ἀστέριος, king of the Cretans. *For in early times men called all kings Zeuses (οἱ πρὶν γὰρ τε Δίας πάντας κάλειον βασιλῆας).*' In both passages Tzetzes, to allay incredulity, has an astronomical explanation ready: kings receive their sceptre from 'the star of Jupiter.'² But, whatever may be thought of his explanation, the statement that early kings were actually dubbed Zeus is credible enough. Salmeoneus king of Elis ἔλεγε . . . ἐαυτὸν εἶναι Δία (Apollod. 1. 9. 7). Ceyx king of Trachys declared that his wife was Hera, ἥ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα Δία (*ib.* 1. 7. 4).

¹ This example of the plural Δίες should be added to the two so far recorded, viz. Eust. 1384, 47 f., Plut. *mor.* 425 E, F.

² Cp. Tzetz. *chil.* 9. 453 f. Δία δ' ἐνταῦθα νόησόν τινα τῶν βασιλέων, | τοὺς πρὶν γὰρ πάντας βασιλεῖς Δίας οἱ πρὶν ἐκάλουν and the context.

Agamemnon king of Mycenae is described by Lyc. 1369 f. as Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | ὁμώνυμος Ζεὺς: the same author says of him Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοις κληθήσεται (1124), and even uses his name convertibly with that of Zeus when he speaks of Priam as killed ἀμφὶ τύμβῳ τὰγαμέμνονος (335, cp. Hesych. ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν αἰθέρα Μητρόδωρος εἶπεν ἀλληγορικῶς). Amphiaräus at Oropus and Trophonius at Lebadea were called Zeus (reff. in Rohde *Psyche*² i. 125 nn. 1, 2). A similar custom may have given rise to the tale that Zeus visited the wife of Amphitryon εὐκῶς Ἀμφιτρίωνι (schol. *Od.* 11. 266, cp. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 15, *mythogr. Gr.* p. 370, 4 Westerm., Isocr. 10. 59). I accept therefore as true Tzetzes' assertion that Minos was the son of a king who posed as Zeus Ἀστέριος. Hence the tradition that Ἀστέριος (Diod. 4. 60, schol. vet. Lyc. 1301) or Ἀστερίων (Hes. *frag.* 52 Kinkel, *etym. mag.* 588. 24 f.) was a Cretan king, who received Europa from the hands of Zeus and became by her the father of Minos.

That the kings of Minos' line were regarded as incarnations of Zeus appears also from the nature of their regalia. In the south wing of the palace at Cnossus Mr. Evans found a bas-relief representing portions 'of a male head wearing a crown, the upper part of which consisted of a row of sloping *fleurs-de-lys* with a taller upright one in the centre. Of the others all had a forward slant except the hindmost, which was sloped in the other direction. The colours of the diadem itself and its offshoots were evidently intended to represent inlaid metal-work. The *fleur-de-lys* ornament recurred in the shape of a collar formed of links of this shape round the neck of a male torso found near the relief of the crown' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900-1901, vii. 15). Mr. Evans from the analogy of other processional frescoes concludes 'that in this crowned head we see before us a Mycenaean king' (*ib.*). Now at Olympia (Paus. 5. 22. 5 Frazer) there was 'an image of Zeus turned towards the rising sun, holding an eagle in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other; and on his head he wore a wreath of lilies.' Lily flowers were also wrought by Pheidias on the golden robe of his great chryselephantine Zeus (Paus. 5. 11. 1). It would seem, then, that the king at Cnossus wore the same crown as Zeus at Olympia: the fact speaks for itself.³ Further, it is

³ It was probably as the flower of Zeus that the lily was associated with the double axe. A *larnax* found by Mr. J. H. Marshall at Palaikastro is decorated with a lily plant, of whose flowers two are

possible that this species of lily was named *ἀστερίων*. For Clement of Alexandria, when discussing the garlands appropriate to particular deities, remarks *κρίνω δὲ ἡδεσθαι τὴν Ἥραν φασίν* (*praed.* 2. 8. 72, cp. *georon.* 11. 19); and Pausanias, speaking of the river Asterion near the Argive Heraeum, says—'On its banks grows a plant which they also name *ἀστερίων*: they offer the plant to Hera, and twine its leaves into wreaths for her' (2. 17. 2 Frazer).

But who or what was the Minotaur? He too was called *Ἀστέριος* (Apollod. 3. 1. 4) or *Ἀστέριων* (Paus. 2. 31. 1): on an amphora from Nola his body is bespangled with stars¹ (Gerhard *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. 160); and on coins of Cnossus he is over-arched with a row of dots or stars (Baumeister *Denkm.* p. 936, fig. 1011). Was he too, then, a Cretan king posing as a sky-god? The suggestion seems a rash one; but there is evidence to be quoted in its favour. A

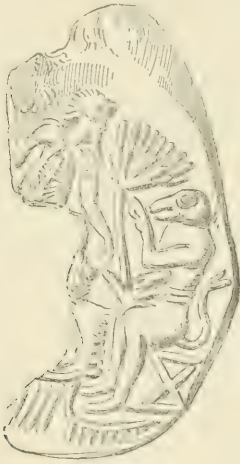


FIG. 7.

seal-impression found by Mr. Evans in the palace at Cnossus shows the Minotaur seated on a cross-legged chair beneath a palm-tree (fig. 7 by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch.*

naturalistic, but the third takes the form of a double axe mounted on an elaborate base (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901–1902 viii. pl. 18 a). On the great gold signet from Mycenae a large double axe stands in intimate relation to three female figures, each of whom wears a lily on her head (*J.H.S.* xxi. 108 Fig. 4).

A unique silver coin of Cnossus shows *ΜΙΝΩΣ* seated on a high-backed throne holding a sceptre. Friedländer (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* vi. 232 f.) says of him: 'Er ist seinem Vater ähnlich dargestellt. . . . Sein Mantel ist auf unserer Münze punktiert.' Have we not here Minos conceived as Zeus *Ἀστέριος* with a starry robe?

Ath. 1900–1901, vii. 18 fig. 7a). This cross-legged chair should be compared with the 'folding-chair made by Daedalus' that was kept along with the bronze palm-tree of Callimachus in the old palace of Erechtheus on the Athenian Acropolis² (Paus. 1. 27. 1); also with the well-known form of the curule chair, on which sat the early kings of Rome. The comparison makes it almost certain that the Minotaur is here enthroned as king; and that, in the palace of Minos. We are thus driven towards the conclusion that Minos and the Minotaur are but different forms of the same personage. As human king he was Minos: as Zeus incarnate he was the Minotaur.

We have yet to account for his semi-bovine form. There are several indications that in Crete the sun was conceived as a bull. Talos, whom Hesychius equates with the sun, was sometimes described as 'a bull' (Apollod. 1. 9. 26). The Cretans called the sun *ἀδιούνιος ταῦρος*, because he had led a band of colonists to their destination under the guise of a bull (Bekk. *anecd. Gr.* 344, 10 ff.). The sun kept his cattle at Gortyn (Serv. *eccl.* 6. 60); and Virgil represents Pasiphae's bull as lying beneath an evergreen oak or following the Gortynian cows (Verg. *eccl.* 6. 53 ff.). It may be conjectured, therefore, that the ritual costume of Minos as the sun-king was a bull-mask, and that this gave rise to the legend of the bull-headed Minotaur.³

These considerations will help us to a better understanding of that perpetual puzzle, the Labyrinth. If, as M. Mayer first suggested (*Jahrb. d. K. D. Arch. Inst.*, 1892, vii. 191), the name is to be connected with *λάβρος*, 'a double axe,' the Labyrinth was probably the abode of a sky-power of some sort (*supra*, p. 406). Now the earliest form of the Labyrinth on coins of Cnossus is the *swastika* or a derivative of the *swastika* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Crete pl. 4, 7–13); and the Labyrinth pattern found by Mr. Evans in a corridor of the 'Hall of Double Axes' at Cnossus is again a simple derivative of the *swastika* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901–1902 viii. 104). But it is quite

² This is but one of a whole series of remarkable agreements between the palace of Minos and the palace of Erechtheus. These agreements, as I shall hope to prove, affect both the plan of the buildings concerned and the cults carried on in them.

³ Dr. Frazer points out to me that Egyptian kings used to put on their heads masks of lions, bulls, and serpents (Diod. 1. 62). Diodorus thinks that this custom was not without influence on Greek mythology. Later rationalism came within an inch of the truth: Cedren. i. 217 Bonn. *μετὰ Μίνωα Μινώταυρος ὁ Πασιφάης καὶ Ταύρου βασιλεῦς*.

certain that the *swastika* was originally 'a symbolic representation of the sun, or of a solar god' (Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols*, p. 50, cp. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois*, p. 140 ff., Haddon *Evolution in Art*, p. 282 ff.). The Labyrinth, therefore, symbolised the solar character of its occupant, the Minotaur. This agrees with the statement of Diod. 1. 61, 97 and Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 85 that the Cretan Labyrinth was a copy of the Egyptian Labyrinth near Lake Moeris; for Plin. *ib.* 84 says of the latter: 'Most authorities assert that it was built in honour of the Sun, and this is the common view.'

A further reason for identifying Minos with the Minotaur is this. Minos as priestly-king had a reign of limited duration: *ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς* (Od. 19. 179), 'he was king for a period of nine years,' and at the expiration of every such period he repaired to the Idaean Cave for a personal interview with Zeus (Plat. *Min.* 319 c, *legg.* 624 B, Strab. 476, 762, Eust. 1861, 25 ff., Val. Max. 1. 2. ext. 1). It was also at intervals of nine years that the Minotaur received his tale of human victims (Plut. *v. Thes.* 15, Diod. 4. 61, Ov. *met.* 8. 171, cp. Hoeck *Kreta*, ii. 93 f.). This probably implies that the divine powers of the sun-king needed renewal at the end of every *annus magnus* (Censorin. *de die nat.* 18, who states that the Pythian games originally took place every ninth year, as do Dem. Phal. *ap. schol.* Od. 3. 267, *schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* p. 298 Boeckh). Dr. Frazer has proved (*Golden Bough*² ii. 1 ff.) that divine kings all the world over are put to death at the close of a set period to prevent the decay of their supernatural powers. Among the traces of this primitive custom that survived in Greece he quotes (*ib.* 18) the fact that the Spartan kings were liable to deposition *δι' ἐπὶ ἑννέα* (Plut. *v. Agis* 11), and compares with it the tradition of Minos' nine-year rule. The ninth year, then, was a critical time for the Cretan sun-king, whether we call him Minos or the Minotaur. At such a crisis it would be incumbent upon him to defend his title against all comers; and it was on the occasion of the third recurring period that Theseus slew the Minotaur (Plut. *v. Thes.* 15, 17).

I have shown that at Olympia (p. 273 ff.) and probably at Dodona (p. 278) the challenge of the priestly-king gave rise to a regular athletic contest. The same thing happened at Cnossus. A hint of it is perhaps conveyed by two Hesychian glosses, *Ταλαιός*· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ and *Ταλαιδίτης*· ἀγὼν γυμνικός.

But the clearest evidence is a statement of Philochorus (*ap. Plut. v. Thes.* 16, 19) that after the death of Androgeos Minos instituted an athletic contest, the prize awarded being the victims sent from Athens; that at first the successful competitor was Minos' chief general Taurus, a man of cruel temper, who treated the Athenian children harshly and was suspected of undue familiarity with Pasiphae; that, when the king again arrayed the lists, Taurus was expected to win as usual, but was to the delight of all overthrown by Theseus. It needs no Daniel to see that this is a rationalist's account of an *ἐνναετηρικὸς ἀγὼν* in which Minos himself under the guise of Taurus defended his title to the throne.

Having vanquished the Minotaur, Theseus succeeded to the sun-king's rights; and it is of interest to observe how he acquitted himself. 'Theseus,' says Plutarch (*v. Thes.* 21 Clough), 'in his return from Crete, put in at Delos, and having sacrificed to the god of the island, dedicated to the temple the image of Venus which Ariadne had given him, and danced with the young Athenians a dance that, in memory of him, they say is still preserved among the inhabitants of Delos, consisting in certain measured turnings and returnings, imitative of the windings and twistings of the labyrinth. And this dance, as Dicaearchus writes, is called among the Delians, the Crane. This he danced round the Ceraonian Altar, so-called from its consisting of horns taken from the left side of the head. They say also that he instituted games in Delos, where he was the first that began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.' Plutarch's description of Theseus dancing the labyrinth-dance round the horned altar of the sun-god suggests that a ritual analogous to that of the Minotaur had once existed in Delos, an island which like Crete had borne the name Asteria (Hesych. *s. v.* 'Ἀστερίη, ἀλῖβ.).

If, as I have tried to prove, Minos was a human king regarded as Zeus incarnate, the famous grave of Zeus on Mt. Jukta becomes intelligible: it was simply the grave of Minos. The *schol.* Call. *h. Iov.* 8 declares that the original inscription on it was *Μίνως τοῦ Διὸς τάφος* and that the obliteration of the word *Μίνως* led to the popular misconception. This is of course absurd; but the tradition that it was the grave of a man-god may well have lingered on and even have occasioned the speculation of Euhemerus, who asserted that

Zeus in particular had been a former king of Crete (Hoeck *Kreta* iii. 331 ff.). Pythagoras, when he visited Crete, after purification τῇ κεραυνία λίθῳ and sacrifice and inspection of the throne yearly prepared for Zeus, inscribed on the tomb an epitaph beginning—

ὅδε θανὼν κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κυκλήσκουσιν (Porph. v. *Pyth.* 17). That this Ζᾶν was indeed none other than a priestly-king appears from an important but much misunderstood passage in Macrobius: 'The ancients used to regard as owed to the gods the lives of consecrated men, whom the Greeks call *Zanes*' (*Sat.* 3. 7. 6 animas vero sacrorum hominum, quos zanas¹ Graeci vocant, dis debitas aestimabant). Was not Minos precisely such a *Zan*, enjoying all the privileges of the Cnossian kingship for a nine years' lease, but holding his life as ultimately forfeit to Zeus?

Before leaving the subject I must notice a curious variant of the inscription on the tomb of Zeus. Suid. s.v. Πῆκος records it as—

ἐνθάδε κείται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

Creuzer *Symbolik*³ iv. 364 cites from Nicetas *epithet. deor.* (*Meletem.* i. 18) a description of Jupiter as ἥπιος πῖκος and rightly brings him into connexion with the Italian Picus, the Wood-pecker. The common Greek name for this bird was δρυκολάπτης, because it hollowed out its nest in oak-trees (Ael. *hist. an.* 1. 45) and was even credited with being able to fell them (Plut. *qu. Rom.* 21). It was also known as πελεκᾶς because of its axe-like beak, and is still called πελεκάνος (D'Arcy Thompson *Gk. Birds* s.v.). A bird thus connected with the oak and the axe may well have figured in the Cnossian legend of Zeus-Minos, whose metamorphosis into an eagle at Gortyn we have already considered.²

That Minos as oak-king maintained a perpetual fire for the purpose of replenish-

¹ So the MSS. Caelius Rhodiginus *antiq. lect.* xii. 11 read (ζ)άνας=ξάνα! Liebrecht ej. ζωάνας (*Philologus* xxii. 710). Bernays kept *zanas*, but thought that Macrobius had misconceived the meaning of the *Zanes* at Olympia (*Hermes* 1875 ix. 127 f.).

² The cultus-images of the Italian Picus furnish a close parallel to those of the Cnossian deities found by Mr. Evans. 'He was represented,' says Mr. Marindin (*Class. Dict.* p. 712), 'in a rude and primitive manner as a wooden pillar with a woodpecker on the top of it, but afterwards as a young man with a woodpecker on his head.' See Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 14, who compares the woodpecker on his wooden pillar at Tiora with the dove on the oak at Dodona, and also Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 41.

ing the sun's heat, we are not told. But it is probable. For, on the one hand, a perpetual fire was kept up in the old palace at Cnossus: the oath of the Drierians and Cnossians (Cauer *del.*² 121, *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 393 ff.) began ὁμνῶ τὰν Ἑστίαν τὰν ἐμ πρυτανείῳ καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ἀγοραῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαῖον κ.τ.λ. cp. Ennius p. 174 Vahl, who states that Vesta had founded Cnossus. And, on the other hand, Talos (=Zeus Ταλλαῖος) the sun renewed his heat by springing into a fire (Semonid. *ap.* Suid. s.v. Σαρδάνιος γέλως, Eust. 1893, 7).

The story that Daedalus contrived the union of Pasiphae with the divine bull by means of a hollow wooden cow (Apollod. 3. 1. 4, *alib.*)³ looks like a reminiscence of an actual ceremony. Thus at Athens the wife of the priestly-king was yearly married to Dionysus in the βουκολεῖον, or Ox-stall (Aristot. *const. Ath.* 3. 5), a name which Wilamowitz (*Aristot. u. Ath.* ii. 42) connects with the bull-form of Dionysus. It is probable that the Cnossian rite was strictly analogous to this. In view of the fact that Cretan mythology often represented the sky-god or sun-god as a bull, it may be conjectured that the queen thus disguised was regarded as a sky-goddess or sun-goddess. We know that in Egypt queens were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi of wood to identify them with Hathor the sky-goddess or sun-goddess (Hdt. 2. 129 ff. and Lepsius *Chronol.* i. 309). The Greeks regularly spoke of Hathor as Aphrodite (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1862, 6 ff.); and Aphrodite in many places bore the title Πασιφάη (Lyd. *de mens.* p. 117, 12 Wuensch): e.g. in Thessaly Heracles established a *temenos* of Cythera Πασιφάεσσα beneath an evergreen oak because she had helped him to capture the oxen and daughter of Geryones ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 133, p. 48, 12 Westerm.). All this tends to prove that the Cnossians had a yearly ceremony, at which their queen was solemnly wedded to the sky-god or sun-god. Was this the ἱερός γάμος celebrated annually near Cnossus by means of a mimetic representation (Diod. 5. 72)? The name Daedalus certainly recalls the Daedala of Plataea, a yearly festival at which the oak-tree bride was prepared for her husband Zeus (Frazer *G.B.*² i. 225 f.).

The extant remains of the palace at Phaestus, a town founded by Minos (Strab. 479, Diod. 5. 78), are so similar to those of the palace at Cnossus (*J.H.S.* xxi. 336 ff.

³ Cp. also Clem. Rom. *homil.* 5. 13 Ζεὺς Εὐδρώπη διὰ ταύρου συνήλθεν.

xxii. 387 ff.) that we look with some confidence to find the same cult of an oak-Zeus accompanied by Rhea and Aphrodite there also. Coins of Phaestus (Fig. 8 = *Brit. Mus.*



FIG. 8.

Cat. Gk. Coins Crete pl. 15, 10) represent a youthful god seated in a tree and holding on his knee a cock. The legend ΕΛΧΑΝΟΣ is interpreted by the gloss in Hesychius Γελχάνος· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρήσιν.¹ Mr. Svoronos has pointed out (*Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pp. 127, 137) that the tree on these Phaestian coins is identical with the oak on the coins of Gortyn (figs. 1, 2); and his identification is confirmed by the fact that there was a festival called Γελκάνια at Gortyn (Comparetti *Leggi di Gort.* p. 24, no. 10, 1 Γελκάν[οις]). It is commonly supposed that Velchanos is etymologically the same word as Volcanus (Preller-Jordan³ ii. 148, n. 1, Stolz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 127): if so, this oak-Zeus might be a god of fire or heat. Welcker *Gr. Gött.* ii. 245 explained the cock by the help of a passage in Pausanias, who in describing certain statues dedicated to Zeus at Olympia says (5. 25. 9 Frazer): 'The one with the scutcheon of the cock on the shield is Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. They say that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, who was the sire of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun, and heralds his rising.' If, then, we could establish any connexion between the name Γελχάνος and the Minoan cock, we should be in a fair way to understand the full meaning of our coin-type. Now a black-figured amphora from Vulci represents the combat between Theseus and the Minotaur in the presence of Minos and nine other persons; along with them are ranged two pairs of large cocks inscribed respectively Γελκος and Χαιτος, Χαιτος and Σφεκίς (Roulez *Choix de vases*, pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. vases peints*, ii. 271). Holwerda (*Jahrb.*

d. Inst. 1890, v. 245) calls this amphora 'Korinthisch-attisch' and states that Roulez's publication of it is 'sehr ungenügend.' I would suggest that Γελκος is a misreading of Γελκος. However that may be, it is clear that at Phaestus there was a cult of Zeus Γελχάνος, oak-god and sun-god, whose sacred bird was the cock. The Phaestians worshipped Rhea also, as we know from an inscription (*Mus. ital. d. ant. class.* iii. 735 f.). And, lastly, there was a temple of Aphrodite Σκοτία in the same town (*etym. mag.* 543, 48 f.): the analogy of Zeus Σκοτίας etc. (*infra*) makes it probable that she was the goddess of an oak-grove. In short, the royal cults of Cnossus all reappear at Phaestus.

A well-known fresco found in the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii (fig. 9 = Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* II. i. pl. 3, 10) shows the marriage of Zeus and Hera. Iris as bridesmaid presents the richly-attired bride to her groom, who receives her χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ. Behind them is a shrine of Rhea, represented by a column with three lions on its triangular abacus, cymbals and flutes suspended from its shaft, and a tympanum leaning against it. The subject painted by the Hellenistic artist is in fact that described by the Hellenistic poet: Theocr. 17. 131 ff. 'Thus was brought to fulfilment the sacred wedlock of the immortals, whom Rhea bare to be rulers of Olympus: one couch was strewn for the slumber of Zeus and Hera by Iris, a virgin still, with perfume-brightened hands.' Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 239 ff. has made it probable that the scene of the marriage is laid by the painter in Crete at the foot of Mt. Ida. This suits not only the mountainous landscape and the woods in the background, which might be anywhere, but also the combination of Zeus-worship with Rhea-worship, which is attested for Cnossus both by literature (Eur. *Κρήτες frag.* 475 a Dind., Diod. 5. 65 f.) and by the monuments (*supra*). Now Zeus in the wall-painting is depicted as wearing a wreath of oak-leaves.² Overbeck therefore suggests (*op. cit.* p. 242) that the oak may have been sacred to the Cretan Zeus. His suggestion is, as I have already shown, confirmed by the Gortyn coins and the throne of Minos. It remains to mention the three youthful male figures seated beside Zeus. Welcker (*alte Denkm.* iv. 96 f.) explained them as the Idaean Dactyli; Stephani (*Bull. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersb.* xii. 302, 80) with less probability as personified Meadows; *alii aliter*.

¹ Cp. Hesych. Ἐπιπρότιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ. Preller-Robert⁴ p. 130 n. 3 connect ἔρνος, ἐπρόται. On this showing the title means 'Zeus on the tree,' cp. Hesych. Ἐνδεδρόπος· παρὰ Ῥοδίοις Ζεὺς· καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ.

² With the veil here and elsewhere worn by the oak-Zeus I hope to deal on another occasion.

Conceivably they are Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon, the three sons of Zeus by Europa. The point cannot be settled till the nature of the wreaths that they are wearing is determined. Helbig (*die Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* p. 33 f. no. 114) describes them as wreaths of primroses, though the published drawings of them resemble rather wreaths of oak- or laurel-leaves. However that may be, the fresco is of interest as furnishing us with one more trace of the Cretan oak-Zeus.

But it is time to turn from Crete to other localities in which the same cult is found.

Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη: καὶ Σουίδας δὲ φησι Φηγηναίου Διὸς ἱερὸν εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. Now, if the cult of an oak-Zeus came from a district called Σκοτούσσα, it is probable that the σκότος in question was the shadow of an oak or an oak-forest, and not improbable that special sanctity was attached to such a shadow; for the shadow in folklore is often tantamount to the soul (*G.B.*² i. 285 ff.). Pausanias in describing the country about Sparta says (3. 10. 6 Frazer, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σκοτινά): 'The whole country-side is clothed with oak-woods. The name of the place, how-

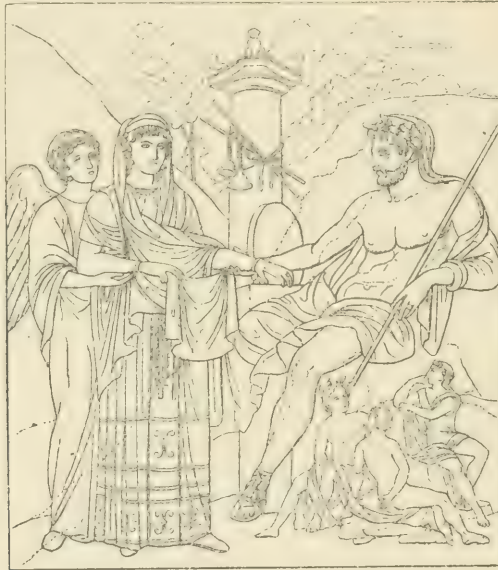


FIG. 9.

Strabo 329 states on the authority of Suidas the historian that the cult of the Dodonaean Zeus came originally from Thessaly (ἐκ τῆς περὶ Σκοτούσσαν Πελασγίας), that Zeus derived his title Πελασγικός from this circumstance, and that the priestesses of Dodona were descended from the women of Scotussa who accompanied their cult. The scholia on *Il.* 16. 233 add some further points, *e.g.* 'There are two Dodonas, one in Thessaly, the other in Molossia' (codd. ABDV) and 'The men of Scotussa say that they have a bean-shaped¹ hill fifteen furlongs from Scotussa itself, on which is a sanctuary of Zeus Φηγηναῖος' (codd. BL).

¹ φακόνεα: the word has escaped the dictionary-makers. There was a town Φάκιον at the foot of an isolated hill close to the Thessalian Phaestus; but that was some twenty-four miles from Scotussa.

ever, Σκοτίτας, is not derived from the thickness of the woods, but from Zeus Σκοτίτας, whose sanctuary we reach by turning out of the road' etc. Scherer in *Roscher lex.* i. 1789, 42 ff. rightly remarks that Pausanias has inverted the facts; Zeus was called after the dark forest, not *vice versa*. Zeus Σκοτίτας thus furnishes a parallel to the Zeus of Σκοτούσσα: in both cases the shadow is that of an oak-wood.² Another parallel is to be found in the phrase ὁ παρὰ τῇ δρυὶ σκότος. Plutarch (*quaestt. Gr.* 20. 295 f) asks τίς ὁ λεγόμενος ἐν Πριήνῃ παρὰ δρυὶ σκότος; and answers that the men of Priene once

² Plut. *de ci ar. Delph.* 2 D mentions a Hades Σκότιος, but without further description; and we have already found Aphrodite Σκοτία at Phaestus, where there was certainly the cult of an oak-Zeus.

fought the men of Miletus in the days of Bias and lost heavily at a place called The Oak: ever afterwards the chief oath of the Prienian women was to swear by 'the darkness at The Oak,' because their sons and fathers and husbands had there fallen.¹ Setting aside this obviously aetiological tale, we may fairly argue that, if the oath by the shadow of the oak was the oath used on great occasions (Plut. *loc. cit.* *περὶ τῶν μεγίστων*), the shadow of the oak represented the chief divinity of the place. And, since Priene was an Ionian town, its divinities must have been Pelasgian in their origin. We are thus led back once more to a Pelasgian oak-god who cast a sacred shade, like the Zeus of Scotussa: the comparison is strengthened by the fact that at Priene, as in Thessaly, the women are specially mentioned in connexion with him.

Here, however, an objection may be raised. The men of Priene superintended the ritual of Poseidon 'Ελικώνιος at the Panionian festival on Mt. Mycale: this post of honour was assigned to them on the ground that they were descended from the Ionians of Helice in Achaëa, where Poseidon 'Ελικώνιος had a famous sanctuary (Strab. 384, 639). Their chief divinity, therefore, appears to have been Poseidon rather than Zeus. In answer to this I should reply that Poseidon is but 'Zeus in the water' (p. 175), and that, precisely at the place where we should expect to find Poseidon 'Ελικώνιος in his earliest shape, what we do find is a sacred spring and a cult of Zeus 'Ελικώνιος. For the title 'Ελικώνιος is obviously derived, not from Helice, but as Aristarchus saw (*etym. mag.* 547, 16) from Mt. Helicon across the Gulf. And on Mt. Helicon was a spring and an altar of Zeus 'Ελικώνιος (Hes. *theog.* 4 and schol.). The custom at Priene was to appoint a young man as βασιλεύς to perform the sacrifice at the Panionian festival (Strab. 384). G. F. Schoemann *Griech. Alterth.* 4 p. 423 regards him as a priestly-king, who reigned for the

time being. He was probably identical with the eponymous magistrate of the Panionian League (*C.I.G.* 2909 ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀμύντορος ἔδοξεν Ἰώνων τῇ βουλῇ κ.τ.λ.); for the title πρύτανις borne by that magistrate was elsewhere borne by priestly-kings, who were set apart πρὸς τὰς θυσίας τὰς κοινὰς and derived their honour ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας (Aristot. *pol.* 8. 8. 1322 b 29). It appears, then, that at Priene there was not only a sacred oak, but also a priestly-king who had charge of the Panionian ἐστία and held office for a very limited period in the flower of his age. What are these but the essentials of the Dodonaean cult?

Another town belonging to the same League had its πρύτανις (Aristot. *pol.* 9. 5. 1305 a 17 f.) or priestly βασιλεύς (Ditt.² 627, 5) and a cult of Poseidon 'Ελικώνιος apparently associated with an oak. 'At Miletus,' says Pausanias (7. 24. 5), 'on the way to the spring of Biblis, there is an altar of Heliconian Poseidon in front of the city.' It will be remembered that the oak figures prominently in the legend of Biblis. Parthenius (*narr. am.* 11. 3—4) tells how she hanged herself ἀπὸ τινος δρυός, and how the fountain sprang from her tears. Ovid (*met.* 9. 665) says of the spring: 'nomen habet dominae, nigraque sub ilice manat.' And, according to Nicander (*ap. Ant. Lib.* 30) Biblis was turned into a Hamadryad. The cult of Poseidon at Miletus was introduced by Neleus the founder of the town, who raised an altar to him in the Poseidion (Strab. 633). According to the local legend, Neleus had been led to select his site by Artemis Χιτώνη, under whose guidance he found a fine and fruitful oak (δρῦς): out of it he made an image for the goddess, and round it he built Miletus (schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77, cp. *h. Dian.* 225 ff.). Apollo too at Miletus bore the title Δρύμας (Lyc. 522, Tzetz. *ad loc.*, cp. Strab. 321) or Δρύμαιος (schol. vet. *ad Lyc.* 522); whence it may be inferred that the oak-god of the Milesians had solar powers.

The cult of an oak-Zeus seems indeed to have been fairly common in Asia Minor. Hesychius has preserved the gloss ἄσκρα· δρῦς ἄκαρπος; and Schrader *Preh. Antt.* p. 226 connects ἄσκρα with ἄσπρος, ἄσπρις, a kind of oak. This enables us to fix the character of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, to whom the Lydians brought their first-fruits (Plut. *mor.* 501 f). He was worshipped at Halicarnassus also, where a herd of goats used to be brought before his temple and the priest would sacrifice the goat that

¹ Zenob. 6. 12 in explaining the proverb τὸ περὶ Δρῦν σκότος cites an abbreviated form of the Priene legend from Aristotle's *Samian Constitution*. We do not know the context in which it there occurred; but an ancient name of Samos was Δρυοῦσσα, 'Oak Island' (Heraclid. *de polit.* 10, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάμος, Hesych. *s. vv.* Δόρυσσα and Δρυοῦσσα, *C.I.G.* 2905, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 31), and the aniconic Hera of the Samians may have been an oaken trunk (Urlichs *Anfänge d. griech. Künstlergeschichte* p. 29 n. would restore the pentameter Ἥρας καὶ Σάμιοι πρίνινον εἶχον ἔδος from Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 8 Ἥρας δὲ καὶ Σάμιοι ξύλινον εἶχον ἔδος, ὡς φησι Καλλίμαχος κ.τ.λ.)

approached his altar (Apollon. *hist. mir.* p. 107, 20 Westerm.). Imperial coins of that town represent him as a bearded god crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird (fig. 10 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria



FIG. 10.

p. 111, no. 88). The rayed crown implies that Zeus was here regarded as a sun-god; and it is noteworthy that Menander of Laodicea on the Lycus, in his treatise *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (Walz ix. 329, 26), mentions an Apollo Ἀσκραῖος. Of the birds Head *hist. num.* p. 527 remarks: 'the two birds are clearly oracular.'¹ Not unlike the ritual of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος was that of Zeus at Pedasia in Caria, where a goat used to go before the priest of its own accord; here too the temple was haunted by a couple of ravens, one of which had a white throat ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 137 Westerm.).

Side by side with the cult of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος at Halicarnassus there seems to have been a cult of Aphrodite Ἀσκραία; for the Halicarnassians built at Troezen, their metropolis, a ναὸν . . . Ἀφροδίτης Ἀσκραίας (Paus. 2. 32. 6). When, therefore, we reflect that an ancient Carian town was named Aphrodisias, it becomes of interest to enquire whether its inhabitants likewise worshipped an oak. Now imperial coins of



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

that town show the leafless trunk of a tree with three branches. Sometimes the three

¹ Car the eponym of Caria was said to have been the first to draw omens from birds (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 203).

branches rise separately from an enclosure of trellis-work (fig. 11 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 35, pl. 6, 8). Sometimes they spring from a single trunk, on either side of which is a naked man wearing a Phrygian cap: the one on the left wields a double axe; the one on the right kneels or runs away, turning his back upon the tree (fig. 12 = *ib.* p. 34, pl. 6, 7). Sometimes a third man is present, who raises both his arms in the air (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 142 f., pl. 9, 29). Sometimes no men are there, but the tree is flanked by two lighted altars (fig. 13 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*



FIG. 13.

Caria p. 35, no. 58). May we not venture to identify this bare trunk with the oak of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος² and Aphrodite the patroness of the town with Aphrodite Ἀσκραία? If so, the resemblance between the cults of Aphrodisias and Dodona is striking. At both places (a) Aphrodite is connected with an oak-Zeus; (b) the tree-god had a triple aspect; (c) a fire was maintained before the sacred tree; (d) there was a ceremony of wood-cutting. When Sulla took the title Epaphroditus and, in obedience to an oracle which promised him sovereign power, dedicated a golden crown and a double axe in the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (App. *de bell. civ.* 1. 97), he was unconsciously acting the part of a second Hellus. Attached to this temple was an official called ὁ φοινικοῦς, who, to judge from his title, wore a purple robe, 'perhaps as continuing an older office of the style of king or priest' (W. M. Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 66 n. 1). Alexander is known to have worn a purple robe as an incarnation of Zeus Ammon (Athen. 537 E). I would therefore suggest that ὁ φοινικοῦς was in like manner a human representative of an oak-Zeus, in short the priestly-king of

² Zeus was worshipped at Aphrodisias under the title Zeus Νυνεύδιος (Bull. de corr. hell. 1886 x. 80), i.e. Zeus the god of Νυνὴ, the old name of the town (Steph. Byz. s. vv. Μεγάλη πόλις and Νυνὴ). A small altar found in a Turkish cemetery near Aphrodisias and now at Oxford is inscribed Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου καὶ Διὸς Μεγίστου (Michel 802).

Aphrodisias. Similarly Anaxenor of Magnesia ad Maeandrum as priest of Zeus Σωσίπολις was honoured with a purple robe (Strab. 648); and, since Zeus on coins of Magnesia wears a wreath of oak (Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 234), it is probable that Anaxenor too ranked as an oak-king.

Elsewhere in Caria we come across traces of a three-fold Zeus. Strabo 659 says that in or near Mylasa there were three sanctuaries of Zeus, that of Zeus Ὁσογός, that of Zeus Λαβρανδηνός or Στράτιος, and that of Zeus Κάριος. The connexion between Zeus Ὁσογός and Zeus Λαβρανδηνός was very close; for an imperial coin of Mylasa shows them standing face to face, the former with a trident, the latter with a double axe in his hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Caria* p. 133, no. 37), while another even exhibits a trident and a double axe combined to form a single weapon (*ib.* p. 132, pl. 22, 3). Again, Zeus Λαβρανδηνός or Στράτιος must have been virtually one with Zeus Κάριος; for in the temple near Mylasa Zeus Λαβρανδηνός had a sword slung at his side and was worshipped under the names of Στράτιος and Κάριος (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30). In short, the three Zeuses of Mylasa mentioned by Strabo were but three forms of one and the same god. Zeus Ὁσογός with his trident was otherwise called *Ζηνοποσειδών* (see Roscher *Lex. s.v.* 'Osogoa') and was certainly a water-god. Zeus Λαβρανδηνός with his double axe was no less certainly a sky-god, and in that capacity sent rain (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30). The nature of the third Zeus is unknown. All three have points in common with Zeus Ἀσκραίος. An imperial coin of Mylasa now at Paris shows Zeus Ὁσογός bearing an eagle and a trident and wearing a crown of rays, a trait which, as Drexler pointed out (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1228, 26), serves to connect him with Zeus Ἀσκραίος. Zeus Στράτιος (= Λαβρανδηνός) was worshipped in a great grove of sacred plane-trees (Hdt. 5. 119); and we have seen the plane more than once take the place of the oak as the tree of Zeus. Lastly, Zeus Κάριος was honoured not only at Mylasa but also by the Lydians and Mysians (Hdt. 1. 171, Strab. 659); and the cult of Zeus Ἀσκραίος was likewise common to Carians and Lydians (*supra*). That the Zeus of Mylasa had at one time a priestly-king, is probable from Strabo's statement that the most illustrious citizens of the town were priests of Zeus Στράτιος throughout their life (Strab. 659).¹

¹ A queer tale is told by Aristot. *de part. an.* 3. 10. 673 a 17 ff. about a priest of the Carian Zeus

Of the rites connected with the cult nothing is known: but it is likely that the ταυροφόνια of Mylasa (Lebas-Waddington 404) resembled the βουφόνια of Athens (Frazer *G.B.*² ii. 294 f.) and were celebrated as part of the ritual of Zeus (? Zenoposeidon).

At Stratonicea Zeus bore the titles Χρυσαιορέας (Strab. 660) or Χρυσάοριος (*C.I.G.* 2720, 2721) and Πανάμαρος (*C.I.G.* 2719, 2720, 2721) or Πανημέριος (*C.I.G.* 2715 a, 2716, 2717). Zeus 'of the Golden Sword' was in all likelihood a sky-god like Zeus Λαβρανδηνός, who also had a sword (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30): cp. Χρυσάωρ, Χρυσάορος, as epithets of Apollo (Pauly-Wissowa iii. 2484, 57 ff.). Zeus Πανάμαρος appears to mean 'the god of broad daylight' (Farnell *Cults* i. 43). The celestial or solar character of Zeus at Stratonicea is further shown by the fact that on some coins of the city his head is radiate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Caria* p. 153, pl. 24, 4). At Stratonicea too there was a ceremony resembling the βουφόνια. An imperial coin (fig. 14 = *Brit. Mus. Cat.*



FIG. 14.

Gk. Coins Caria p. 157, pl. 24, 8) represents the rite taking place before a sacred oak-tree. A bull of its own accord approaches a garlanded altar or platform, on which stands a man wearing a short *chiton*, a *chlamys*, and *endromides*. In his left hand he holds a sceptre; in his right a dagger, which he is about to plunge into the neck of the bull. Other coins of Stratonicea show Zeus himself in precisely the same costume (*ib.* p. 158, pl. 24, 10). Hence I infer that the sceptre-bearing βουθύτης was a priestly-king, who acted the part of Zeus himself

Ὀπλόσμιος. He was killed and beheaded by some person or persons unknown; but his severed head went on repeating the line ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα Κερκιδᾶς ἀπέκτεινεν, 'Cercidas slew a man in single fight,' till the murderer was brought to justice. Does this folk-tale point to a primitive custom of *monomachia* for the post of priestly-king?

before the sacred oak.¹ And since a lighted altar is often represented on the coins before the figure of Zeus (*ib.* p. 151, pl. 24, 1), it may be conjectured that part of the priest's office was the maintenance of a perpetual fire.

The transition from oak to poplar (pp. 181, 273, 407) seems to have occurred at Sardes. On an imperial coin of that town (fig. 15 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Lydia p. 267,



FIG. 15.

pl. 27, 11) we see Zeus Λύδιος standing on a pillar or pedestal beneath a poplar-tree. In his right hand he holds an eagle with closed wings (so Head *op. cit.*); in his left, a sceptre. Before him is placed a large stone altar adorned with three figures in relief. Amid the flames can be distinguished the heads of four bulls.

That there was or had been a priestly-king at Priene, Miletus, Aphrodisias, Mylasa, and Stratonicea, appears also from the title *στεφανηφόρος* borne by eponymous magistrates of those towns (Michel 481, 483 Priene; Ditt.² 314, 469 Miletus; *B.C.H.* 1885 ix. 75 Aphrodisias; Michel 472-474, 725 Mylasa; Lebas-Waddington 517, 519, 525 Stratonicea). Prof. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 56 f. proves that this title originally denoted the representative of a divinity, who as such 'wore the dress of the god.' Thus Apollo Στεφανηφόρος at Iasus (Michel 1202) was represented by a personage sometimes called in full *στεφανηφόρος Ἀπόλλωνος*, but more often simply *στεφανηφόρος* (*C.I.G.* 2673 ff., Lebas-Waddington 251 ff.). It follows that the nature of the magistrate's wreath is a reliable clue to the nature of the deity whom he represented: *e.g.* at Smyrna the *στεφανηφόρος* (Michel 19, 34, Philostr.

v. soph. 2. 26. 2) wore a wreath of oak (fig. 6) like that of the Great Mother there worshipped (fig. 5).

Now Rhodes too had its eponymous *στεφανηφόρος* (Michel 431), who was priest of the sun-god² (Michel 535, *cp.*



FIG. 16.

Herwerden *lex. suppl. s.v. στεφαναφόρος*); and Rhodian coins, whose obverse type is a radiate head of Helios, have sometimes on their reverse side a magistrate's name enclosed by a fine oak-wreath (figs. 16, 17 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 261, pl. 41, 4). We can but conclude that the sacred tree of the sun-god in Rhodes, his

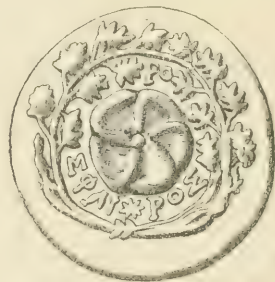


FIG. 17.

favourite island, was the oak, and that the Rhodian *στεφανηφόρος* was the oak-king of the district.

² An inscr. from Rhodes records an eponymous magistrate named Chrysaor (*I. G. Ins.* i. 1204 ἐπὶ Χρυσόδορος), and two decrees found at Iasus are dated ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Χρυσόδορος (Michel 469) and ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Χρυσόδορου (Lebas-Waddington 292) respectively. Probably the title of the local god was often given as a child's name: *e.g.* at Corycus in Cilicia the chief deity was Hermes and 'names formed from Ἐρμῆς are common there' (G. F. Hill *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. lxxvii. n. 4). Still, the possibility remains that the priest who represented the god took the god's name. A list of the priests of Zeus at Corycus (Michel 878) contains with surprising frequency the name Ζῆς, which can hardly be other than the name of Zeus himself.

¹ Cp. the Lydian plane-tree, which Xerxes honoured with ornaments of gold and a special champion to guard it (Hdt. 7. 31, *Ael. var. hist.* 2. 14).

This suits what is known of the primitive stratum of Rhodian religion. It is generally admitted that the sun-god Helios was simply a specialized form of Zeus (see Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1994, 62 ff.), who was worshipped in early days at Amorgus as Zeus Ἥλιος (Röhl² p. 55 no. 28). It is not surprising, therefore, to find the oak as his sacred tree. Probably the Zeus Ἐνδεδρος¹ of the Rhodians (Hesych. s.v. Ἐνδεδρος), like the radiate Zeus Ἀσκραῖος of Halicarnassus, was at once sun-god² and oak-god. Hence Helen the daughter of Zeus (*Od.* 4. 227, 569) was also called the daughter of Helios, and was worshipped in Rhodes as Helen Δενδρίτις because, like Biblis at Miletus, she had hanged herself on an oak (Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 4 p. 189 Westerm., Paus. 3. 19. 10). The other Heliades also were sometimes said to have been turned into oaks (schol. B Eur. *Hipp.* 733 Schw.).³ At the same time both in myth and in ritual Helios is closely related to Poseidon. He married Rhode the daughter of Poseidon (Apollod. 1. 4. 6); and, as Mr. Torr *Rhodes in Anc. Times* p. 73 f. points out, his annual festival was remarkably like that of Poseidon elsewhere. The yearly Rhodian rite consisted in flinging four horses into the sea to serve as the team of the sun-god (Fest. s.v. 'October equus'): and every ninth year the Illyrians cast four horses into the sea for Poseidon Ἰππιος (Paul. Fest. s.v. 'Hippius'). Thus Helios was connected on the one hand with Zeus; on the other, with Poseidon. We need not, however, with Mr. Torr *ib.* p. 74 assume 'some blending of the worships.' The facts are harmonized by the simple conception of the sun-god driving his chariot up the sky from the waters of the sea—a conception familiar enough both in literature and in art.⁴

The same association between an oak-Zeus and a sun-god occurs in Lyc. 536 f.

¹ See p. 413 n. 1. Hyg. *fab.* 139 relates that Amalthea hung the cradle of the infant Jupiter in arbore to prevent Saturn from finding it.

² Hesych. Ἐπιδίμιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Ῥόδῳ is obscure. An inser. from Camirus (Ditt.² 609) records the priests of Apollo Ἐρεθίμιος, cp. Hesych. Ἐρεθίμιος· δ' Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Λυκίοις, καὶ ἑορτὴ Ἐρεθίμια. There was also a cult of Apollo Ἐρεθίσιος in Rhodes (Strab. 613).

³ According to the common version they became poplars (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1983, 8 ff.). In the Rhodian Tlepolemeia the wreath was of white poplar (schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 141). The poplar was a recognized alternative for the oak (*supra* p. 418).

⁴ Besides, as I have already argued (pp. 175, 177), both τι-τάν and ποτεῖ-δάν appear to be modified forms of Ζεύς.

ὁ Δρύμιος
δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθίοψ Γυράβιος.

Δρύμιος, a title under which Zeus was worshipped in Pamphylia (Tzetz. in Lyc. 536), certainly denotes an oak-god. Προμανθεὺς, his title at Thurii (Tzetz. in Lyc. 537), is probably to be connected with the Sanskrit *pramantha*, 'fire-stick' (E. Kuhn *die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 18). Αἰθίοψ means 'he of the glowing face,' and is a third title of Zeus in use at Chios (Tzetz. in Lyc. 537, cp. Eustath. 1385, 62 Διὸς ἐπίθετον, αἰθίοψ . . . ὡς φαεινόν. παρὰ τὸ αἶθω τὸ λάμπω. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ αἰθήρ Ζεύς). Γυράβιος, another name for Zeus among the Chians (Tzetz. *ib.*), may be fairly interpreted 'he of the round wheel' (γυρός and ἄβις): ἄβις is used of the wheel of the sun's chariot as in Eur. *Phaethon* frag. 779 Dind. ἄβιδα σὴν | κάτω δίησει, *Ion.* 87 f. τὴν ἡμερίαν | ἄβιδα, or of the curved course described by the sun as in a fragment of Arcestratus *ap.* Athen. 326 B ἂν Φαέθων πνύματῃν ἄβιδα διφρεύῃ. This remarkable combination of epithets recalls at once the legend of Prometheus, who by the aid of Minerva ascended to heaven and stole fire 'adhibita ferula ad rotam Solis' (Serv. *eccl.* 6. 42): the name Προμηθεὺς cannot, of course, be derived from *pramantha*; it is rather to be connected with *pramidiha*, 'theft'; but the form Προμηθεὺς not improbably fixed the termination of Προμανθεὺς, and conversely the *pramantha* appears as the 'ferula' of Prometheus (Kuhn *op. cit.* pp. 18 f., 63). Further, the association of the fire-stick with the wheel, which meets us alike in the titles of the Δρύμιος δαίμων and in the myth of Prometheus, suggests that the reference is, not to the simplest form of fire-stick—a vertical twirled by hand on a horizontal, but to the more advanced type of a fire-drill such as is used by the Eskimos or the North American Indians. An Iroquois sample figured by the Rev. J. G. Wood *Man and his handiwork*, pp. 420, 422 shows the vertical weighted by means of a large wheel or spindle-whorl and turned by a bow resembling that of an ordinary bow-drill. However that may be, Lycophron certainly brings before us a Pamphylian oak-Zeus regarded as a solar divinity and to that extent at least resembling the Dodonaean Zeus.

Not only the oak but also the mistletoe that grew upon it was appropriate to the sun-god. At Ixiāi in Rhodes, a town named after the mistletoe (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰξίαί), there was a cult of Ἰξίος Ἀπόλλων

(Artemid. *ap. eund.*). We are not expressly told that this mistletoe grew on an oak: but it is probable, both because special virtues were ascribed to oak-mistletoe (Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 11 f.), and because the Rhodians regarded the oak as the sun-god's tree (*supra*). And here it occurs to us that the name Ἰξίων is susceptible of a similar explanation. Ixion was the father of Peirithoüs (Apollod. 1. 8. 2, Strab. 439), whose constant associate was Dryas (*Il.* 1. 263, Hes. *sc.* 179). The relationship thus established between Ἰξίων the Mistletoe and Δρύας the Oak is scarcely fortuitous. Note, however, that according to our oldest authorities Peirithoüs was the son, not of Ixion, but of Zeus himself (*Il.* 2. 741, 14. 317). This at once raises the question whether Ixion was not a by-form of Zeus. Ixion's wife bore the name Δία, a feminine derived from the same root as Ζεύς, Διός: and in *Il.* 14. 317 Zeus admits to Hera that he was enamoured Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο. By a kind of reciprocal attraction Ixion aspired to consort with Hera, and was punished in consequence. 'Zeus in his anger bound Ixion to a winged wheel and sent it spinning through the air. Ixion under the lash repeats the words WE MUST HONOUR OUR BENEFACTORS. Others say that Zeus hurled him into Tartarus. Others again, that the wheel was made of fire' (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185). Ixion bound to his blazing wheel and sent spinning through the upper air and under the nether gloom is clearly the sun-god, and has commonly been so understood (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 770, 1 ff.). Hence his connexion with fire: he was called the son of Φλεγύας by Euripides (*Ixion frag.* 428 Dind.), the brother of Φλεγύας by Strabo (442), the son of Αἴρων (Weizsäcker *cj.* Αἴθων) by Pherecydes (*ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 3. 62); and it was by means of a flaming pit thinly covered with logs and dust that he entrapped and slew Eioneus the father of Dia (*ib.*). The whole subject of the solar wheel has been ably handled by M. Gaidoz, who in an interesting series of chapters (*Rev. Archéol.* 1884 ii. 7 ff., 136 ff., 1885 i. 179 ff., 364 ff., ii. 16 ff., 167 ff.) has abundantly proved that the nations of antiquity symbolized the sun as a wheel and has traced the survival of that symbolism through mediaeval into modern times. Familiar classical examples are the wheel on coins of Mesembria, and the 'rota Solis' (De Vit cites Enn. *ap. Isid. origg.* 18. 36. 3, Lucr. 5. 432, 564, Val. Flacc. 3. 559, [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 1026, Apul. *met.* 9. 28). It

has not, however, been hitherto observed, though indeed the fact is obvious, that Ἰξίων is derived from ἰξός and that the mistletoe was on Greek soil thus intimately associated with the sun-god. Dr. Frazer has quoted more than one example from central Europe of a fiery wheel trundled down-hill as a sun-charm (*G.B.*² iii. chap. 4, § 2), and has also been led to conjecture 'that the sun's fire was regarded as an emanation of the mistletoe' (*ib.* iii. 455): surely the myth of Ixion clinches his argument.

There are some indications that at Dodona similar beliefs attached to oak-mistletoe. Alexander Polyhistor stated that the ship Argo was constructed of wood from the 'lion'-tree, which he described as a tree like the mistletoe-bearing oak: it could not, he said, be destroyed by water or by fire any more than the mistletoe can. Pliny, who has preserved this remarkable extract (*nat. hist.* 13. 119 quoted on p. 179), adds that he knows of no other reference to the 'lion'-tree. I think we can supply the omission. Ptolemaeus, who records the Rhodian version of the myth of Helen, *viz.* that she was the daughter of Helios and hanged herself on an oak, mentions in the same context that she went by the name of Λεοντή (Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 4 p. 189 Westerm.). Helen was in all probability 'a nymph or goddess of the tree' (Frazer *Paus.* iii. 360, *cp.* Theocr. 18. 43 ff., Paus. 8. 23. 4). I infer that the 'lion'-tree was some species of mistletoe-bearing oak. The wheel too was a symbol understood at Dodona. A small bronze wheel¹ inscribed with a dedication to Aphrodite, here an oak-goddess (pp. 408, 416) paired with Zeus (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466), was found in the sacred precinct (Carapanos i. 47, 19).²

In Italy also oak-mistletoe occurs in connexion with the solar wheel. At Praeneste Fortuna Primigenia, the eldest daughter of Iupiter (Dessau 3684—3686), had an ancient oracular seat adjoining a temple of Iupiter Arcanus (*C. I.*L.* xiv. 2937, 2972, *cp.* R. Peter in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1541, 59 ff.).

¹ M. Gaidoz (*Rev. Archéol.* 1885 i. 180 f.) and M. Bertrand (*La religion des Gaulois* p. 185 ff.) have shown that small metal wheels of this type were beyond doubt solar amulets. One found near Argos and inscribed τῷ Φανάκῳ κ.τ.λ. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* no. 253) may have been dedicated to Helios, who was there worshipped (Paus. 2. 18. 3).

² It is possible that the oracular oak of Dodona was itself a mistletoe-bearing tree. The wind that stirred the foliage was thought to sound most loudly in a mistletoe-bearing oak. For in *Il.* 14. 398 f. οὗτ' ἄνεμος τόσσον γε περὶ δρυσὶν ὑψιμόμοισιν | ἥπνυι, ὅς τε μάλιστα μέγα βρέμεται χαλεπαίνων Ἀγαθόκλης read δρυσὶν ἰξοφόροις (*ap.* Eust. 994, 41).

The famous *sortes Praenestinae* were graven in archaic characters on tablets of oak (Cic. *de div.* 2. 85), on which Wagler observes (*Die Eiche in alter u. neuer Zeit* ii. 35): 'That these oracular lots were of oak wood can hardly be due to accident. The same prophetic power, that clung to the Zeus-tree at Dodona, resided also in the Jupiter-oaks of Rome. The wood of which these *sortes* were made must have come from a Jupiter-oak of this kind.' Fortuna Primigenia was also worshipped as 'vicina Tonanti' (Dessau 3696) on the Capitol at Rome (Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 10), where in ancient days had stood the sacred oak of Jupiter Fereetrius (Liv. 1. 10. 5). When, therefore, we hear that there was on the Capitol a shrine of Fortuna Viscata (Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 74, *de fort. Rom.* 10), we are disposed to believe that 'Viscata' had not merely, as Plutarch thought, the metaphorical sense of 'alluring,' but denoted the literal mistletoe that grew on a sacred oak. The 'rota Fortunae' again (for texts see Grimm *D. M.*⁴ ii. 722 ff.; for monuments, Roscher *Lex.* i. 1506, 51 ff.) was no metaphor, but an actual cult-utensil, probably a wooden wheel hung up in the temple and consulted as oracular, being made to revolve by means of a rope (hence the rope in Hor. *od.* 3. 10. 10). Under this name and in this form it survived into the middle ages and has been used here and there within living memory. The 'wheel of Fortune' was indeed a common sight in mediaeval churches, where it was made of wood, hung up to the roof, worked with a rope, and regarded as an infallible oracle (Gaidoz in *Rev. Archéol.* 1884 ii. 142 ff.). Moreover, the superstitious practices of the peasantry furnish conclusive proof that it was originally a solar wheel used in the oak-cult. For at Douai on the third Sunday in June, *i.e.* about Midsummer Day, a large wheel called the *roue de fortune* was carried in procession before a wicker-work giant known as *le grand Gayant* and other figures called *les enfants de Gayant* (*ib.* 1884 ii. 32 ff.). These wicker giants were certainly the Druid divinities, whose colossal images of wicker-work are described by Caes. *b. G.* 6. 16. In other words, they belonged to a solar cult, which involved the worship of the mistletoe-bearing oak (Frazer *G. B.*² iii. 319 ff.).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

HILL'S COINS OF ANCIENT SICILY.

Coins of Ancient Sicily. By G. F. HILL, M.A. Westminster (Constable and Co.), 1903. Pp. xvi. + 256, with sixteen collotype plates of coins, eighty illustrations in the text, and a map. 21s. net.

ALL students of the history of ancient Sicily will welcome this as a convenient and thoroughly reliable guide to its coinage. The numismatic facts are marshalled with skill and fullness of knowledge, and, in setting them forth, both the historical and the artistic interest are kept carefully in view. The volume does not profess to contain much that is novel, but it contains a great deal that up till now could only be found in the pages of more or less inaccessible monographs. The introductory sketch suffers somewhat from the necessity for extreme compression. On the other hand, a mere synoptic table of events and dates might have proved too thorny a hedge for the general reader. Not the least important feature of the book is the beautiful set of collotype plates. The coins have been selected and arranged with singular judgment, while the execution does credit to the Clarendon Press; the whole is worthy to stand beside that with which it inevitably challenges comparison — the well-known series of eight, appended to the third volume of Holm's *Geschichte Siciliens*. A select bibliography and full indexes add to the value of the work. The type is luxurious, and the cuts in the text show to great advantage. But it is a pity that the book is not lighter to hold in the hand.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

DUEMMLER'S KLEINE SCHRIFTEN.

Kleine Schriften. Von FERDINAND DUEMMLER. III. Archaeologische Aufsätze. Leipzig. Hirzel. 1901. 12 mk.

THE essays in this volume are of very varying interest, and some of them seem hardly worth reprinting. The first, *Marmorstatue in Beirut*, is well enough for a summary notice, but with time (it was published in 1885) might well have been combined with the other remains of Hellenistic art from that neighbourhood. *De Figuris Plasticis Quibusdam Tarenti Repertis* is out of date now, since the discovery of the votive tablets to the Dioscuri has added so much to our knowledge. Duemmler himself, as the editor

points out in a note, saw reason to modify some of his views. Several pieces relate to the criticism or interpretation of vases: with much ingenuity (*e.g.* in his interpretation of an Eleusinian scene) the author is apt to be rash. Because the word *ἱκρία* is used of the 'boards' of the old theatre, 'der Thespis Karren war eben ein Carrus navalis, ἱκρία musste dann natürlich die ganzen scenischen Gerüste, nicht nur die Zuschauerbänke bezeichnet haben.' So in the fish-like eyes of an archaic vase he reads volumes: 'die Augen sollen in Scene I Verlangen und Hoffnung, in Scene II Wonne und Befriedigung ausdrücken.' The best papers in the book are those which describe what the author saw in the Cyclades and Cyprus and other islands, the antiquities from the tombs that is: here the numerous figures are useful. He comes to the conclusion that one race originally inhabited these islands, the Leleges, who were afterwards made serfs by the Carians. Amongst other topics he discusses the origin of Mycenaean culture: this he places directly after the savages, and before the Dipylon period; but the Mycenaeans were not the same as the Achaeans (as is shown *e.g.* by their death-customs), the latter race being represented by the people of Homer.

W. H. D. R.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Orchomenos.—The finds belonging to the Mycenaean Period include remarkable fragments of wall-paintings, which must once have adorned the palace. Noteworthy is a pattern of wavy lines in bright colours with black and white rosettes interspersed. One painting apparently represents a procession going round a temple, another two leapers, very similar to those found in Crete. So strong indeed is the stylistic resemblance between these wall-paintings and those of Knossos that Prof. Furtwängler is convinced that the paintings at Orchomenos must be the work of Cretan artists. Especially interesting is a large cup which has on the front an inscription in Cretan linear writing similar to that found on clay tablets in Crete. This cup must certainly have been imported from Crete. The various vases found in the Mycenaean stratum at Orchomenos exactly correspond to those discovered at Mycenae. Bronze objects have come to light, but there is no trace of iron.

The pre-Mycenaean Orchomenos, the home of the Minyae, has also yielded important objects. The Minyan civilization has most affinity with that of Northern Greece as illustrated by the discoveries of Tsuntas at Volo. We find similar monochrome vases, obsidian knives, implements of bone, and a scanty use of bronze—in fact the Neolithic stage of culture.

Below the Mycenaean stratum a succession of settlements rested one over the other; in some places there were as many as seven to nine layers, the oldest going back to about 3000 B.C. In many instances a collection of ashes rested between strata. For the Minyan and Mycenaean Periods there is no trace of a city wall.

The two most striking features of the Minyan stone-age culture are the mode of burial and the circular form of the dwelling-houses. The dead were buried within the houses—[For this custom cf. Rohde *Psyche*³ I p. 228]—in the peculiar doubled-up position. This mode of burial prevailed in Mid-Europe at the end of the stone age.¹

Crete.—At Knossos an examination of the Northern extremity of the paved court to the N.W. of the palace has led to the discovery of a double flight of steps with a square platform between them. Similar steps have been discovered at Phaestos, and in both cases their situation makes it probable that they served as seats for the viewing of spectacles such as boxing-matches, etc. A district of the town to the N.E. of the Palace has been excavated and a fine house in a good state of preservation discovered. The walls of this house are for the most part formed of coloured bricks.

The excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission are said to have been extremely successful. It appears that quite a considerable settlement existed at Haghia Triada, not merely a country-house. Among objects found are remains of wall-paintings, bronzes, tablets with Mycenaean writing, and 19 large 'talents' of copper. The latest discoveries include a Mycenaean grave containing gold ornaments, an Egyptian signet with the name of Queen Tii, wife of Amenophis III (1450 B.C.), upon it, and a painted sarcophagus said to date from about 2500 B.C.²

ITALY.

Pompeii.—During November, 1902, the waterworks near the porta Vesuviana were cleared. A square-shaped building was

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* Sept. 12th and 19th, 1903.

² *Ibid.* Aug. 29th, 1903.

found, externally in a good state of preservation, but internally despoiled of all metal and objects of value. The general arrangement of the building recalls the description given by Vitruvius (8. 7. 1.) of a *castellum* for the distribution of water in a city. The purpose of the place is further attested by the presence of rough wall-paintings, depicting a river-god and three nymphs.³

Leporano (Apulia).—At this place (about 10 miles from Tarentum) some early tombs were discovered during agricultural operations in September, 1899. One tomb contained a number of vase fragments which have since been put together. In all, there are eight *kylikes* and one *lekane*. One black-figured *kylix* has round it, on a level with the handles, a band of figures. A seated man is receiving a crown from a winged female. Warriors, female figures, and mounted ephebi also appear in the zone, which is filled up with a series of pseudo-inscriptions. White is used for the flesh of the female figures and purple for parts of the clothing and hair. The vase belongs to the *Kleinmeister* group (second half of the sixth century B.C.) and is signed ΣΑΚΟΝΙΔΕΣ ΕΛΔΑΦΣΕΝ. Cf. Klein, *Vas. mit Meistersign.*² p. 85. The potter's name is very faint, but apparently reads Καῦλος ἐποίησεν. Another *kylix* is signed on both sides ΟΔΑΙΧΣ ΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ; the design represents a quadriga with charioteer and armed warrior. On the other *kylikes* appear animals, a Siren, two ephebi racing, and a design of Herakles, Nessos, and Deianeira.³

Palestrina.—A large mosaic in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, which had previously been excavated partially, has now been further uncovered. Nine fragments of very elegant workmanship have been found, and on them are represented various fishes swimming in the sea. The mosaic probably belongs to the time of Hadrian. The whole may very likely have represented the port of Alexandria with its famous Pharos.

A fragmentary inscription found at Praeneste reads

D'MAG'COIR
CTATORISALT
DICETR

It is suggested that it refers to the dictator Sulla. The form of the letters would point to a date early in the first century B.C.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARIES.

Annual of the British School at Athens.
No. viii. 1901-02.

1. A. J. Evans: Excavations at Knossos, 1902. (Three plates; 74 cuts.)

The campaign of 1902, which lasted from February to June, was chiefly occupied with clearing the remainder of the eastern slope of the Palace, which from the pottery found at different levels was shewn to cover the early and middle Minoan periods. Supplementary discoveries were also made in the northern regions of the Palace.

Further investigation round the Room of the Oil-Press shewed that all that part was devoted to the manufacture and storage of oil; large pithoi for holding that commodity were found, with a new form of decoration imitating rope work and studs of metal.

North of the basement area another chamber was opened which contained enamelled plaques from a porcelain mosaic of native work, apparently set in a framework of wood and forming a λάβραξ. Many represent houses and other buildings with façades of two or three stories, doors, and windows coloured red, perhaps to indicate parchment. They reproduce buildings of wood and plaster construction, and correspond with, but are not copied from, early Egyptian architecture.

Below the Palace basements in the olive-press area were chambers with a complete system of stratification, down to Neolithic pottery; the finds included fine and varied specimens of Kamaraes ware, a vase of porcelain and gold, and a clay bowl with a gold spray on it. In another early chamber were painted terracotta columns with doves, from a shrine; an early example of pillar-cult.

The exploration of the East-West Corridors was completed, and among the finds was a large hoard of inscribed tablets indicating the use of a decimal system of arithmetic; also a gold pendant in the form of a duck.

Extensive operations in the domestic part of the Palace yielded very interesting results. The Queen's Megaron was shewn to have been restored and re-occupied in the mature Mycenaean period, and on its north wall was brought to light a fresco of a lady dancing; an adjoining chamber contained a portable bath of terracotta, and a private staircase was found leading to the *thalamos* above. A curious mark on most of the blocks in this quarter (a forked distaff) seems to be indicative of the female quarter, or perhaps an emblem of a female deity.

In a secluded room, apparently a treasure-chamber, were found a gold heart-shaped pendant, parts of a bronze casket, and a remarkable series of ivory figures of youths leaping, of marvellous freedom and naturalism. The fresco of the girl-toreador is now completely restored. In a back room of the domestic quarter important discoveries of sealings were made: the subjects were groups of warriors, daemons, animals, etc. South of the quarter were found small closets with thick-plastered walls, containing pottery of the late Minoan period with beautiful floral designs, also some 'flat candlesticks.'

One of the most remarkable features of the excavations was the laying bare of a most elaborate and advanced system of drainage and sanitary contrivances hardly equalled in modern times.

In various parts of the palace interesting finds were made. In the Court of the Sanctuary, a shrine of double axes, with horns of consecration

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Jan. 1903.

⁴ *Ibid.* Feb. 1903.

and painted terracotta figures of divinities and votaries. In the basement on the south-east, two cups with inscriptions painted in dark brown ink, in a sort of cursive linear script. In the store-rooms of the earlier palace, pottery of a very fine fabric like egg-shell china, with bright colours, imitating metal work. It belongs to the best Minoan period, and the geometrical decoration is influenced by Egypt. Two imports from Egypt are particularly noteworthy for their early date: a fragment of a diorite bowl, and a bowl of liparite (a kind of obsidian unknown in the Aegean), both apparently of the Fourth Dynasty (about 4000-3500 B.C.).

2. R. S. Conway: Pre-Hellenic Inscriptions of Praesos. (Two cuts.)

Gives text of a *Nómos* with transliteration and notes on alphabet; also other fragments throwing light on language of Praesos, which seems to be Indo-European. Also an interesting note on the *-thos* termination.

3. H. R. Hall: Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea. (Fifteen cuts.)

Keftiu explained as 'Hinterland' people; not Phoenician, but more like Cretans. The Peoples of the Sea un-Semitic, and apparently from Western Asia Minor.

4. F. W. Hasluck: Sculptures from Cyzicus. (Three plates.)

Publishes relief of sixth century, a cultus-statue of Kore Soteira (Hellenistic), a *stele*, and several fragments, including an Ionic volute with rosette in centre.

5. M. N. Tod: Some unpublished 'Catalogi Paterarum Argentearum.'

Seven examples in Athens Museum, probably from the Acropolis; interesting lists of trades and industries.

6. R. C. Bosanquet: Excavations at Praesos. I. (Six plates; 36 cuts.)

Tombs and houses excavated, extending from Mycenaean period to Hellenistic Age; finds of pottery, painted *larnakes*, gems, terracottas, and bronzes.

7. E. S. Forster: Praesos. The Terracottas. (Two plates; seven cuts.)

Finds chiefly of archaic period (seventh to fifth century), including a bust of a god modelled by hand, a series of lions, female figures of Cypriote type, and plaques with draped men carrying offerings.

8. R. C. Bosanquet: Excavations at Petras. (Five cuts.)

Finds of Kamaraes and Mycenaean wares.

9. R. C. Bosanquet: Excavations at Palaikastro I. (Six plates; 27 cuts.)

A strictly pre-Hellenic site, with pre-Mycenaean funeral deposits, Kamaraes ware, and Mycenaean

pottery. Painted larnakes found by Mr. Marshall in 1901 published and discussed.

Reports, lists, rules, etc.

- Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts**, xviii. (1903), Heft 2.

1. R. Engelmann: The Io-legend. (Plate; ten cuts.)

Shews that up to the time of the appearance of the *Prometheus Vincetus* Io was represented only as a cow (as on a vase at Naples); subsequently she is either a *Βούκερως παρθένος* (cf. *Suppl.* 569 and *Bacchyl.* v. 16, 18) or a cow with horned female head (as on a vase at Boston of early Apulian fabric); the probable reason of the change was the necessity for her speaking on the stage. He gives a list of known representations of Io.

2. H. von Fritze: Greek sacrificial ritual. (13 cuts.)

Explains (with illustrations from gems and coins) the terms *ἀρεσθαι* and *καταστρέφειν* in connection with the sacrifice of oxen. For Olympian deities the animal was suspended (*ἀρεσθαι*); for Chthonian, it was pressed down on the ground (*καταστρέφειν*) as in the well known Nike types.

3. H. Schöne: Statue of a Roman charioteer in the Vatican. (Two cuts.)

Quotes passages from medical writers to shew that the *fasciae* worn by Roman charioteers were to prevent injury to the ribs.

Anzeiger.—Obituary notices of F. Hettner and M. Fränkel. Finds in 1902 (Greece, Egypt, Russia, North Africa, etc.); work of Limes commission. Work of Archaeological Institute; proceedings of the Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, and other bodies. Bibliography.

- American Journal of Archaeology**. 2nd Ser. Vol. vii (1903), part 2.

1. S. O. Dickerman: Two archaic inscriptions. (Four plates.)

One from Corinth, the other from Cleonae with peculiar local alphabet, under influence of Argos.

2. F. W. Shipley: Certain sources of corruption in Latin MSS. II.

Discusses errors of omission, confusion of letters or words, mistakes in numeral signs and abbreviations, and corrections of the *Codex Puteanus* of Livy.

3. G. F. Moore: Baetylia.

Argues that *βαίτυλοι* were *λίθοι ψευδοί* with the power of motion (e.g. the stone swallowed by Kronos); the application of the word to holy cones or pillars was a late and incorrect idea, owing to confusion with Beth-el.

Bibliography and summaries of archaeological discussions.

H. B. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

- American Journal of Philology**. Vol. xxiv. No. 1. 1903.

Limitation of Time by Means of Cases in Epic Sanskrit, E. Washburn Hopkins. *The Order of Conditional Thought* (I), H. C. Nulting. *The I.E. Root Selo-*, Francis A. Wood. *Latin Etymologies*, Edwin W. Fay. Reviews: *Wissowa's*

- Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Grant Showerman). Reports, Brief Mention, etc.

- No. 2. 1903.

Unpublished Letters of Wilhelm Müller, James Taft Hatfield. *The Order of Conditional Thought* (II), H. C. Nulting. *The Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin*, Arthur Leslie Wheeler. *The Vocative in*

Homer and Hesiod, John Adams Scott. *The Vocations in Apollonios*, Basil L. Gildersleeve and C. W. E. Miller. Reviews: *Sidgwick's Eumenides of Aeschylus* (Edward Fitch), *Gardner's Ancient Athens* (Grant Showerman), etc. Reports, Brief Mention on the *Persians of Timotheus* (a text and annotations by the Editor). Necrology.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 27, 3. 1903.

P. Foucart, *Athènes et Thasos à la fin du V^e Siècle*. On two inscriptions of Thasos referring to the banishment of certain Thasians for friendship to Athens. P. Foucart, *Πρωτόχροπος*. Maintains the correctness of this word as the title of two Middle comedies. L. Havet, *Cicero*, Imp. Pomp. Critical notes. M. L. Earle, *De Hor. Serm.* i. 1. On ll. 108 foll. W. Vollgraff, *Notes sur la fin et les conséquences de la guerre étolienne*. I. La bonne foi de Tite Live. II. A quelle époque Héraclée est-elle sortie de la ligue étolienne. I. The patriotic partiality of Livy sometimes makes him forget his duty as a historian. II. Heraclaea formed part of the Aetolian league after 184 B.C. It left it in 189. It returned to it again soon after, and this was due to the revival at Rome of opinion hostile to Macedonia in 185. P. Tannery, *Cassiodore*, *Variarum*, III. 52.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xi, 4. 1903.

C. Ritter, *Die Sprachstatistik in Anwendung auf Platon und Goethe*. Considers how far chronological conclusions may be drawn for the writings of Plato and Goethe from the statistics of their language. H. Boehmer-Romundt, *Ein neues Werk des Wulfila?* Concludes that the missive 'of the Church of God of Gotia to the Church of God in Cappadocia' on the martyrdom of St. Sabas is a genuine work of Bishop Ulfilas and, as such, of great value. H. Schwarz, *Lindners Geschichtsphilosophie*. H. Lamer, *Pergamon 1900-1901*. Describes the work at Pergamon after the reports of the German archaeological institute at Athens.

Part 5. C. Ritter, *Die Sprachstatistik in Anwendung auf Platon und Goethe* (concluded). Justifies the use of the statistical method in determining the chronology of writings by the results of applying it to modern authors, the chronological order of whose writings is known. J. Tolckehn, *Ovids Liebeskunst*. Shows in the third book a number of hasty and superficial transitions. Many unevennesses can be smoothed by transposition. L. Schmidt, *Die Ursachen der Völkerwanderung*. H. Lamer, Report of the *Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* at Rome in April. C. Fries, reviews Meissner's *Babylonische Bestandteile in modernen Sagen und Gebräuchen*. J. Ilberg criticizes C. Cichorius on the Phælus-poem of Catullus whose view is that the lake in which the yacht rests is not Benacus but the lake Apollonia in Bithynia, and that the owner of the yacht was not Catullus but Serenus who is named in the Berne scholia to Verg. Georg. iv. 289.

Part 6. K. Tittel, *Der Palast zu Knossos*. On the discoveries of Evans in Crete. An enquiry is made into the origin of Cretan culture. Its home lies in the East and next in Asia Minor. A Babylonian seal-cylinder, recently discovered, proves a direct intercourse between Crete and Mesopotamia. H. Lattmann, *Die Bedeutung der Modi im Griechischen und Lateinischen*. The question of the original meaning of the moods cannot be decided by Sanscrit. The root-meaning of the conjunctive is the potential out of which the imperative developed itself, that of the optative is the imaginative (*modus fictivus*). M. Schneidewin, *Zur homerischen Psychologie*. On (1) τ 479, (2) β 269 and σ 163, (3) σ 167 foll.

Part 7. B. Wolff-Beckh, *Kaiser Titus und der Jüdische Krieg*, with an addition by P. J. Möbius. The rule of Titus is subjected to unfavourable criticism. The change in his life after his accession is perhaps to be attributed to an illness whose nature is unknown to us. Different conjectures are made as to the one deed of which we know Titus repented. E. Ziebarth, *Die Nachfolger des Cyriacus von Ancona*. The collections of Johannes Marcanova, Felix Felicianus, Timotheus Balbanus, and others are mentioned and biographical notices given. The painter Mantegna belonged to that circle of epigrammatists. In Mantegna's frescoes at Padua some ancient inscriptions are verbally copied. The last epigrammatist of that century was Jucundus Veronensis. B. A. Fritzsche reviews Natorp's *Platons Ideenlehre*.

Part 8. A. Körte, *Hermann Reichs Mimus*. A favourable review of the first vol. of Reich's book, which is the most important work on ancient literature since Norden's *Geschichte der antiken Kunstprosa*. J. Gelfken, *Ein französisches Buch über den Kirchenvater Laktanz*. A review of Pichon's *Lactance*. It is in three parts, *Lactance philosophe chrétien*, *Lactance écrivain classique*, and *Lactance historien et pamphlétaire politique*. The first part is much inferior to the other two.

Part 9. B. Schmidt, *Der Selbstmord der Greise von Keos*. *Ein Kulturgeschichtliches Problem*. Gives instances of the custom of suicide among the inhabitants of this island, usually by a draught of hemlock. It was still in vogue in the second cent. A.D. W. Nestle reviews Stickney's *Les sentences dans la poésie grecque d'Homère à Euripide*.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 58, 2. 1903.

H. Usener, *Dreihheit* (continued). Gives examples of duality and of trinity in the theology of the ancients. H. Rabe, *Hermogenes-Handschriften*. M. (Monac. 327) keeps its eminent position among the codd. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaiserergeschichte*. On the two inscriptions of Timesitheus who governed the empire for the boy Gordian. H. Nissen, *Die Erdmessung des Eratosthenes*. Points out the errors of Eratosthenes. His was a first attempt and necessarily imperfect. The weakest side is the astronomical. The whole problem was much advanced by the labours of Hipparchus. E. Diehl, *Der Timaiosrest des Proklus*. A. v. Mess, *Zur Positionsdehnung vor Mula cum Liquida bei den attischen Dichtern*. A statistical article with special reference to the Tragedians and Kopp's article (in Rh. Mus. 1886) on the *positio debilis* and *correctio Attica* in iambic trimeters. K. Radinger, *Zur griechischen Anthologie*. Critical notes on (1) Leonidas of Alexandria, (2) Marcianus 481, the autographon of Planudes. G. Crönert, *De Palaeophati codice Harrisiano*. L. Radermacher, *Φοβος*. In Plut. de Alex. Magn. fort. aut virt. 343 E suggests *φόσμα φόβου* for *φόσμα φοίβου*. L. Radermacher, *Taciti hist.* I. 40. Shows a sentence taken from Xen. Ages. II. 82. A Zimmermann, *Zur Etymologie von Mavors*. F. Buecheler, *Artisten-Wörter*. On the interpretation of the difficult Latin inser. Corpus V. 2787.

Part 3. H. Usener, *Dreihheit* (concluded). Sums up results. Trinity arose out of duality or unity. Agrees with H. Diehls in thinking that the typical value of the number three lay in its being 'the original end-number of primitive mankind.' P. v. Win erfeld, *Die Handschriften des Eugippius und der rhythmische Satzschluss*. Whenever we can test the codd. by rhythmical endings of sentences we are un-

able to give the preference to one class of codd. over the other. Both classes have their errors and caprices. The truth lies in the middle, only an eclectic criticism, taking the good where it finds it, can reach the goal. H. Bornecque, *Wie soll man die Metrischen Klauseln studiren?* Gives three tests for finding what clauses in any particular work are metrical and concludes that clauses are metrical where the writer chooses those words or groups of words that have definite feet and excludes others. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaiser Geschichte*. On piracy in the Mediterranean under Severus Alexander. P. Jahn, *Die Quellen und Muster des ersten Buchs der Georgica Vergils*. Shows how V. has used his literary models, up to l. 350. Aug. Heisenberg, *Eustathios*. On the Byzantine romance Hysmine and Hysminias composed by Eustathios in the second half of the 12th cent. F. Teichmüller, *Grundgedanke und Disposition von Hor. Sat. I. 1*. After considering ll. 28-40 and examining the theories of various critics, maintains the unity in conception of the satire. F. Buecheler, *Ueber Alkiphron*. Critical notes. F. Jacobi, *Sosiphanes*. There were two tragedians of this name. The elder 357-313 / 2 B.C.; The younger born 306 / 5. F. Jacobi, *Die Beisetzungen Alexanders der Grossen*. W. Heraeus, *Sprachliches aus den Pseudocronischen Horaszscholien*. K. Lohmeyer, *Eine Uebersetzung der Briefe des jüngeren Plinius in Verona*. V. Szelinski, *Zu den Sprichwörtern der Römer*. E. Ritterling, *Zur Geschichte der leg. II Traiana unter Traian*. On the inser. from Sidon C. III. 151.

Hermes. Vol. 38, 2. 1903.

J. L. Heiberg, *Paralipomena zu Euklid* (continued). Continues the examination of the manuscripts of Theon. O. Schroeder, *Die enopliischen Strophen Pindars*. Distinguishes the anaklastic form of the difficult and of the easy Ionic measure. The di-iambus and the di-trochee in enoplic Ionics arose from a refined employment of the freedom of Ionic measure in the first or second limb of the enoplic dimetra. P. Jahn, *Eine Prosaquelle Vergils und ihre Umsetzung in Poesie durch den Dichter*. Finds places in Theophrastus that are translated almost word for word by Vergil. For half of the second Georgic V. has used one single source so closely that he has almost confined himself to transposing the prose expression into the poetical. P. Wolters, *ΕΛΛΗΦΟΤΙΚΟΣ*. Considers, in opposition to Dittenberger, that the person of this name in Lysias (13. 19) was so called from being tattooed, which was a Thracian custom. W. Schmidt, *Zu Herons Automatentheater*. Does not agree with Olivier that this invention of Heron was not for use but only for theory. H. Schoene, *Zwei Listen chirurgischer Instrumente*. One in Greek from Laur. gr. 74, 2: the other in Latin from Paris. lat. 12119. A. Engelmann, *Über die Handschriften der Silven des Statius*. Maintains, against Vollmer, his opinion that the Matritensis comes from a cod. of the fifteenth century. M. Wellmann, *Zu Galens Schrift περί κράσεως και δυνάμεως των απλών φαρμάκων*. Maintains that the copier of the parallel traditional text of Galen used a pharmacological compilation in which the text of Galen was worked up with those of Dioscorides and Crateuas. F. Leo, *Coniectanea*. W. Dittenberger, *Zu Plutarch*. On *an virtus doceri possit* p. 440 b. J. Schoene, *Zum Corpus der plutarchischen Biot.* J. Schoene, *Zu Ciceros Briefen*. On Jan. v. 5. M. Manitius, *Handschriftliches zu Ciceros Orationes Philippicae*. J. Mesk, *Die syrische Paralos*. On Xenophon of Ephesus iii. 12. 1.

Part 3. J. L. Heiberg, *Paralipomena zu Euklid* (concluded). It is a noteworthy fact that in the tenth century an Italian had a Greek Euclid and used his small knowledge of Greek to translate a geometry unintelligible to him. W. Crönert, *Die Uebersetzung des Index Academicorum*. From the Herculaniensis Roll No. 1021 with especial reference to Mekler's Academ. philosophorum Index Herculaniensis. A. Nikitzky, *ΑΝΕΠΙΒΑΣΙΑ*. On the meaning of this word in the Troezenian inser. Fränkel C.I.G. Pel. i. 752. The writer follows Bernays in taking it to mean 'abolition.' D. Muelder, *Das Kyklopediegedicht der Odyssee*. An elaborate study. The writer gives what he calls the 'old poem' in 140 lines, contracted from ll. 231-490 of the present text. Th. Thalheim, *zu Iaiios*. Critical notes. A. Klotz, *Die Uebersetzung der Silven des Statius*. Against Engelmann who maintains that the notes of Politian in the exemplar Corsinianum follow a tradition independent of M (Matritensis) in which Cod. Klotz recognizes the single source of the text. What Politian had before him was not a predecessor of Matritensis, and he was in error when he held his cod. to be that sent by Poggio to Italy.

Part 4. A. Reuter, *Beobachtungen zur Technik des Antiphon*. On (1) the structure of the speeches, (2) the elements of the pleading. L. Cohn, *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte und Kritik der Philonischen Schriften*. M. Wellmann, *Demosthenes περί ὀφθαλμῶν*. A comparison of passages from Ps.-Gal. *ιατρός*, Aetius of Amida *βιβλία ιατρικά*, Anon. *περί ὀφθαλμῶν*, and the fragments of the lost Latin transl. of Demosthenes in Simon of Genoa. P. Stengel, *Βοὺς ἑβδομος*. Brings together the various evidence relating to the origin of this proverbial saying. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Apollon*. Connects Apollo in Homer specially with Lycia without fixing definitely the place or the people. A. Schlemm, *Über die Quellen der Plutarchischen Schrift περί ἀοργησίας*. Concludes that on the whole Plutarch has drawn from Stoic sources, in some parts from other sources, while much is his own addition. Whether he has borrowed directly from Chrysippus must remain undecided. E. Bethe, *Die Quellenangaben zu Parthenios und Antoninos Liberalis*. Combats the view of Hercher, hitherto accepted, that these small collections were added as marginal scholia by some grammarian of the third cent. A.D. to both the texts, but offers no decided opinion of his own. U. Wilcken, *Zur Entstehung des Monumentum Ancyranum*. Keeps to the old opinion that the first sketch of the three parts was made at the same time, but the particular year cannot be ascertained. C. Robert, *Zu Aischylos Orestie*. On Choeph. 639 foll., 1015 foll., and Eum. 1021 foll. M. Holleaux, *De Prytanum Rhodiorum Numero*. The credit of the discovery that these were five in number belongs to Hiller von Gaertringen, not to Selivanov, who hit upon this number by chance and confounded the *πρυτάνεις* with the *ἄρχωνται*.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. 13, 2. 1903.

W. Heraeus, *Die Sprache der römischen Kinderstube*. Treats of the names for parents and other relatives, food and drink, and other needs of children. E. v. Wölflin, *Das Breviarium des Festus*. II. E. v. Wölflin, *Columella*. On the meaning of *dentes columellares* which are properly 'column'-teeth, what we call eye-teeth. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften*. II. E. v. Wölflin, *Memoratu Dignus*. This phrase first occurs in Livy

for the older *memoria dignus*. J. Cornu, *Zum Hepta-teuchos Cypriani*. E. v. Wölflin, *Sueton und das Monumentum Ancyranum*. On Suetonius' imitation of the Mon. Anc. which Clason has doubted. A. Becker, *Concorporalis*. Gives an ex. from Ps.-Quint. of the substantival use of this word to add to the two exx. from Amm. Marc. given in Georges' dictionary. E. Nestle, *Aratiuncula*. O. Hey, *Ein Kapitel aus der lateinischen Bedeutungs-geschichte*. On change of meaning in words through the influence of language. A. Zimmermann, *Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis*. An alphabetical list of these names. A. Zimmermann, *Albarus*. C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. An addition to the late M. Sutherland's 'Collection of Latin proverbs supplementing Otto's Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten.' E. v. Wölflin, *Der Infinitivus historicus im Relativsatz*. In Tac-Gerin. 7 unde *feminarum ululatus audiri*, the infin. may be considered as historical. T. is imitating Aen. vi. 557. E. v. Wölflin, *Der Gebrauch des Ablativus absolutus*. Deals with the different uses of the abl. abs. E. Nestle, *Actia*. Erratio. W. M. Lindsay, *Summoenianus*. *Paeda*. On these words in Martial. *Paeda* should be read in i. 92. 8 where we usually find *braca* after a con. of Heinsius. P. Wessner, *Squilla, vulgo lota*. A. Miodoński, *Olim Oliorum*. In Petr. c. 43. G. Landgraf, *Eine Schablone des histor. Stils (ni . . . foret)*. H. Jordan, *Palabundus*. G. Landgraf, *Hypodromus, Epicastrorum*. A. Klotz, *Iubatus, Abolefacio*. A. Souter, *Assistentia, Tuitio*. J. Cornu, *Apud = cum*. O. Schlutter, *Indrutico, Rediviva*. W. Heraeus, *Ein eigentl. Gebrauch der Präposition cum*. Defends *cum in cum M. Titinio primum* etc. (Liv. 43, 2).

Part 3. G. Funaioli, *Der Lokativ und seine Auflösung*. An exhaustive study of the locative in its various forms and uses, with and without prepositions. K. Mayhoff, *Accessus febrim bei Plinius*. In Plin. N. H. 23, 46 we should read *a decessu febrim* not *accessu* f. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften*. III. O. B. Schlutter, *Stimulus*. In Serv. Aen. 8, 138 *stimulus* = "stake." C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (concluded). H. Meltzer, *Cyprianus, Kopianus*. Shows that in the fourth century A.D. C was still pronounced hard before y. H. Schuchardt, *Curva = meretrix*. E. v. Wölflin, *Die Adiectiva relativa*. E. v. Wölflin, *Lucania*. E. Nestle, *Anaboliadum*. A. Zimmermann, *Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis* (continued). E. Nestle, *Armona mons*. J. E. Church, iun., *Sepultura = sepulcrum*. A. Miodoński, *Sileo verbum facere*. In B. Hisp. 3. 7 *ut sileat verbum facere* there is nothing to alter. W. Heraeus, *Sprachliches aus Märtyrerakten*. P. Maas, *Prooedisches zu conubium*. Maintains that in the Augustan poets the u is always long. K. Mayhoff, *Que an Präpositionen angehängt*. E. Nestle, *Adlas, Actio*. E. W. Fay, *Lateinisch cena, cersna*. E. v. Wölflin, *Eine adjectivus des Hieronymus. Enervis und der Redner Calvus*. *Minus = non*. This interpretation does away with the supposed difficulty in Catull. 62. 58.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 31, 3. 1903.

H. van Herwerden, *Novae curae Euripidae*. Critical notes with reference to Wecklein's edition. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Sull. 5. S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem* (continued). On the de Corona and Falsa Legatio. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Sull. 34 and Cimon 16. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea* (continued). Critical notes. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Theseus 6. J. van

Leeuwen J. f., *Ad Timothei Persarum carminis lyrici fragmentum nuper repertum*. Critical notes.

Part 4. J. H. Leopold, *Ad Marci Antonini Commentarios*. Critical notes with reference to Stich's edition. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. On Solon. 30. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea* (continued). Critical notes. S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem* (continued). On Leptines, Midias, Androton, Aristocrates, Timocrates, Aristogiton A, Aristogiton B, etc. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Aristophanis Equitum* vs. 526. Read *παῖθον* for *πεύσας*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

1 July. *Claudii Ptolemaei opera*. Vol. I. *Syntaxis mathematica*, ed. J. L. Heiberg. Pars II., libr. vii-xiii (S. Günther), very favourable. G. Peiser, *De invectivis, quae Sallustii et Ciceronis nominibus feruntur* (K. Löschhorn). 'Interesting.' *Persii Satirae*, ed. G. Némethy (R. Helm), favourable. K. Dieterich, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen und neu-griechischen Litteratur* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

8 July. *Greek papyri from the Cairo Museum together with papyri of Roman Egypt from American collections*, by E. J. Goodspeed (W. Crönert). H. Krakert, *Herodas in mimiambris quatenus comoediam graecam respexisse videtur* (G. Wöpel), unfavourable. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Problems in Greek Syntax* (W. Vollbrecht). 'Much to be recommended.' V. de Crescenzo, *Studi su i fonti dell' Eneide* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Erzbischöfens Patras* (J. Dräsehe). Ch. André, *Le latin et le problème de la langue internationale* (O. Weissenfels).

15 July. E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Litteratur* (M. Schneidewin), favourable. C. Pascal, *L'imitazione di Empedocle nelle metamorfosi di Ovidio* (H. W.), unfavourable. J. Bäumer, *De Posidonio, Megasthene, Apollodoro, M. Annaei Lucani auctoribus* (R. Helm), very favourable.

22 July. *Äschylos, Die Schutzfliehenden*, von N. Wecklein (R. Peppmüller), very favourable. E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* (J. Sitzler). 'Has brought forward nothing of value to forward the study of Theognis.' B. Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* (K. Regling), favourable. H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*. II. 2 (D. Detlefsen). 'An indispensable book for specialists.' G. Ferrara, *Ops Turriqera* (H. W.). 'Worthy of consideration.' C. Pascal, *Osservazioni sul primo libro di Lucretio* (J. Tolkiehn). B. Romano, *La critica letteraria in Aulo Gellio* (O. Froehde), favourable. F. von Oefele, *Keilschrift-medizin in Parallelen* (L. Messerschmidt), favourable.

29 July. *Äschylos Sieben gegen Theben*, von N. Wecklein (O. Weissenfels), favourable. *Euripides' Hippolyt*, herausg. von O. Altenburg (K. Busche). 'To be used with caution.' R. C. Flickinger, *The meaning of ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ in writers of the fourth century* (A. Körte), favourable. W. A. Eckels, *ᾠστε as an index of style in the orators* (J. Sitzler). J. Kaerst, *Die antike Idee der Oekumene* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. G. Hoelscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit* (H. Willrich), favourable. S. Schlittenbauer, *Die Tendenz von Ciceros Orator* (O. Weissenfels). F. Rohde, *Cicero quae de inventione praecepti quatenus secutus sit in orationibus generis iudicialis* (J. Tolkiehn). 'A useful contribution to the history of rhetoric.' R. Pichon, *De sermone anatorio apud Latinos elegiarum scriptores* (K. P. Schulze), favourable on the whole. G. Lumbruso, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (M. Manitius), favourable. *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und*

griechisch-römischen Altertumskunde. Festschrift zu O. Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstag (C. F.).

12 Aug. *Aristotles' Psychology*. Transl. with introd. and notes by W. A. Hammond (A. Döring). 'Shews great care and thoroughness.' C. Pascal, *Studi critici sul poema di Lucrezio* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. G. Goetz, *C. Maecenas* (W. Vollbrecht), favourable. E. Schulze, *Die römischen Grenzanlagen in Deutschland und das Limeskastell Saalburg* (A. Höck), favourable. E. Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen* (H. Stending). 'Deserves much consideration.' A. Puech, *Recherches sur le discours aux Grecs de Tatién, suivies d'une traduction française du discours avec notes* (J. Dräseke), favourable. H. Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrída* (F. Hirsch), favourable.

19 Aug. R. Hirzel, *Der Eid* (M. Zielinski), favourable. G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* (W. H. Koscher), very favourable. O. Wöhlerrmann, *In Sapphus carmen II quaestiones criticae* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. K. Hachtmann, *Die Akropolis von Athen im Zeitalter des Perikles* (A. Höck). 'Deserves recognition.' F. Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböa I. Bis zum peloponnesischen Kriege* (G. Lang). P. Reuter, *De Catonis de agri cultura libri vestigiis apud Graccos* (W. Gemoll), favourable.

2 Sept. *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*, rec. R. C. Seaton (Jessen), favourable. C. W. Peppler, *Comic terminations in Aristophanes and the comic fragments* (J. Sitzler), favourable. F. Knoke, *Gegenwärtiger Stand der Forschungen über die Römerkriege im nordwestlichen Deutschland* (Ed. Wolff). *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, post C. Tischendorf denuo edd. A. Lipsius et M. Bonnet. II. 2. *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae*, acc. *Acta Barnabae*, ed. M. Bonnet (R. Raabe), favourable. M. Birt, *Laicnurteil über bildende Kunst bei den Alten* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

9 Sept. *Sophocles, The Antigone*, abridged from Jebb's edition, by E. S. Shuckburgh. *Sophokles' Philoktetes*, erkl. von G. H. Müller, 2. aufl. von R. Hunziker (H. Steinberg), favourable. T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic literature* (C. F.), favourable. M. C. P. Schmidt, *Alphilologische Beiträge*. I. *Horaz-Studien* (O. Weissenfels). H. Kienzle,

Ovidius qua ratione compendium mythologicum ad metamorphoseis componendas adhibuerit (K. P. Schulze), 'A very careful study.'

16 Sept. K. Lehrs, *Kleine Schriften*, herausg. von A. Ludwich (H. Schenkl). V. Buzeskul, *Einleitung in die Geschichte Griechenlands* (J. V. Präšek), favourable on the whole. Chr. Blinkenberg et K. F. Kinch, *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes* (W. Larfeld), very favourable. C. Thulin, *De obliqua oratione apud Thucydidem* (S. Widmann), favourable. E. Knorr, *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticorum fontibus quaestiones selectae* (Jessen), favourable. L. Dittmeyer, *Untersuchungen über einige Handschriften und lateinische Übersetzungen der Aristotelischen Tiergeschichte* (K. Bitterauf), very favourable. W. Volkmann, *Die Nekyia im 6. Buche der Aeneide Vergils* (H. Winther).

23 Sept. *Homers Odyssee* erkl. von U. Faesi. I. (α—ζ): 9 ed. by A. Kaegi (P. Cauer). *Thucydides historiae*, rec. C. Hude, II. (libr. V—VIII) ed. min. (S. Widmann). I. M. J. Valetton, *Hierosolyma capta* (H. Drüner), favourable. J. Gaffiot, *Le subjonctif de répétition* (O. Weissenfels). 'A thorough and careful monograph.'

30 Sept. *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, coll. J. ab Arnim II. *Chrysippi fragmenta logica et physica* (Bonhöffer), favourable. W. Crönert, *Die Überlieferung des Index Academicorum* (H. Schenkl). 'A very weighty contribution.' *Philonis Alexandri opera*, edd. L. Cohn et P. Wendland. Vol. IV ed. L. Cohn (R. Asmus), very favourable. H. Belling, *Studien über die Liederbücher des Horatius* (P.). 'Lays every friend of Horace under an obligation.' K. Krumbacher, *Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

7 Oct. *Troja und Ilion*, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion 1870—1894 von W. Dörpfeld (A. Körte). 'A work of which German science may be proud.' F. Krause, *De Apollodoris comicis* (F. Jacoby), unfavourable. W. Brandes, *Beiträge zu Ausonius*. III. *Die Periochae Iliadis et Odysseae* (R. E. Ottmann). 'A worthy contribution.'

The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1903.

THE events of the last week of November included three of more than ordinary interest to friends of the Classics.

The Classical Association of England and Wales, to whose contemplated formation reference was made in our issue of June last, then entered upon its initial stage. The organizing Committee consisting of Principal Bodington, Professor R. S. Conway, Dr. Gow, Miss Penrose, Mr. A. Sidgwick, Professor Sonnenschein and the editor of this Review put out the prospectus together with a first list of about a hundred supporters; and by the end of the month the adhesions to the Association amounted to between two and three hundred. These have come from all parts of the country and represent every variety of interest in Classical Studies. It would be useless to analyze the list at the present stage, but it may be said that it includes the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge together with a large proportion of the Classical teachers at these centres. The Classical staff of the 'junior' Universities and Colleges and the Head Masters of the great public schools are almost unanimous in support of the project. We should add that copies of the prospectus with the first list of names may be obtained from Dr. J. P. Postgate, 54 Bateman Street, Cambridge, and that the preliminary meeting of the Association will be held at University College, Gower Street, London, on Saturday Dec. 19 at 3 p.m.

On the 26th of November the Senate of Cambridge assented to the re-opening of the 'Greek' or perhaps we should now rather say the 'Classical question.' That in the face of recent occurrences a demand for an inquiry would not be refused was almost a

foregone conclusion; but a minority of some 80 out of 250 votes was cast against the inquiry or its amplitude and one of some 90 out of the same total against the composition of the syndicate which was to conduct it.

The triennial performances of a Greek play at Cambridge fell in the same week. The drama chosen was the *Birds of Aristophanes* and Sir Hubert Parry's music, written for the performances of 1883, was revived. For the following brief appreciation we are indebted to a correspondent.

'The acting throughout was creditable. Mr. J. T. Sheppard, as *Peithetairos*, had caught the spirit of his part, with its difficult combination of wit and cleverness, subtle rhetoric and broad humour. Mr. F. C. S. Carey, the *Coryphaeus*, delivered the *Parabasis* with extraordinary effect, to the accompaniment of slow music, specially written for this performance. The chorus had been excellently trained; and the stage effects were beautiful. The spectator was left with a deep impression of the fantastic and lyrical atmosphere of the piece, and with a haunting uncertainty about its meaning. If meaning there be, it seemed to be rather religious than political. But perhaps *Peithetairos* took the religious side a little too seriously.'

The work which the newly formed *Cambridge Classical Society* and its devoted Secretary Mr. F. M. Cornford did to stimulate intelligent interest in the performances by arranging a series of three lectures upon the drama, delivered by Sir R. C. Jebb, Dr. Verrall and Mr. H. J. Edwards, deserves a word of recognition.

THE MEANING OF ὄμμα τέτραπται, EURIPIDES, HIPPOLYTUS 246.¹

VON WILAMOWITZ, in his edition of the *Hippolytus*, has the following note on ὄμμα τέτραπται: 'die gesichtsfarbe schlägt um, wie χρῶς τέτραπται bei Homer N 279, wohin der umschlag erfolgt, ist mit dem affect bezeichnet, dessen ausdruck die neue farbe ist, ἐπ' αἰσχύνην.' In my edition of the play I took exception to this interpretation, declaring that the words were rather to be taken literally 'my eye has turned to shame, i.e. I am now sensible of it (being blind before).' Compare the tense (perfect of present condition) with the preceding verbs (παρεπλάγχθη... ἐμάνην... αἰδούμεθα... βαίνει) and note the constant reference to consciousness and unconsciousness (παρεπλάγχθη γνῶμης ἀγαθῆς... ὀρθοῦσθαι γνῶμην... τὸ δὲ μαινόμενον... μὴ γινώσκοντα). The grief-stricken woman, who has fallen δαίμονος ἄτη, is not thinking, as the tears come to her eyes, of the change in colour, of the blushes that may cover her cheeks, but of the awakening to the terrible reality, as opposed to the illusions to which she has been subject. This awakening brings with it a sense of honour lost (αἰσχύνη)—τὸ δ' ἔργον ἥδη τὴν νόσον τε δυσκλεᾶ, she says in 404, and μήποτ' ἄνδρα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰσχύνασ' ἄλῶ (420). She wishes her children to live in glorious Athens μητρὸς εἵνεκ' εὐκλεεῖς (423). It is only the possession of a good conscience (γνῶμην δίκαιαν κἀγαθὴν) that makes life worth living (427). That the sinner is discovered soon or late she knows, and prays that 'the slowly moving finger of time' may never be pointed at her (παρ' οἷσι μήποτ' ὀφθείην ἐγώ, 430). Furthermore, it is certainly unnatural for Phaedra, especially in her present condition of mind, to make remarks on her own change of colour, however natural it might be for her to note the phenomenon in others. Observe particularly the comments of the nurse on the queen's frenzied utterances (223, 232), and her own self-commiseration, when her attendant wonders ὅστις σε θεῶν ἀνασειράζει | καὶ παρακόπτει φρένας, ὦ παῖ (237). At this juncture Phaedra comes to her senses and exclaims δύστηνος ἐγώ, τί ποτ' εἰργασάμην; and (later) φεῦ φεῦ, τλήμων. These expressions, with κατ' ὅσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει, are psychologically incompatible with a reference to her external appearance. Both αἰδούμεθα and αἰσχύνην refer to her inward

shrinking, now that she has awakened to a sense of her disgrace, not to any outward manifestation of that disgrace. It is the αἰσχος καὶ φόγον she fears. (Indeed, αἰσχύνη does not appear in the extant literature until a few years before this play was written; Demosthenes translates the Solonian αἰσχος by αἰσχύνη). 'Spare, spare me, | Sinning or no, forget that, only spare me | The horrible scorn.' Cf. *Phoen.* 198 ff.

In the *Classical Review* for June, 1901, Mr. Ellershaw (in a notice of my book so favourable that it were ungracious to call attention to the few minor points in which he differed from me) agreed with Wilamowitz in his interpretation of the passage under discussion. Recently, I have met with so many examples which seem to show that the position of the German and English scholars is untenable that I have deemed it worth while to re-open the question.²

The first thing to be observed, in the comparison of the sentence in N 279 with *Hippolytus* 246, is that the subjects are not the same,—ὄμμα is not χρῶς. When Plato desires to express the idea of 'changing colour'—and he does very often—he uses neither ὄμμα nor τρέπειν, e.g. *Lysis* 222 B δὲ δὲ Ἰπποθάλῃς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς παντοδαπὰ ἡφίει χρώματα. The noun ὄμμα, even in the sense of *os*, is never used with τρέπειν to express an idea similar to that

² Perhaps I may be allowed a single παρέκβασις to comment on Mr. Ellershaw's objection to my statement that the use of βούλομαι for ἐθέλω was an innovation of Euripides, since Aeschylus (the writer says) uses βούλομαι at least three times. But there is no better proof of my assertion. ἐθέλω belongs to elevated language. Pindar uses βούλομαι but once. Aeschylus is usually as lofty as the Theban poet, but he occasionally descends to the ground from which he takes his eagle flight, and it is noteworthy that two of the three examples of βούλομαι occur in a play which is remarkable for its naive simple tone, and in the same part of the play by the same *dramatis persona* (*Prom.* 867, 929). It is a drama which contains a scene of which the celebrated French critic, Patin, says: 'C'est peut-être l'exemple le plus remarquable qu'on puisse citer de l'aisance avec laquelle les Grecs savaient varier le ton de leurs ouvrages. Le poète, dans la plus haute et la plus sublime production dont l'histoire du théâtre conserve le souvenir, ne craint pas de s'approcher des limites de la comédie' (p. 268). Aristophanes, of course, does not hesitate to use βούλομαι, but Euripides was the first tragedian to rebel against the poetic vocabulary. True, Sophocles uses βούλομαι, but Sophocles felt the influence of Euripides; and in seven plays Sophocles uses the poetical word almost three times as often as Euripides in nineteen.

¹ A paper read before the American Philological Association at Yale University in July 1903.

in the Homeric passage, whereas ὄμμα in the sense of *oculus*, with both τρέπειν and βάλλειν, is a very frequent combination. In the second place, the idea of changing colour is not unfrequently expressed by the tragic poets, but never with ὄμμα and τρέπειν, e.g. Eur. *Med.* 1168 χροῖαν ἀλλάξασα. Cp. λ 529 ὠχρήσαντα χροῖα. On the other hand, ὄμμα is combined with τρέπειν and στρέφειν in numerous passages by the tragic poets in the sense of *oculos vertere* (cp. Aesch. *Prom.* 708, where M has στρέψασα, the other MSS. τρέψασα, which Hermann adopts): Eur. *I. T.* 68 ὄμμα πανταχοῦ στρέφων, *Hel.* 1573 ὄμ' ἀναστρέφων κύκλῳ, 1147 ὀμμάτων ἄπο κόρας στρέφουσιν, Aesch. *Fr.* 311 ὄμμα τρέπονσα, *Ag.* 779 παλιντρόποις ὀμμασι (cp. *Prom.* 882), *Cho.* 99 ἀποτρόφοισιν ὀμμασιν, Soph. *Ai.* 69 f. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀμμάτων ἀποστροφῶν (proleptic = ἀποστρέψασα) αὐγὰς ἀπεῖρξω σὴν πρόσοψιν εἰσιδεῖν. Cp. *Rep. Lac.* 3. 4 ὀμματα μεταστρέψαις, Aesch. *Fr.* 297 τὸ σκαῖον ὄμμα προσβαλὼν, Eur. *Med.* 923 στρέψασα ἔμπαλιν παρηίδα. The turning of the eye in a certain direction is equivalent to looking in that direction, ποῖ ὄμμα τρέπων to ποῖ βλέπων (Soph. *Ai.* 1290). In N 279 the shifting is vividly expressed by the addition of ἀλλυδὺς ἄλλη, just as in Xenophon *Anabasis* 4. 8. 9 the actual local turning in various directions is expressed in practically the same way (φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐτράπετο). But the usual preposition employed to indicate the direction of the turning is ἐπὶ. I shall cite only a few of the hundred examples: Eur. *I. A.* 646 μὴ 'πὶ φροντίδας τρέπον, Soph. *Ai.* 772 ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς χεῖρα φοινίαν τρέπειν (epic. dat.), Ar. *Ran.* 1025 ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐτράπεσθε, *Nub.* 589 ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν, *Plut.* 317, *Vesp.* 986, Lysias 2. 64, 10. 30, 12. 5, 18. 18, Dem. 9. 14, Hdt. 1. 117, 7. 16. 2 τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, Plato *Symp.* 210 D, [Theognis] 78 (Pomtow) ἦν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῇ νόος. This last example is exactly parallel to ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν ὄμμα τέτραπται. Here νόος is used, there ὄμμα (through which the νοῦς perceives); and in both passages *mind* is the initial notion (γνώμης 240, ἐμάνην 241, ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην 247, μὴ γιγνώσκοντα 248). Cp. Soph. *El.* 902 f. ἐμπαίει τί μοι | ψυχῇ ζήνηθες ὄμμα. But the crowning example of this use of the verb to indicate the direction in which the eyes are turned, with the preposition ἐπὶ, is Plato, 519 A, ὥς δριμύν μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάρτιον καὶ ὀξέως διορᾷ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ τέτραπται ὥς οὐ φαύλην ἔχον τὴν ὄψιν. Hardly less apposite is 591 C οὐχ ὅπως τῇ θηριώδει καὶ ἀλόγῳ ἡδονῇ ἐπιτρέψας ἐνταῦθα τετραμμένος ζήσει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίαν βλέπων. So in the Euripidean sen-

tence ὄμμα τέτραπται means ὁρῶ, βλέπω. Phaedra now has regard for that which she disregarded before—αἰσχύνῃ. There is no need of resorting to the laboured explanation that ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν is used for the new colour to which the ὄμμα has changed ('mit dem affect bezeichnet, dessen ausdruck die neue farbe ist'). The sentence in the preceding verse (κατ' ὅσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει) is really the result of ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν ὄμμα τέτραπται. Cp. the exclamation of Ion: φεῦ φεῦ κατ' ὅσων ὡς ὑγρὸν βάλλω δάκρυ, | ἐκέλεσε τὸν νοῦν δούς, ὅθ' ἡ τεκνυῖά με κτέ (*Ion.* 1369 f.). So Polynices weeps at the sight of his father's sorrows: δακρύσω . . . τὰ τοῦδ' ὄρων πατὴρ γέροντος (*O.C.* 1255). It is Phaedra's shame that 'Draws those heaven-moving pearls from her poor eyes.' ποῖ βλέπων, like τί μαθὼν and τί παθὼν, is a common tragic and Platonic phrase for διὰ τί. Cp. *Laches*, 195 A πρὸς τί τοῦτ' εἶπες βλέψας, 197 E ὅποι ποτὲ βλέπων . . . τοῖνομα τοῦτο τίησι τὴν ἀνδρείαν, Soph. *El.* 887 f. εἰς τί μοι | βλέψασα θάλπει τῷδ' ἀνηκέστῳ πυρί; The nurse might have asked: 'what are you looking at (πρὸς τί βλέπων) that you weep so?' And the queen might have replied πρὸς αἰσχύνῃν βλέπω = ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν ὄμμα τέτραπται. That the Greeks were fond of expressing accurately the direction in which the gaze was turned, is shown by their use of compounds where in English the simple verb often suffices, εἰσορᾶν, προσδέρκεσθαι, ἀποσκοπῶν (*Eur. Suppl.* 236), πρὸς τὰ κοῖν' ἀποβλέπειν (*turn his attention to, Id.* 432). Note also the frequent use of ἀπό (the opposite of ἐπὶ) in compounds with ὄμμα and its congeners (ἀποπτος, Soph. *O.T.* 762, *El.* 1489, ἀπ' ὄψεως, ἀπ' ὀμμάτων). Phaedra had said of herself παρεπλάγχθη γνώμης. Now ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην could be said of her. Like Ajax (Soph. *Ai.* 715) ἐξ ἀέλπτων μεταγενώσθη, a sentence which, by the way, is rendered by Schneidewin-Nauck into a German idiom which corresponds to the expression employed by Phaedra: 'da Aias seinen Sinn zum Besseren gewendet habe.' Phaedra is now πρὸς τὸ κέρδιστον τραπέει | γνώμης (*Ai.* 743).

Another fact to be noted is that ὄμμα is used very frequently to denote the eye by the tragic poets, whereas ὀφθαλμός of the actual eye is rare in Aeschylus and not very common in Sophocles and Euripides. Cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 419 ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχρῆναις ἔρρει πᾶς Ἀφροδίτῃ, *Suppl.* 716 πρῶρα πρόσθεν ὀμμασιν βλέπουσ' ὁδόν, 467 ὀμμάτωνσα γὰρ σαφέστερον, *Cho.* 854 φρένα ὀμματωμένην. Aeschylus never uses ὄμμα for face. It is the ὄμμα that sees (δεδορκὸς ὄμμα *Suppl.* 409).

Plato uses both ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα, e.g. *Charmides* 156 B and C (ὀφθαλμούς twice followed by ὀμμάτων and again in 156 E in the same order). Not only, then, would ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν be twisted out of its natural meaning and τέτραπται given an un-Euripidean turn by rendering 'es färbt meine Wangen die röthe der scham,' but even ὄμμα would be employed in its less usual sense. Moreover, τρέπειν and στρέφειν are often used absolutely (in compounds with a privative) to signify *respicere*: Soph. *O.C.* 489 f. ἄπυστα φωνῶν μηδὲ μηκύνων βοήν | ἔπειτ' ἀφέρπειν ἀστροφος (cp. Aesch. *Cho.* 99) Theocritus 24. 92 ἄψ δὲ νέεσθαι | ἀστρεπτος. Cp. Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 102 'nec respexeris,' Ov. *Fasti.* 6. 164 'Quique sacris adsunt respicere illa vetat.'

Shame, pity, fear, love are chiefly manifested through the eye. In the first stasimon of the *Hippolytus* the chorus sings 'Ἔρως Ἔρως, ὃ κατ' ὀμμάτων | στάζεις πόθον. Love is inspired as well as betrayed by the eye. As with ἔρως so with αἰδώς. Sappho says αἰδώς κέ σ' οὐκ ἂν εἶχεν ὄμματα. To the Greek the eye was king of the organs of sense. When he looked upon an object he became sensible of it; he felt it. In Euripides *Supplices* 190 τά τ' οἰκτρὰ γὰρ δέδορκε is equivalent to ἐλεεῖ, just as ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν ὄμμα τέτραπται = αἰσχύνῃν ἀποβλέπω = αἰσχύνομαι. Cp. 176 ff.: σοφὸν δὲ πένιν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον, | πένιτ' αὖτ' εἰς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν | ζηλοῦνθ', ἵν' αὐτὸν χρημάτων ἔρως ἔχῃ | τά τ' οἰκτρὰ τοὺς μὴ δυστυχεῖς δεδορκέναι | τὸν θ' ὕμνοιοιεν αὐτὸς ἂν τίκτῃ μέλη | χαίροντα τίκτειν' ἦν δὲ μὴ πάσῃ τὸδε κτέ. Here we have three synonyms of ὄραν used to designate the action of *sight* as a natural antecedent of certain πάθη. So Tecmessa speaks of looking on one's sufferings as being equivalent to spreading for one's self a bed of woes: τὸ γὰρ ἐσλεύσσειν οἰκεία πάθη . . . μεγάλας ὀδύνas ὑποτείνει (*Al.* 260)—she refers to Ajax, who, like Phaedra, has just recovered from an attack of madness (καὶ νῦν φρόνιμος νέον ἄλγος ἔχει)—and the chorus suggests that if their chieftain would only turn his eyes toward them he might come to himself and feel a sense of shame: τάχ' ἂν τιν' αἰδῶ κἀπ' ἐμοὶ βλέψας (*inso aspectu meo*) λάβοι (345). "Ὀμμα, which connoted the object, as well as the organ and the act of vision, meant much more to the Greeks than 'eye' does to us; and Euripides is not the blunderer he is represented by one of the shining lights of modern literary criticism, when he makes Hippolytus wish for a mirror that he may behold himself

and weep, τὰ ἐαντοῦ πάθη ἐσλεύσσω. Shame could not have possessed Phaedra's eye if she had not turned it in the direction of αἰσχύνῃ. That the ancients regarded the eye as the seat of αἰδώς there is abundant testimony. The organ by which a feeling is chiefly expressed is naturally regarded as the seat of that emotion. With αἰδώς and αἰσχύνῃ, the feelings with which Phaedra is possessed (she uses both words) the expression had become proverbial: ἡ παροιμία τὸ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶναι αἰδῶ (*Ar. Rhet.* 2. 6. 18). Cp. Suidas (s.v. αἰδώς): αἰδώς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν κείται, *Ar. Vesp.* 447 οὐδ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν αἰδώς, Athenaeus 13. 564 b ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἔφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀποβλέπειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν οἷς τὴν αἰδῶ κατοικεῖν, Theog. 85 οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεισιν αἰδώς, Theocr. 27. 69 ὄμμασιν αἰδομένη Eustathius on *Il.* N 923. 18 (Gaisford) Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ φιλοσοφώτατα παραδομένον οἰκητήριον αἰδοῦς εἶναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Even justice and fear and anxiety reside in the eyes: δίκη γὰρ οὐκ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς βροτῶν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς φόβος (*Aesch. Pers.* 168), μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ πεφόβημαι | πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας (*Soph. Ai.* 139 f.) ὀμμάτων φόβον (*O.C.* 729). Grief is found in the eyes: ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης (*Soph. Ai.* 706). Ellershaw cites the English expression 'my face is covered with shame' to support his interpretation; but this proves nothing. Many phrases from Shakespeare and from the Bible might be quoted to prove the opposite.

It might be argued that the translation 'change colour' harmonizes with the frequent use of κρύπτειν in this scene; but this is the modern rather than the antique feeling. Under the weight of grief, in fear, or in desperation, the ancients were wont to cover the head, ἐγκαλύψασθαι, caput obvolvere, operire, velare. Cp. θ 92 ἄψ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ κράτα καλυψάμενος γοάσκειν, *Soph. Ai.* 245 f. ὅρα τιν' ἤδη κἀρα καλύμμασι | κρυψάμενον ποδοῖν κλοπὰν ἀρέσθαι, 1145 ὑφ' εἵματος κρυφθεῖς, *Livy* 4. 12 'multi ex plebe capitis obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt', *Hor. Sat.* 2. 3. 37 'cum vellem mittere operto me capite in flumen, *Plaut. Mostell.* 2. 2. 89 'cave respexis, fuge, et operi caput,' *Sueton. Calig.* 51 'nam, qui deos tantopere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura connivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero maiora proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere solebat.'

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PLATO AND ORPHEUS.

πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων παρωδεῖ τὰ τοῦ
'Ορφέως.

Olympiodorus.

The object of this paper is to trace in the mythical setting of some of the Platonic dialogues certain religious conceptions which Plato borrowed from Orphism, and to show how he transformed them to his own philosophical uses.

THE GOLDEN AGE. GUARDIAN SPIRITS.

We shall begin with a passage in the *Cratylus* (397 B) in which Socrates, under the inspiration of his morning colloquy with the pious Euthyphro—the Euthyphro of the dialogue on the characteristically Orphic conception of 'Holiness'—begins, with Hermogenes, the systematic investigation of the correctness of names. They discuss the derivations of the four terms θεός, δαίμων, ἦρωσ, ἄνθρωπος. After deriving θεός from θεῖν, Socrates proceeds :

S. What shall we take next? Spirits (δαίμονας), I suppose, and Heroes, and Men?

H. Yes, Spirits.

S. What can be the real meaning of the name 'Spirits'? You must tell me if you think I am right.

H. Go on.

S. You know who Hesiod says the Spirits are?

H. I do not remember.

S. At least you remember that he says the first race of mankind was golden?

H. Yes, I know so much.

S. Well, then, he says about it :

'This race, now Fate's dark veil hath shadowed them,
Are called pure Spirits ranging over earth,

Kind guardians of man, averting ill.'¹

H. And what then?

S. This : I think that by 'golden race' he means not 'made of gold,' but good and beautiful. The inference is supported by his calling us a race of iron.

H. True.

S. Do you not think, then, that he would say that anyone, even in this present age, who is good, belongs to that race of gold?

H. Probably.

S. But the good are nothing if not wise.

H. Yes.

S. This, then, above all, is, in my opinion, what he means by 'Spirits': he calls them spirits (δαίμονας) because they are wise and intelligent (δαίμονες)—in our archaic language the actual name is found. Hesiod then is right, and so are all other poets who say that a good man, after his death, is destined to high honour and becomes a spirit, being so called after his wisdom. And I agree that every man who is good is of a spiritual nature (δαμόνιον), whether living or dead, and is rightly called a spirit.'

Socrates, still under Euthyphro's inspiration, goes on to derive ἦρωσ from ἔρωσ εἶρειν ἐρωτᾶν and ἄνθρωπος from ἀναθρῶν ἀ ὅπωπεν, and finally to improve on the Orphic σῶμα σῆμα by suggesting that the body is the prison-house in which the soul σφάζεται till it shall have paid the debt of its sins. These passages will be considered later.

The familiar lines of Hesiod (*O.D.* 109) cited by Socrates may be rendered as follows :

A golden race of mortals first was made
By the high gods who on Olympus dwell.
When Cronos yet was king in Heaven, they
lived

The life of gods with careless heart, afar
From pain and grief; nor even weakling
age

Came on them, but with lifelong youth of
limb

They knew not cares: life was a joyous
feast,
And Death's hand soft as sleep. All gifts
of good

Were theirs—gift of the grain, rich fruitful-
ness

Of earth, unlaboured; gift of quiet life,
Busy with country works and loving ten-
dance

Of the fair flock, in happy Heaven's eye.
And when this race at last was lapped in
earth,

By God's high will, as Spirits beneficent
They range the earth, watching o'er mortal
life,²

² αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
ἔσθλοι, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

¹ αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψεν,
οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἀγροὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται,
ἔσθλοι, ἀλεξικάκοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
ἐπιχθόνιοι (not ὑποχθόνιοι) with Par. G. Steph.
Stallb. Hes. *O.D.* 123, Plato *Rep.* 469 A.

It will be noted that Plato inserts ἀγροὶ and ἀλεξικάκοι, both in the *Cratylus* and at *Rep.* 468 E. For the latter epithet cf. Pollux. *Onom.* V. 131 οἱ δὲ

The just deed and the unjust. Robed in
air

They walk invisible through every land,
Givers of wealth—this too their kingly hest.

These lines are quoted again by Plato in a significant connection. In the *Republic*, at the end of the digression about war, Socrates proceeds (468 E):

‘And when any die upon service, shall we not, in the first place, give out that he who has fallen with honour belongs to the golden race?

—Certainly.

—And shall we not believe with Hesiod that when any of this race die

‘Pure spirits they become, to range the earth,

Kind guardians of man, averting ill’?

—Yes.

—We shall then inquire of the God with what ceremonies and distinctions men of spiritual and godlike nature should be interred, and so proceed in the manner he prescribes?

—By all means.

—And ever afterwards we shall think of them as spirits and pay reverence and worship at their sepulchres accordingly. And we shall hold the same custom when death from old age or any other cause comes to any that have been esteemed good and true men while they lived.

—It is but just, he answered.’

When this passage is taken in conjunction with the etymological equivalence *δαίμονες*, the inference is irresistible that in calling the rulers of Callipolis ‘Guardians’ (*φύλακες*), Plato was not merely influenced by a desire to avoid the associations of terms in common use (*ἄρχων*, *ἔφορος*, etc.), but had definitely in view the Guardian Spirits¹ of mythology. The source of the term seems to have escaped notice. The reason for the choice of it lies in certain far-reaching implications of which Plato was glad to avail himself.

Before following out these implications, we may look at another passage in which Hesiod’s symbolism of a golden, a silver, an iron age, etc., is adopted by Plato.

When the natural qualities of a good guardian—those of the watch-dog—have been corrected or fortified by the discipline of musical and gymnastic education, those

δαίμονες, οἱ μὲν λύοντες τὰς ἀρὰς ἀλεξίκακοι λέγονται, ἀποπομπαῖοι, ἀποτροπαῖοι, λύσιοι, φύξιοι· οἱ δὲ κυροῦντες ἀλιτήριοι, ἀλιτηριωδεῖς, προστροπαῖοι, παλαμναῖοι.

¹ *δαίμων φύλαξ* in its ordinary sense of tutelary genius, *Rep.* 620 E.

who by various tests have proved themselves most worthy to rule are to be selected and called ‘guardians’ in a narrower sense. The remainder are to be ‘auxiliaries,’ whose business is to support the guardians’ authority. The selection is to be justified by a mythical account which Socrates propounds with much hesitation (414 B). The youths are to be taught that their nurture and education by us was a dream. Really, they were being formed and moulded, and their arms and equipment forged, within the earth beneath.² When they were perfected, Earth, their mother, sent them up into the light. Hence they must defend their country and take thought for her as for a mother, and for their fellows as for brother children of Earth. Further, they will be taught that the reason for the three classes of citizens is that God, in moulding them, mixed gold in the nature of some—and these are worthy to rule; silver in others—these are auxiliaries; and iron and bronze in those who are to be husbandmen and craftsmen. But the distinction does not go by birth: the children of one class may belong by intrinsic worth to another.

We have, then, besides the gods (*θεοί*), three orders of men in the Platonic State, symbolised by (1) gold, (2) silver, (3) iron and bronze; as in the *Cratylus* there were in all four orders of beings: Gods, spirits, heroes, men. Plutarch³ observes: ‘Hesiod first clearly and definitely set forth four kinds of rational natures, gods, then spirits many and good, then heroes, and finally men: the demigods are assigned to the class of heroes.’ Proclus, plainly with the *Cratylus* in mind, follows Plutarch. He says⁴: ‘Those who depart from life and are guardians of human life, Hesiod calls spirits, either because they are all-wise (*παρὰ τὸ δαῖναι τὰ πάντα*), or because they allot (*μερίζειν*, i.e. *δαίρειν*) good and bad to men. . . Or does he mean to divide all rational natures (*πάσαν τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν*) into four: (1) gods, (2) spirits, (3) heroes, (4) men? And does he mean that while the divine has no converse with us, those who watch over human things are spirits, as Plato said?’

It can, I think, be shown that there is a certain correspondence between Plato’s three orders and Hesiod’s five ages. The equivalence of the highest Platonic class—the philosophers—with Hesiod’s Golden race

² A hint of this subterranean nurture may have been taken from Hesiod, *O. D.* 130 (of the silver race): *ἀλλ’ ἔκατον μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ ἔτρεφετ’ ἀτάλλων . . .*

³ *de Def. Or. X.*

⁴ On Hesiod *O. D.* 121.

who become guardian spirits, has already been noted. To describe each of his remaining two classes, Plato has combined traits borrowed from two of Hesiod's remaining four. These four are: A. *prehistoric*: (1) silver race; (2) bronze race; B. *historic*: (3) heroes; (4) the present iron race, of men. The silver race and the heroes answer to Plato's auxiliaries; and the bronze and iron races to his third class, of husbandmen and craftsmen. The symbolism of the metals guarantees these

equations, except in the case of the heroes, 'the race *divine* of heroic men who are called half-gods,'¹ who fought at Thebes and Ilion. But, even apart from other considerations, their devotion to *war* which in Hesiod is their salient characteristic, connects them with Plato's warrior class. We must leave the further significance of the heroes to be brought out later.

These results may be tabulated as follows:—

HESIOD.	PLATO, <i>REPUBLIC</i> .	CRATYLUS.
Gods (θεοί).	Gods.	Gods.
(1) Golden Race (Guardian-spirits).	Guardians.	Spirits.
(2) Silver Race. (4) Heroes.	Auxiliaries.	Heroes.
(3) Bronze Race. (5) Iron Race.	Craftsmen, etc.	Men.

It would hardly be worth while to point out this correspondence, if it were not for the remarkable lines in which Hesiod describes the destination of the three 'prehistoric' races after death. These lines contain the germs of certain ideas which carry us beyond the mere superficial adoption of the symbolism of the metals.

The Golden Race, as we saw, become 'spirits beneficent, ranging the earth to watch o'er mortal life' (δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες).² Of the Silver race, whose insolence and atheism bring on them the anger of Zeus, we are surprised to read:

'But when this race was likewise lapped in earth,

As blessed mortals in the underworld
Second they rank; yet have they honours too.'

They become μάκαρες θνητοὶ ὑποχθόνιοι—a phrase which might be taken as a precise description of the 'heroes'³ of Greek religion—the deified *mortals* worshipped with *chthonian* rites.

The Bronze race was given up to insolence and violence. They slew one another, and

'Went to the dank, chill, gloomy halls of
Death,
Nameless. Mighty they were; but Death's
black hand

¹ ἀνδρῶν ἥρώων θεῶν γένος, οἱ καλέονται Ἡμίθεοι, *O.D.* 159.

² The extant Orphic poems have little about δαίμονες. In the proem to the Hymns (line 32) we read of δαίμονας, οὐρανίους τε καὶ εἰναλίους καὶ ἐνδύρους καὶ χθονίους καὶ ὑποχθονίους ἢ δ' ἡεμφοίτους.

See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 956.

³ Hesiod does not use ἥρωας in this sense. See Rohde, *Psyche* ³ p. 101.

Clutched, and they left the sunlight for the dark.'

They inhabit Hades, far from the light of the Sun.

THE CAVE.

These passages will be found, I think, to throw some light on the symbolism of another Platonic myth—the Cave-myth of *Republic* vii. The *Line* has given us a quadruple division of the objects of knowledge and of the corresponding faculties of the soul. The *Line* is divided first into νοητόν and ὁρατόν; and each of these parts subdivided proportionally. To speak roughly, the relation of the lower to the higher subdivision in each case is the relation of image to reality. The four faculties or activities of the mind are νόησις διάνοια πίστις εἰκασία. Above all is the Idea of the Good, compared to the Sun.

Following upon this, the myth of the *Cave* illustrates the process of education. Four stages can be distinguished: (1) the state of the prisoners in the cave; (2) their deliverance and ascent to the outer air; (3) their looking at shadows and reflections, then at the objects which cast them, and at the stars by night; (4) their contemplation of the Sun and perception that he governs all things and is in a sort the cause of all.

My concern is not with the philosophical or psychological content of this myth, but only with the mythical setting. I shall take the four stages in ascending order.

I.—The Prisoners in the Cave.

In the subterranean cavern the prisoners are bound by a chain so that they can see

nothing but shadows on the back wall, cast by models (like marionettes, *θαύματα*) which are carried by men between the prisoners' backs and a fire placed nearer the entrance of the cave.

The idea that the body is a prison is associated, in the context of the passage above translated from the *Cratylus*, with the Orphic *σῶμα σῆμα* :

Socrates . . . For some say that the body is the sepulchre (*σῆμα*) of the soul, which is as it were buried in its present state. Again, because the body is the means by which the soul signifies (*σημαίνει*) things, on this account also it is rightly called *σῶμα*. But to my thinking the Orphics gave it this name chiefly with the idea that the soul is paying penalty for whatever offences may require a penalty, and has this enclosure, *the semblance of a prison house, for safe-keeping* (*τοῦτον δὲ περίβολον ἔχειν, ἵνα σώζῃται, δεσμωτηρίου εἰκόνα*, 400 c). So the body is just what it is called—the *σῶμα* of the soul, until the soul shall have paid its debt. . . .

To the Orphic physical death is an escape from the bodily tomb—a rising from the dead. The idea is familiar from Euripides' famous lines, from the phrase *οἱ ἄνω νεκροί* applied by Aristophanes' mystics to 'living' men (*Frogs*, 420), and from many other passages. Plato adopts the notion, but gives it a new content. To him also the body of the natural man is a sepulchre and a house of bondage; but, like S. Paul, he realises that the escape from the prison, the resurrection from the body of this death, is not physical death (or not only that), but a 'conversion.'

'From flesh unto spirit man grows
Even here, on the sod, under sun.'

Unlike S. Paul, however, Plato conceives of the process which begins with conversion—the ascent of man from flesh to spirit—as accomplished by a systematic training of the intelligence. There is no need to dwell at length on the use made of this idea in the *Phaedo*. The body with its senses and lusts hinders the clear perception of truth by the soul. The soul must be delivered from the body 'as from bonds' (67 D) by philosophy, which is a 'rehearsal of death.' The philosopher who has emerged from the Cave, when he thinks of the prisoners' life, will echo Achilles' preference: Better the life of 'serfdom to a landless man' than

any honours in the kingdom of the dead. The bronze race dwell in the chill and gloomy house of Death; the present race of men are fast bound in misery and iron.

The prisoners are employed in 'conjecture' (*εἰκασία*) or 'divination', what shadows are likely to fall on the cave-side, from observation of those which have passed already (*ἀπομαντεύεσθαι τὸ μέλλον ἡξείν* 516 D). The shadows are cast by *θαύματα*, carried by men behind the prisoners' backs. It seems probable that this procession of images carried across the fire-lit cave was suggested by the exhibition of religious symbols (*δεῖξαι τὰ ἱερά*) in torch-lit darkness at the Eleusinian ceremony of initiation.¹ The *ἐκπλήξις* caused by these exhibitions,² and by the sudden changes from light to darkness³ has its parallel in the dazzled and distressed vision of the 'converted' prisoners (*Rep.* 515 c). Even the questions put by the priest to the votary at the *παράδοσις τῶν ἱερῶν* may be compared with the questions into the nature of the *θαύματα* put by the 'someone' of *Rep.* 515 D. We shall note further parallels later.

There can be little doubt that the hierophants of the Cave are the Sophists. In a passage which has many points of contact with the *Republic* (*Sophist*, 233 D foll.), the Sophist is called *θαυματοποιός* (235 B), *εἰδωλοποιός* (239 D), *ἀπατητικός* (240 D). When we remember the analogy of *Iris* (*εἶρην* dialectic) daughter of *Thaumas*, with *philosophy* the child of *wonder*,⁴ we may infer that Plato means that the puzzles of eristic and epideictic sophistry, if they have any educational value, are of use in exciting that preliminary feeling of wonder which first stimulates inquiry. Aristotle must have this in mind when he says;⁵ *ἄρχονται γὰρ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ θαυμάζειν πάντες εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, καθάπερ τῶν θαυμάτων ταυτόματα τοῖς μῆπῳ τεθεωρηκόσι τὴν αἰτίαν . . .*

The lowest class in the state—the bronze and iron class of husbandmen and craftsmen live on the level of the prisoners in the Cave. They are immersed in the passing shows of Being; their 'customary' virtue is a *σκαθαγραφία*. Thus Plato, by combining Hesiod's bronze race who dwell in Hades with his iron race of living men, points the moral that unregenerate 'life' is really death.

¹ The ceremony alluded to, *Phaedrus*, 250 A.

² Ael. Arist. Eleus. 1. 256.

³ Dio. Chrys. xii. 387.

⁴ Theaet. 155 D.

⁵ Met. A. 983 a 12.

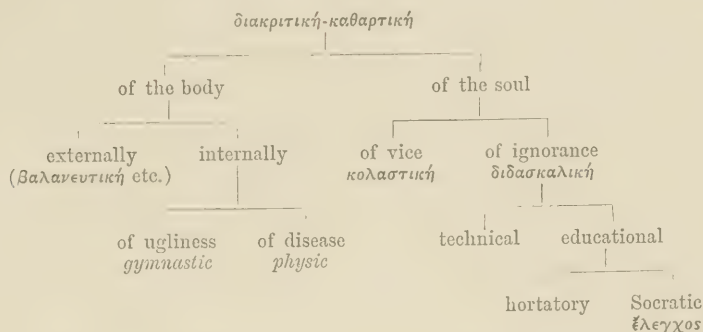
II.—*The Deliverance and Ascent. Purification.*

The second stage in the Cave-myth begins with the first step in genuine education.¹ The chain is loosed: the prisoners are turned round to look at the light, which at first distresses their unaccustomed vision. If 'someone' were to tell them that they now saw objects which were nearer reality, and 'compelled them to answer questions' as to the nature of each, they would be puzzled and inclined to believe that the shadows were more real. To correct this delusion they are to be forcibly dragged up the steep and rugged ascent of the Cave towards the sunlight.

The figure of the 'someone' who *compels people to answer questions about what things*

are is thinly veiled: plainly enough it is Socrates. The interesting point here is the connection of the Socratic *ἐλεγχος* with the idea of *purification*. To the Orphic it is by purification that the deliverance from the bodily tomb is accomplished. Ceremonial purification preceded the initiatory rite: physical death was a fuller purification from the muddy vesture of decay. The transformation of this notion by Plato is an instructive example of his method.

The identification of the *Cathartic* sophistry analysed in *Sophist* 226 A ff. with the Socratic *ἐλεγχος* is due to Dr. Jackson: it will not, I think, be questioned. The analysis is of great interest. We may tabulate the sixth diaeresis of the *Sophist* as follows:



The function of cathartic sophistry is to purify the soul of ignorance and of that false conceit of knowledge which obstructs true knowledge. It is a 'purification in the fullest sense' (ἡ κυριωτάτη τῶν καθάρσεων). The deliverance of the prisoners is, for Plato, not a matter of ceremonial lustration and of the washing of cup and platter: it is a purging of the soul.²

We may compare the Pythagorean's description of the preliminary purification of the mind prescribed by the rule of his community.³

'It were well to reckon the length of time we have spent in scouring away the stains that were deeply engrained in our breasts, until at last, as the years went by,

¹ The Socratic method is to be used in that first stage of the higher education which is described at *Rep.* 522 E, to produce ἀπορία (524 A) about the union of opposite sensible qualities in the same object.

² It is worth noting here that in the *Clouds* Socrates is represented as *initiating a novice in the Orphic mysteries*. The whole ceremony is travestied (lines 222 ff.). Compare also *Birds* 1555, where Socrates is ψυχαγωγός in a λίμνη ἄλυντος.

³ Lysis ap. Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 76.

we became able to receive the master's words. As the dyers first completely cleanse and use alum upon the garments they are to dye, in order that they may absorb the dye indelibly for ever; so also did that divine man (δαιμόνιος) prepare first the souls of those who became lovers of philosophy, that he might never be deceived about one who he hoped would turn out a good man.'

Another passage in the *Cratylus*⁴ associates the ideas of *deliverance* and *purification* with certain other notions which have an important bearing on our subject. Apollo, says Socrates, is not the Destroyer (ὁ ἀπολλύων), but his name combines, as no other name could do, his four functions: music, divination, medicine, archery. The process and ceremonies of purification (ἡ κάθαρσις καὶ οἱ καθαρμοί), whether (a) by the physician's drugs, or (b) by mantic lustrations, etc., make men pure (a) in body and (b) in soul. The purifying god is the Washer-away (ἀπολούων) and the Deliverer (ἀπολύων). As Washer-away he is *physician*.

⁴ 401 E—406 A.

As *diviner*, the object of his art is τὸ ἀπλοῦν, the simple truth: hence he is called in Thessaly Ἀπλοῦν. As *musician*, his name signifies ἡ ὁμοῦ (=α) πόλῃσις περὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, and the harmonious movement of the heavenly bodies. *Music* is derived from μῶσθαι and means *search* and *philosophy*.

Three kinds of purification are here distinguished:

- (1) Physical purgation by medicine.
- (2) 'Mantic' lustration, purifying the soul.
- (3) Purification by enthusiastic exaltation.

Upon this third kind our attention must now be concentrated.

Our principal authority here is, of course, the classification of the four species of divine (non-morbid) madness in the *Phaedrus* (244). They are (1) *inspired divination* (μαντικὴ ἐνθεος); (2) *the madness of initiation* (μανία τελεστικὴ) which through purifications and initiatory rites (καθαρμοὶ καὶ τελεταί) divines ways of delivering men from diseases and sore afflictions such as existed in certain houses because of ancient wrath; (3) *possession by the Muses* (ἀπὸ Μουσῶν κατοκωχὴ καὶ μανία); and finally (4) *Love* (ἐρωτικὴ μανία)—of which more presently.

In this passage, as above in the *Cratylus*, the close association of medicine for the diseased body with medicine for the guilty soul, of physic with ceremonial purification,¹ and of both with divination, is remarkable. But to the Greek it was more familiar. To the primitive mind the sick body and the sick soul alike require φάρμακα—'medicine' in the magical sense; and the discoverer of the proper medicine is the medicine-man, the diviner. The ideas are associated in the ancient rites of hero-worship. There we find *purification* identified with the placation of the angry ghost; and in his benigner aspect the hero is often a *healer*, man's helper in his direst need. The most famous instance is the ἥρωος ἱατρός at Athens.² Whether Lucian's legend of Toxaris be invented or traditional, it was plainly credible that the hero should appear from his tomb in the season of plague and prescribe the magical remedy—the lustration of the streets with wine, to lay the microbe-sprites of disease. The hero's tomb moreover was regularly used as a place of divination in general. Not only in war were the heroes ὑποχθόνιοι φύλακες καὶ σωτῆρες.³

¹ Compare also the analysis of καθαρισμὸς above, in which ἱατρικὴ appears side by side with cathartic sophistry.

² Dem. xix. 249.

³ Aristides, *Or.* 2. 171.

When the worship of Apollo superseded the primaeval chthonian cult at Delphi and elsewhere, the incoming divinity assumed the mantic functions. The prophetess of Earth's oracle becomes the *Pythia*. Apollo henceforth is the Washer-away and the Deliverer, καθάρσιος and ἱατρόμαντις:

ἱατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος
καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος.⁴

The connection of prophetic with poetical and musical inspiration is obviously close.

ἦ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς παῖς, ἦ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων, says Odysseus to Demodocus (*Od.* 8. 488). Here perhaps Apollo is thought of chiefly as the god of prophecy,⁵ the Muse as the source of poetic afflatus: but the two kinds of inspiration are hardly distinguished.

The interesting point is the association of the ideas of madness, enthusiasm, ecstasy, inspiration, with the idea of *purification*. By enthusiasm the soul is lifted out of itself; the loss of *self-possession* is the condition which must precede possession by the divine. This 'distraction' (ἐκπληξίς) comes upon the soul when it beholds the earthly images of unearthly realities. 'For as we said, every human soul has by nature beheld the things that are—else it would not have come into the earthly animal: but not for every soul is it easy to recover the memory of them from things on earth. It is hard for such of them as had then but a brief vision of the things yonder, and for those who after their fall hitherward had the ill-fortune to be turned by evil conversation to unrighteousness and to be in oblivion of the holy things (ἱερῶν) which then they saw. Few indeed remain, in whom the power of memory is sufficient: but these, whenever they see some likeness of the things yonder, are amazed and lose their self-possession, though for want of sufficient discernment they know not what this condition means. Now Justice and Temperance and what things else are of worth to souls have no indwelling lustre in their likenesses on earth; and few, when they approach the copies, behold, darkly, through dull organs, the features of the original. Beauty, however, was then visible in its splendour, when in happy company, ourselves attending Zeus, and others following some other divinity, we saw a spectacle of beatific vision and were initiate in the most blessed (as it may lawfully be named) of all revelations. In that rapt worship (ἁγιάζομεν) we were

⁴ Aesch. *Eum.* 62.

⁵ See Roscher, *Lex.* p. 435^a.

whole and untouched of all those evils that were awaiting us in the days to come: whole, likewise, and clear, unterrifying and serene were the mystical appearances (*φάσματα*) whereby we were initiate unto the full revelation, in a blaze of light pure as we also were pure and unencumbered by this tomb which we bear about with us and call a body, being fast bound as a shellfish to his shell.¹

'They are amazed and lose their self-possession': ἐκπλήττονται καὶ οὐκ ἐθ' αὐτῶν γίνονται. This very word ἐκπληγίς is used of the state of awe and terrified wonder produced in the initiated novice by the 'mystical appearances' (*φάσματα* above) in the ceremonies at Eleusis; appearances with which Plato here contrasts the 'un-terrifying and serene' manifestations of reality. And, no doubt, in the mysteries the intention was precisely to produce this loss of self-possession, to prepare the soul for becoming ἐνθεός, god-possessioned, one with the divine.

There is evidence that the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae included dramatic representations of the Rape of Pherephatta and the sufferings of the wandering Demeter, and of the Passion of Dionysus-Zagreus. In these δρώμενα may we not see the origin of the tragic δράμα, and the explanation of the connection between Tragedy and the religion of Dionysus?² If we adopt this suggestion, and further remember that these Lesser Mysteries were related to the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis as προκάθαρσις καὶ προάγνευσις,³ it seems possible that when Aristotle associates κάθαρσις with Tragedy, there may be some reference to the 'purifying' effect of the mystical Passion-play. The ancient reader of the *Poetics* would himself have witnessed the spectacle and experienced the emotions of pity and terror which it excited; and the whole proceeding would already be linked in his mind with the idea of purification.

With this in mind we may return for a moment to the *Cave*, to the 'loosening of the prisoners' bonds and the *healing* of their un wisdom' (515 c). The released prisoners are compelled to look up to the light, and dragged up the steep ascent of the Cave, out into the dazzling sunlight. Compare with this Themistius' description⁴

of those initiatory rites (τελεταί) which 'in fact, as well as in name, resemble death' (τελευτάν): 'At first wanderings and toilsome circuits and awful and mysterious passages through a darkness; then before the actual accomplishment (τέλος) all the forms of terror, shuddering and quaking and sweat and amazement (θάμβος); and thereafter a wondrous light⁵ meets him, and pure regions and meadows receive him, with solemn voices and dancings, sacred sounds and holy visions (ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων); and among these he who is now fully initiate and has become free and is delivered (ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἄφετος) goes to and fro with a crown upon his head, joining in the rapt worship (ὀργιάζει) of companies of men holy and pure (ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς). And there he looks down upon the un-initiated and impure multitude of the living (τὸν ἀμύητον τῶν ζώντων ἀκάθαρτον ὄχλον), trampling one another and huddled in a great mire and thick mist, abiding in evils through fear of death and disbelief in the good things yonder.'

Aristophanes gives a parallel account. Dionysus, in the *Frogs*, is told that he will come first to an enormous lake (tenanted by the Frogs, who are the worshippers at *Limnae* before the procession to Eleusis); next he will see 'snakes and countless monsters terrible to behold' in the darkness (line 273), then the mire with its wallowing sinners:

'Then you will find a breath about your ears
Of music, and a light about your eyes
Most beautiful—like this—and myrtle groves
And joyous throngs of women and of men
And clapping of glad hands. . . .'
These are the initiate.⁶

It is plain, I think, that in the *Cave*-myth the ceremonies of initiation are in Plato's mind and suggest the imagery. What is more important is the meaning of the symbolism. We are to understand that education in the highest sense is an initiation; it involves deliverance from the prison of the senses, a vision purified to apprehend truth, a death into life, an exaltation of man's spirit to unity with the divine.

Eros and Heros.

We must now return to the fourth kind of divine madness—Eros. The *Cratylus*

¹ *Phaedrus*, 249 E.

² See Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*.

³ Schol. ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 845.

⁴ Them. *περί ψυχῆς* ap. Stob. *Flor.* 120, 28.

⁵ The αὐγὴ καθαρά of *Phaedr.* 250 c.

⁶ *Frogs*, 137-158. Trans. Murray.

will help us here. After the passage translated at the beginning of this essay follows the derivation of *hero*.

Hermogenes. But what may *hero* be?

Socrates. That is not at all difficult to perceive. The name is only slightly disguised and betrays its origin from *Eros*.

Hermogenes. How do you mean?

Socrates. You know that the heroes are demigods?

Hermogenes. Well?

Socrates. They are all, then, the offspring of the love, either of a god for a mortal woman, or of a mortal for a goddess. Here too the old Attic tongue will help you to an understanding and show you that the word is but slightly varied from the name of that *Eros* whence the heroes sprang. Either this is what is meant by heroes, or else that they were eloquent rhetors and dialectical, with a capacity for *εἶπεν*, which means 'speaking.' To repeat then, the heroes are found in the Attic tongue under the name of *rhetors* and *questioners* (*ἐρωτητικοί*); so that the heroic race become a class of rhetors and sophists.

The conjunction of the alternative derivations, (1) *ἔρως*, (2) *εἶπεν ἐρωτᾶν*, is transparently significant. The two meanings meet in *φιλοσοφία*. The best commentary is the discourse of Diotima in the *Symposium* (201 D).

Eros is not a god, but like all that is spiritual (*δαμόνιον*), 'between mortal and immortal' (202 E). His function is to act as intermediary between gods and men, 'interpreting (*ἐρμηνεύων*) and transmitting to the gods what comes from men and to men what comes from the gods.' 'He is the channel of all *divination* and priest-craft and of all that concerns sacrifices and *initiations* and charms and all *divination* and magic (*γοητεία*).' The man who is wise in these things is spiritual (*δαμόνιος*). 'These spirits are many and of many sorts, and one of them is *Eros*.' His mixed nature is derived from his parents, *Poros* and *Penia*. From *Penia* he has his 'neediness' (*ἐνδεα*), from *Poros* his craft. He is 'one that desires and purveys wisdom, a lover of wisdom (*φιλοσοφῶν*) all his life long, a wondrous magician and wizard and sophist' (*γότης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστής*). He is neither wise nor unwise, but *φιλόσοφος*, between the two; neither mortal nor immortal, but a Desire of Immortality, the impulse in the mortal which reaches out to the divine.

Then Diotima comes to 'the full revelation' and shows how from a love of beautiful

forms the soul may pass into the great ocean of the Beautiful itself, pure, untainted, and divine, and so achieve the Friendship of God and such immortality as the mortal may attain (212 A).

Eros as *ἐρμηνεύων* explains the second derivation of *hero*, from *εἶπεν* (dialectic), which it has in common with the messengers of the gods, *Iris* (*Theaet.* 155 D) and *Hermes* (*Crat.* 407 E *Εἰρέμης*). The son of *Hermes* is twi-natured *Pan*, who is *λόγος* or the brother of *λόγος*; his upper, human half being truth, his lower, goat nature, falsehood.

Such is the meaning with which Plato invests the phrases which Hesiod applies to his silver race, who become 'blessed mortals in the underworld' (*μάκαρες θνητοὶ ὑποχθόνιοι*), and to his heroes, *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῶν γένος*, 'a race *divine* of heroic men.' Plato's silver race do not rise above this second stage of education, the preliminary *purification* by music and gymnastic. Their's is the region of *δόξα* intermediate between *γνώσις* and *ἄγνοια* (*Rep.* 476). Their attitude of mind is *πίστις*. Their characteristic virtue, courage, is defined as 'the perpetual preservation of a right and lawful *opinion* about what is, or is not, to be feared' (430 B). Temperance, too, for them is loyal subordination to the rulers (see 432 A).

But the philosophers, under the conduct of *Eros*, go on to higher regions. The education which is to 'draw them towards Reality' begins with an application of the Socratic method to the problems—called 'childish' in the *Philebus*—of the combination of opposite sensible qualities in one object. The method will produce its familiar result—*ἀπορία* (524 A). So they are led on to the study of number, and through mathematical training to dialectic—to *θεωρία*.

III.—*θεωρία* and *εὐδαιμονία*.

We must now say something of *identification with the divine*, which again is an idea borrowed by Plato from orgiastic religion and adapted to his own philosophic purposes.

Outside the Cave, in the light of heaven, the novices train their unaccustomed sight for 'looking upward' by viewing, first, shadows and reflections in water of men and other objects; then these objects themselves, and the moon and stars in the heavens by night. Lastly they contemplate the Sun himself as he is in his own place, and consider how he governs the seasons and the years and all things visible, and is in a sort the cause of all.

The stars by night are evidently the ideas; the Sun is the supreme Idea of the Good, which is 'the cause of knowledge and of truth' (508 E). That the Sun was a symbol of peculiar significance to the initiate is well known from many passages in literature.¹ 'Upon them shines the might of the Sun, while here below it is night' (Pindar, *Frag.* 95, Böckh); 'A sun they know which is not ours, not ours the stars they see' (Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 641). The mystics in the *Frogs* end their series of songs with the words:

'For ours is the sunshine bright,
Yea, ours is the joy of light
All pure, without danger:
For we thine Elect have been,
Thy secrets our eyes have seen,
And our hearts we have guarded clean
Toward kinsman and stranger!' ²

So the mystic song ends. The Chorus of initiates in the *Cretans* of Euripides claim that *they have become one with their god*:

'I am Set Free and named by name
A Bacchos of the mailed Priests.

Robed in pure white, I have borne me clean
From man's vile birth and coffined clay,
And exiled from my lips alway
Touch of all meat where life hath been.' ³

The initiate who has reached *ὁσίωσις*, the supreme consecration, *is* a bacchos: the god has entered into him.

That the higher, divine life may have been symbolised by the Sun is suggested by a comparison of these passages with the fragment of Sophocles ⁴:

ὥς τρισόλβιοι
κείνοι βροτῶν οἱ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη
μόλωσ' ἐς ἄδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ
ζῆν ἐστι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

At any rate we hear of the Sun as *φύλαξ* in an Orphic verse quoted by Proclus (*in Tim.* v. 308) τοῦτον (τὸν ἥλιον) ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὅλοις ὁ δημιουργός,

καὶ φύλακ' αὐτὸν ἔτευξε κέλυσέ τε πᾶσιν
ἀνάσσειν,

ὥς φησιν Ὀρφεύς. From Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 18. p. 333) we learn of a Helios-Dionysus:

¹ Helios is, of course, familiar as the all-seeing avenger of wrong (cf. Plat. *Crat.* 403 B), and as the ἄγνός θεός (Pind. *Ol.* vii. 58) who being *pure*, can purify: ὁ ἀγνίζειν τῇ ἀκτίνι δυνάμενος (Schol. ad loc.).

² *Frogs* 455 trans. Murray: μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος ἱερὰν ἐστι. Cf. also *Clouds* 225.

³ Eurip. *Cret.* frag. trans. Murray: τῶν Κουρήτων βάκχος ἐκλήθη ὁσιωθείς.

⁴ ap. Plut. *de aud. poet.* v.

Solem Liberum esse manifeste pronuntiat Orpheus:

ἥλιον δὲν Διόνυσον ἐπὶ κλήσιν καλέουσι.

Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* p. 498) compares Diodorus (I. 11), who cites Orpheus and the *Bacchica* of Eumolpos to support the equivalence, (Osiris)—Helios—Dionysus—Phanes.

We can now see the significance of Socrates' last derivation of *Apollo*.⁵ In respect of his *musical* art he is ἀπολῶν (where α = ὁμοῦ). The meaning is ἡ ὁμοῦ πόλῃσις, both in regard to the sky (the so-called *poles*) and in the harmony of song, called accord. This god presides over all harmony, causing all things to move together (ὁμοπολῶν) alike among gods and among men. *Muse* and *Music* are next derived from μῶσθαι—'search,' 'philosophy.'⁶

The word πόλῃσις recalls the magnificent allegory of the *Phaedrus*. 'Soul universally cares for the soulless (ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀψύχου) and ranges throughout all heaven (περιπολεῖ), passing into various forms. So, when it is perfect and winged, it voyages aloft and governs the whole Kosmos; but the soul which loses its wings falls till it meet with some solid thing which it takes for a dwelling.' When it is compact with an earthen body, it is called an animal, and mortal. The soul which is not wholly immortal can follow in that majestic procession led by the winged car of Zeus who 'orders and cares for all things,' and it can behold the blessed visions that are *within* the firmament. But it is the *immortal* soul, unencumbered by the flesh, which rises to the region *above* the firmament (ὑπερουράνιος), the place of formless and invisible substance, which only Reason, the soul's pilot, can contemplate. There, outside the οὐρανός, Reason beholds (θεωρεῖ) the vision of Truth. This is the life of the gods (θεοί).⁷

The words θεωρεῖν and εὐδαίμων so frequently used in this passage and its context are both adopted by the philosophers from religion⁸; and with them is adopted their significance, that in the beatific vision man achieves union with God. 'If then Reason is divine as compared with man, so is the life of reason divine as compared with human life. We ought not to obey those who exhort man to keep to a man's thoughts

⁵ *Crat.* 405 c.

⁶ We know from Paus. i. 30. 2 that the Academy contained 'an altar of the *Muses*, and another of *Hermes*.' The juxtaposition is significant.

⁷ *Phaedr.* 247.

⁸ Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 14ⁿ; Thompson on *Phaedr.* 250 B.

(ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν) or a mortal to those of a mortal; but we ought so far as possible to achieve immortality (ἀθανατίζειν) and do all we can to live according to the highest element in us.¹

‘For into the company of the Gods it may not be that any should come, that hath not loved wisdom and knowledge and departed in perfect purity.’²

Plutarch,³ also, has a fine passage on the ascent of man to the divine: ‘Many improbable legends are told’ of the translation of mortal bodies ‘by those who would deify what is mortal in nature. It is indeed impious and illiberal altogether to reject the divinity of virtue; yet to confound earth with heaven is ignorant. Let us then cling to the truth and admit, in Pindar’s words, that the body of everything ‘follows the prevailing might of Death, but something living is left, an image of eternity’; for that alone is from the gods. Thence it comes, and thither it rises upward—not with the body, but precisely when it is delivered and severed from the body and becomes altogether pure (καθαρόν) and incorporeal and holy (ἁγρόν). This is the ‘dry soul’ which Heraclitus says is best, sundering the body like the lightning which flies from a cloud: but the soul which is weighted with bodily admixture, like a heavy and dank vapour, is hard to kindle and to convey upwards. There is, then, no occasion, against nature, to send the bodies of the good to heaven with their souls; but we must think that the virtues, the souls, by nature and divine justice, rise *from men to heroes*, and *from heroes to spirits*, and at last, if as in the mysteries they be perfectly cleansed and consecrated (τέλειον καθαρῶσι καὶ ὁσιωθῶσι), shaking off all mortal passions, then they attain the fairest and final bliss and ascend *from spirits to gods*.’⁴

¹ Aristotle, *Eth.* K. 7 1177^b 30.

² *Phaedo* 82 B. Compare the derivations of Zeus, Kronos, Ouranos, *Cral.* 396: Zeus, the ruler and king of all is δι’ ὃν ζῆν (Δία Ζῆνα) ἀεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις ἐπάρχει, his father is a great understanding (διάνοια); his name means τὸν καθαρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁγίον τοῦ νοῦ. He is son of Ouranos, ἡ ὕψις ἡ δρώσα τὰ ἄνω, whence οἱ μετεωρόλογοι say they acquire τὸν καθαρὸν νοῦν. The allegory is transparent: the wisdom that looks upward begets pure reason, the source of all life. I cannot agree with Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* 510 [f]) that Plato’s intention is merely derisive.

³ *vit. Rom.* 28.

⁴ (Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.* iii 2. p. 192, ed. 4. 1903). For Plutarch’s demonology see *de Is. et Os.* xxv–xxvi. Compare also *de Def. Orac.* x, where after the passage already quoted (p. 434 note 3) he continues: ‘But others hold an analogous transformation for bodies and for souls. (For bodies) out of earth comes water, out of water air, and out of air fire is seen

THE RULE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

Plato is well aware that it will be hard to induce the philosopher who has reached this ἐποπτεία to go down again into the Cave and ‘take care of’ (ἐπιμελεῖσθαι) his fellows. And yet ‘states will never have rest from evils until the philosophers rule in them.’⁵ He who has been θεός must descend and become φύλαξ, instead of yielding to the desire ἄνω ἀεὶ διατρίβειν.

These words are echoed in a curious passage in Plutarch.⁶ After describing how the δαίμονες (souls of the departed) inhabit the hollows in the Moon’s face, he continues:

‘But the Spirits do not always pass their time in the Moon (οὐκ ἀεὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ). They come down to earth to take charge (ἐπιμελησόμενοι) of oracles; and they assist at the worship of the highest rites of initiation; and become watchers (φύλακες) and punishers of unrighteous deeds, and preservers (σωτῆρες) in war, and they shine over the sea. If they do these offices ill, whether in anger or with unrighteous partiality, they pay the penalty; for they are thrust down again to earth and compact (read συμπηγνύμενοι) with human bodies. But to that better sort the people of Cronos said that they themselves belonged, together with in former times the Idaean Dactyli of Crete, and the Corybants in Phrygia, and the Trophonians in Lebadeia, and countless others in many parts of the world, whose rites, functions (ῥιμαί), and titles yet remain. But the operative functions of some cease, who win the highest translation into another region. Some win it earlier, some later, when the Reason is separated from the soul. This separation is accomplished by love of the solar image (τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκόνης), through which shines that which is Desired and Beautiful and Divine and Blessed, whereunto every nature yearns diversely after its kind.’

The condition of the δαίμονες is not wholly divine: their reason is not yet com-generated, the essence being carried upwards. Similarly the better souls take their transformation from men into heroes, from heroes into spirits; and from spirits a few, after long time, being altogether purified through virtue, participate in divinity: ‘but others cannot master themselves, but enter again into mortal bodies, and have a dim and murky life, like vapours’. See also the experiences of Timarchus, a contemporary of Socrates, in the Cave of Trophonios (Plut. *de gen. Socr.* xxii). Whatever view we take of this passage, it is a most important commentary on the vision of Er.

⁵ *Rep.* 487 E.

⁶ *de fac. in orbe Lun.* 30.

pletely separated from soul. The mention of 'the people of Cronos' (οἱ περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὄντες) recalls a passage in the *Laws* (IV. 713 c) :

'A report, then, has come down to us concerning the blessed life of that age, how it had everything in spontaneous abundance; and the reason given is something of this sort. It would appear that Cronos perceived the truth we have just laid down, that no human being is capable of a general and absolute control over human life without becoming full of insolence and injustice. So, with this truth in mind, he set up in that age as kings and rulers over our cities, not men, but beings of a higher sort and a more divine, namely Spirits: just as we now do with flocks of sheep and all the tame kinds of animals; we do not in their case make an ox ruler over oxen, or a goat ruler over goats, but we are lords over them ourselves, being a higher race than they. In the same way, then, the God out of his love for mankind set over us in that age a higher race than we, the Spirits, who with no less comfort to us than to themselves took care of us, bringing peace and reverence and good government and justice without stint, and so made the generations of mankind united and happy. Now this legend contains a true meaning for us even to-day, that in whatsoever city the ruler is not a god but some mortal, for them is no escape from evil and trouble,¹ but we ought, it implies, by all means to imitate the life which it describes in the age of Cronos, and in all the public and private ordinance of house and state to obey whatever element of immortality is in us, and give the name of Law to the disposition of Reason.'

In the state, as in the individual, Reason is to be the guiding genius, because it is divine. The *Timaëus*² says: 'As to the supreme form of soul that is within us, we must believe that God has given it to each of us as a guiding genius (δαίμονα)—even that which we say, and say truly, dwells in the summit of our body and raises us from earth towards our celestial affinity, seeing we are of no earthly, but of heavenly growth: since to heaven, whence in the beginning was the birth of our soul, the diviner part attaches the head or root of us, and makes our whole body upright.' The man who is busied with appetites and ambi-

tions will become 'utterly mortal'; but he who has loved learning and true wisdom has reached such immortality as man may have; he has cherished his divine part and his guardian spirit, and must be happy (εὐδαίμων) above all.

In the *Phaedrus* the souls which sink to earth under the encumbrance of mortality are classified in nine degrees, according to the measure of their participation in the vision of truth:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| I.— | (1) φιλόσοφος, φιλόκαλος, μουσικὸς
καὶ ἐρωτικὸς |
| II.— | (2) βασιλεὺς ἔννομος, πολεμικός,
ἀρχικός |
| | (3) πολιτικός, οἰκονομικός, χρημα-
τιστικός |
| III.— | (4) φιλόπονος γυμναστικός, ἱατρικός |
| | (5) μαντικός, τελεστικός |
| | (6) ποιητικός, μιμητικός |
| IV.— | (7) δημιουργικός, γεωργικός |
| | (8) σοφιστικός, δημοτικός |
| | (9) τυραννικός |

I venture to suggest a grouping of these nine heads under four classes roughly answering to the four orders θεοὶ δαίμονες ἥρωες ἄνθρωποι. The first class needs no comment. The second contains the *guardian* and the *ruler* in all his forms. In the third the notion of purification runs through all the three subdivisions. It contains three of the four species of divine madness; ἔρως alone being raised to the highest class. The μιμητικός, the most objectionable kind of poet, links this class with the fourth, which contains that other μιμητικός, the sophist, ranked below the honest craftsman and husbandman.

THE MYTH IN THE *Politicus*.

With these ideas before us, it may be worth while to take account of the light they throw on the strange myth of the *Politicus*. The *statesman* has been traced down the chain of a long diaeresis which has led us to ἀνθρωπονομική, the rule of featherless bipeds. To mark off the βασιλεὺς from other ἀνθρωπονόμοι we resort to myth.

Formerly the sun and the other stars rose in the west and set in the east. But at the strife of Atreus and Thyestes, the god testifying to Atreus, reversed this order. We also hear of a reign of Cronos, and of an earth-born race of men. These legends arise out of the same occurrence, but the reason has been forgotten.

The Universe, an intelligent animal, has a body, and therefore cannot, like things

¹ The very turn of the phrase echoes *Rep.* 487 E οὐ πρότερον κακῶν παύσονται αἱ πόλεις πρὶν ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἄρξωσιν, with significant substitution of θεός for φιλόσοφος.

² 90 A. trans. Archer-Hind.

purely divine, abide in the same stay. Hence this reversal of its revolution (*ἀνακύκλις*). It is not due to two gods with opposite intentions;¹ but in the one case the universe is 'conducted by a divine cause external to itself, gaining life and renewed immortality from the artificer'; in the other, it is released, and reverts by its own motion through countless revolutions.

Such a reversal must have been attended by great destruction of life; but the most marvellous result is the reversal of the course of life itself. Men grew younger instead of older. Birth was a return out of the earth: the dead revived and rising up were called earth-born.

To this former order belongs the Age of Cronos with its spontaneous generation of the fruits of earth. The revolution itself was controlled by the care of God (*ἐπιμελούμενος ὁ θεός*), and animals, after their kinds, were allotted to a sort of divine shepherds, spirits, of whom each was absolute lord over his flock, so that there was no fighting or preying of one upon another. This explains the legend about the spontaneous subsistence of mankind. God himself was their presiding shepherd, as man, the diviner animal, shepherds the lower creatures. They had neither politics, nor wives and children; all came back to life out of the earth, remembering nothing of their former state. Earth gave them fruits spontaneously. They lived naked and houseless, sleeping on soft grass in temperate seasons.

Were they happier than we of the reign of Zeus? Yes, if they used their leisure in 'philosophy,' enquiring of every nature, human and animal, what its distinguishing function is, and so gathering wisdom. No, if filled with meat and drink, they only discoursed fables (*μῦθοι*), as legend reports of them.

Here I may pause for comment. We know now what is implied by the reign of spirits. This description of the Golden Age is plainly an allegory of the Platonic state of society. (No doubt Plato realised that the revolution needed to set that society going was little less than a reversal of the whole order of Creation.) It is not then fanciful to connect the account of life in the Golden Age with the imagery of the *Cave*.

We may note first the strange idea of birth as resurrection out of the earth.² We

have seen what uses Plato makes (*Rep.* 414 D) of the notion, inculcated by myth, that the citizens of the ideal state, while they dreamed they were being educated, were really being 'formed and nurtured, as all their arms and other equipment were forged, in the earth beneath.' Only when they are wrought to perfection (*παντελῶς ἐξειργασμένοι*) does their Mother send them up into the light.

The earliest stage of education takes place *inside the Cave*. The emergence from the underworld obscurity begins where that stage of education ends. The opening of the eye of the soul to upper-world reality is the beginning of a new life, compared with which the old life in the kingdom of shadows seems like death.

We can now interpret the last paragraph of the above summary. Two possibilities are suggested as to the occupation of the earth-born:

(1) If, as legend relates, they spent their lives filled with meat and drink, discoursing fables, their state was not gracious.

We think at once of the primitive society described in *Rep.* II. 372, the City of Pigs, where men spend their lives 'in banqueting and drinking, crowned with garlands and hymning the gods.' This will not make a happy state (420 E). We remember also the sensual paradise offered by religion to the pious, the *μέθη αἰώνιος* of Hades (363 D). The state of innocence, if this be all, is really the state of the prisoners in the *Cave*, bound in the chain of bodily senses and lusts.

(2) But the earth-born may have been better employed. They may have spent their leisure in 'philosophy,' gathering wisdom from enquiry into the distinguishing function of every nature.

If the age of Cronos possessed a Socrates, the earth-born may have been freed from their chain and turned towards the light by 'someone' who 'compelled them to answer questions concerning the nature of each of the objects they saw.'

Finally, the emergence from the *Cave* is not only a birth, but a *resurrection from the dead*. A resurrection, because the world above is the true home of the soul—the imperial palace whence it came. Education is recollection of lost knowledge, lost when the soul died into what we call life: *ἐκ γῆς ἀνεβιώσκοντο πάντες οὐδὲν μνησμένοι τῶν πρόσθεν*, (*Pol.* 272 A).

drawn my attention to his interesting discussion of this myth in his edition of the *Republic*, vol. ii. pp. 295 ff.

¹ Like the *φιλία* and *νέκος* of Empedocles.

² Plato rarely invents the imagery of his myths. Even this notion of living backwards will be found in a curious legend preserved by Theopompus, frag. 76. Since I wrote this Dr. Adam has kindly

We may now return to the *myth*, which goes on to describe the present reign of Zeus :

When the earth-born race was exhausted, each soul having accomplished all its appointed births, the pilot let go the helm, the reversal came, and the universe turned back by its 'destined and innate impulse' (272 ε). The gods who had provincial authority under the Highest Spirit ceased from their watching. Earthquakes followed, and destruction of life. Then the world settled down into its course, 'remembering the instructions of its creator and father.' But its corporeal admixture gradually obliterates this memory and is the cause of disorder. As forgetfulness grows upon it, its living creatures likewise show more *ἀναμνησσία*, and it goes nigh destruction. The creator perceiving its dissolution imminent, lest it 'sink into the infinite region of unlikeness,' resumes the helm and restores it to order, making it exempt from age and death. That is the end of all (273 ε).

During this reign of Zeus, mankind, orphaned of their shepherding spirit, were left weak and unguarded (*ἀφύλακτοι*).

Ignorant of arts, they had to be rescued by the divine gifts, of fire, of handicrafts, of seeds and plants. Then the care of the gods was withdrawn, and men were left to care for themselves, as the world was left to its own guidance (274 δ).

The myth is then applied to correct the foregoing diaeresis. The essence of all kingship is the care (*ἐπιμέλεια*) of human society. We ought to have distinguished the divine ruler of the age of Cronos from the human, of the age of Zeus. The figure of the true shepherd king surpasses the measure of mortal governors.

By way of moral, it is enough to repeat the words above quoted from the *Laws*: 'Now this legend contains a true meaning for us even to-day, that in whatsoever city the ruler is not a god but some mortal, for them there is no escape from evil and trouble; but we ought, it implies, by all means to imitate the life which it describes in the age of Cronos, and in all the public and private ordinance of house and state to obey whatever element of immortality is in us, and give the name of Law to the disposition of Reason.'

F. M. CORNFORD.

POLYBIUS' CONCEPTION OF Τύχη.

I go back from the consideration of Caesar's conception of Fortuna (*Classical Review*, April 1903), to trace the history of the same idea at Rome during the period of revolution which came to an end with Caesar. Of the history and meaning of the cult of Fortuna I have said something in my *Roman Festivals* (pp. 161 foll.), and much more will be found in works there cited. But the idea of Fortuna as a cosmic influence is quite distinct from that of the cult, or only occasionally touches it in poetry, as *e.g.* in Horace *Od.* I. 35; it is a Greek rather than a Roman idea, in so far at least as the Greeks reasoned upon a feeling which is the common property of mankind, while the Romans, so far as we know, did not do so until they came under Greek influence. The Greeks discussed this idea in the course of philosophical enquiry; the Romans, *more suo*, left it in the hands of a priestly aristocracy, which from time to time founded new cults of Fortuna under new cult-titles. But in the second century B.C. the Greek speculations about *τύχη* began to penetrate the

educated Roman mind, and the cults ceased to be of any real significance until they were revived by Augustus and used for Imperial purposes. Hence it is of especial interest to get some idea of the conception of Fortuna held by a man like Polybius in the second century B.C.—a Greek long resident at Rome, intimate with the leading Romans of his time, a practical man and no professed philosopher, and one whose particular delight it was to search out in the scientific spirit the causes of the stormy and startling events of which he wrote. The Roman who opened Polybius' work would find himself confronted with new ideas of Fortuna in the first four chapters of the first book: the circle of his Roman friends would absorb and disseminate these ideas; and his Greek friend Panaetius, and later Posidonius and Cicero, kept the discussion alive for nearly a century. At present I must confine myself to Polybius himself.

The subject is no new one, and has been touched upon of recent years more especially by Hirzel in an excursus to his *Untersuchungen*

zu Cicero's *Philosophischen Schriften* (Th. ii. p. 848, foll.), and by R. v. Scala in his *Studien des Polybios* (i. p. 159, foll.). Both these discussions I have found very helpful; others also in a less degree which I collected when studying Polybios many years ago.¹

Two preliminary observations may clear the ground. 1. Polybios does not seem to regard *τύχη* as a deity either Greek or Roman. In what remains of his work there is no allusion to the local *Fortunae* of Rome and Italy, though within his own period three temples were dedicated to the goddess at Rome, one of them by the father of his intimate friend Scipio. Nor does he seem to mention the numerous city *Tychae* of the Alexandrian age, of which Prof. P. Gardner has written in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ix. pp. 73 foll. This is characteristic of a man whose ideas of history and religion were cosmopolitan, and who did not greatly interest himself in the local cults and practices of the City-states of his day. 2. Polybios did not belong exclusively to any school of philosophy, but is best interpreted by his own writings. Undoubtedly he comes near to the Stoics in some points, and as we shall see, in the one under discussion; but he is not to be considered as in any way applying Stoic principles to history. His idea of *τύχη* is probably an inheritance from the common thought of the Greeks, as well as from their literature and philosophy,—from Euripides as much as from Aristotle, and from Menander as well as from Demetrius of Phalerum.²

Undoubtedly Polybios uses this common and handy word in a variety of senses according to his momentary need or mood: yet there is no difficulty in bringing all or nearly all of these under one or other of two heads.

I. The first of these is best exemplified in the familiar fourth chapter of Bk. I. He has just been telling us (as it will be important to recall presently) that his object in writing his history is to explain how, *i.e.*, with what forces and designs, the Romans were able to make themselves masters of the world: he then goes on (I. 4. 1):

τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραγματείας ἴδιον καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν τοῦτό ἐστιν

¹ La Roche, *Charakteristik des Polybios*, 1857; Markhauser, *Der Geschichtschreiber Polybios*, 1858; Pichler, *Polybios' Leben*, &c., 1860. Cf. also Nitzsch, *Polybios*, p. 35 foll.

² Demetrius' book on *τύχη* is quoted by Polyb. xxv. 21. Scala (p. 159 foll.) seems to me to exaggerate the importance of this single reference.

ὅτι, καθάπερ ἡ τύχη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πράγματα πρὸς ἓν ἔκλινε μέρος καὶ πάντα νεύειν ἠνάγκασε πρὸς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπόν, οὕτως καὶ [δεῖ] διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπὸ μίαν σύνοψιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς τύχης, ᾧ κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων συντέλειαν.

Then, after saying that this strange work of *τύχη* was what set him upon writing history, as well as the fact that no one had yet attempted the task he was undertaking, he proceeds:

νῦν δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν κατὰ μέρος πολέμους καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἅμα τούτοις πράξεων καὶ πλείους πραγματευομένους, τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ συλλήβδην οἰκονομίαν τῶν γεγονότων, πότε καὶ πόθεν ὁρμήθη καὶ πῶς ἔσχε τὴν συντέλειαν, ταύτην οὐδ' ἐπιβαλόμενον οὐδένα βασανίζειν, ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, παντελῶς ὑπέλαβον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μηδ' ἔασαι παρελθεῖν ἀνεπιστάτως τὸ κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης· πολλὰ γὰρ αὕτη καινοποιῶσα, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐναγωνιζομένη τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίοις, οὐδέπω τοιόνδ' ἀπλῶς οὐτ' εἰργάσατο ἔργον οὐτ' ἡγωνίσαστο ἀγώνισμα οἷον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

Here it is obvious that by *τύχη* Polybios does not mean Chance in our sense of the word: his use of the words *σκοπός*, *οἰκονομία*, *συντέλεια*, absolutely forbids such a conclusion. *Τύχη* is here an agent or power working to a definite end. No caprice is suggested in the work of this power: the word *καινοποιῶσα* need not imply this, but only that this power often startles men by the way it works. The *τύχη* of this chapter is in fact much the same conception as the *φύσις* of Bk. VI, which the historian invokes when in a more strictly scientific mood to explain the regular *ἀνακύκλωσις* of political constitutions. The following passages will show this clearly:

VI. 4. 11: γνοίη δ' ἂν τις σαφέστατα περὶ τούτων, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν οἷα δὴ νῦν εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκάστων κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχὰς καὶ γενέσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπιστήσας, κ.τ.λ.

VI. 9. 10: Αὕτη πολιτειῶν ἀνακύκλωσις, αὕτη φύσεως οἰκονομία, καθ' ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μεθίσταται καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας.

VI. 57. 1: Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπόκειται φθορὰ καὶ μεταβολή, σχεδὸν οὐ προσδεῖ λόγων· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη παραστήσαι τὴν τοιαύτην πίστιν, δυνεὶ δὲ τρόπων ὄντων καθ' οὓς φθείρεσθαι πέφυκε πᾶν γένος πολιτείας, τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν τοῦ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς φυομένου, κ.τ.λ.

The only reason, as it seems to me, why two different words are chosen to express much the same idea, is that the attitude of Polybius' mind both to his subject-matter and to his readers is slightly different in the two books (*i.e.* in the first chapters of Bks. I and VI respectively). In Bk. VI he is expounding what he believes to be a regularly recurring process in political history, the very recurrence of which proves it to be based on a law of nature; hence the use of the word φύσις. In Bk. I he is not expounding, but stating a problem, and one which cannot be explained as natural by the recurrence of phenomena, nor indeed explained at all except in the course of his history, of which the main object is this very explanation. Instead therefore of assuming at once that the growth of the Roman dominion is the result of natural law (though it is quite plain that he believes it to be so) he prefers to use a word which had been only too familiar to the Greek mind since the time of Alexander, and to ascribe the startling phenomena of which he is to treat to τύχη. Yet the idea at the bottom of his mind in each case is much the same. It is not far removed from the Stoic idea of Nature, Fate, ἡ εἰμαρμένη,¹ &c.; but as used by a historian it must not be pressed to a philosophical dogma. It may be paralleled by the way in which some modern historians use the word Evolution, which they find convenient to express the natural course of events, without meaning anything very definite by it; and it may be worth noting that Polybius' conviction that he was the first scientific historian, and the rather wearisome persistence with which he impresses this upon his readers, find their counterparts in the recent tendency of historical writing. The choice of the word τύχη need not startle us; apart from the vulgar meaning of mere chance or accident, from Aristotle downwards it had been used to express that which happens in the natural order of things, without any ascription to it of wantonness or caprice: thus Torstrick (Hermes IX, on Aristotle Phys. B. 2-4) notes that the English word 'happen' comes nearer to the Greek meaning of τύχη than the German Zufall or any modern European word.

In this wide sense both τύχη and φύσις can of course include human agency: the human will is free, and the natural course

¹ In xxxvii. 9-1 (Hultsch) τύχη and εἰμαρμένη occur together in almost the same sense.

of events in human life and experience is affected and can be explained by Man's wisdom, foresight, and energy, or on the other hand by the absence of those qualities in states or individuals. This is abundantly clear from Polybius' general view of history. Thus in I. 35, drawing the moral from the Carthaginian victory over Regulus, he points out the value of history as showing, to use the language of Caesar, 'fortunam esse industria sublevandam'; there is no position of affairs so bad that human activity may not remedy it. So in II. 35, commenting on the qualities that enabled Rome to save Italy from the Gauls in 222 B.C., he says that it is the duty of the historian to record τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐπεισόδια τῆς τύχης, so that in future no undue fear need be felt by civilised peoples of barbarian invasions. Cp. also III. 31 ad fin: V. 75: and the very remarkable passage in XXXVII. 9, to which I shall return, where he insists that the depopulation of Greece might be stayed by human endeavour and legislation. Again in X. 9. 2, and previously in chs. 5 and 7 of the same book, he emphasises the part played by the character and genius of Scipio in bringing about the ultimate defeat of Carthage in the 2nd Punic war, and thus affecting the whole course of history; just as in I. 63 he has already said that the Roman dominion was the result of the Roman character and discipline. Man is subject no doubt to the οἰκονομία τῆς φύσεως; but he is himself an important factor in it.

II. The citation of these last passages brings me to the second part of the subject, and the other use of the word τύχη which is common in Polybius; for in nearly all of them it will be found that he contrasts his own view with the ascription of events to τύχη in the narrower sense of chance or accident, which was no doubt the sense in which it was ordinarily used by the unphilosophical Greek of his day. Cp. I. 63-9:

ἐξ ὧν δῆλον τὸ προτεθέν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐ τύχη Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ ἔνοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰκότως, ἐν τοιούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασιν ἐνασκήσαντες, οὐ μόνον ἐπεβάλοντο τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ τολμηρῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθέκοντο τῆς προθέσεως.²

² Scala (p. 183, note) suggests that this passage could not have been written at the same time as I. 4, and that it must have been interpolated later by Polybius himself. It is true that in the two passages τύχη is used in two different senses; and that what

So also in X. 9, 2 he writes thus of the popular view of Scipio Africanus :

Τούτοις δὲ τοῖς ἐκλογισμοῖς ὁμολογοῦντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἔλθωσι τῆς πράξεως, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν τούτου πρόνοιαν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀναφέρουσι τὸ γεγονός κατόρθωμα, κ.τ.λ.

Once more, in a very remarkable fragment about the degeneracy and depopulation of Greece (XXXVII, 9) he writes as if he were almost himself willing to attribute them to *τύχη* or the gods.

Ἐγὼ δέ, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος, ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπιγράφουσιν ἐπὶ τε τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς κατ' ἰδίαν περιπετείας, νῦν βούλομαι περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους διαστellaσθαι καθ' ὅσον ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιδέχεται τρόπος. ὦν μὲν νῆ Δί' ἀδύνατον ἢ δυσχερὲς τὰς αἰτίας καταλαβεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὄντα, περὶ τούτου ἴσως ἂν τις ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποίητο καὶ τὴν τύχην, κ.τ.λ.

This chapter is extremely interesting as showing how nearly *τύχη*, when used in this sense, approaches to the idea of a divine interposition in the ordinary affairs of the world. Still more striking in the same way is the famous chapter about Philip of Macedon (XXIII, 10), where *τύχη* comes very near being personified as a goddess, and as capable of inflicting punishment, like Nemesis.

καθάπερ γὰρ ἂν εἰ δίκην ἢ τύχην βουλομένη λαβεῖν ἐν καιρῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ὧν εἰργάσατο κατὰ τὸν βίον, τότε παρέστησε τινας ἐρινύς καὶ ποιῦνὰς καὶ προστροπαίους τῶν δι' ἐκείνων ἡτυχηκότων, οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τοιαύτας ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας, κ.τ.λ.

That Polybius had the Nemesis of Greek tragedy in his mind when he wrote this chapter seems clear from §§ 12 and 16. He was in fact in a more emotional vein than was usual with him; and as Hirzel rightly observes (p. 864) in criticism of Markhauser, he needs to be here read with great discrimination. With this passage may be aptly compared XV. 20, in which he says that it is not unreasonable to ascribe to *τύχη* the punishment of Philip and Antiochus for their conspiracy against the infant Ptolemy Epiphanes, B.C. 204, especially as men are only too apt to blame her in the

in I. 4 is ascribed to the agency of *τύχη* is in I. 63 denied to it. But a Greek reader would at once have caught his meaning in each passage, and have failed to see any real contradiction in the two.

ordinary affairs of life. To this same conception of *τύχη* he reverts even at the very end of his history, and again in an emotional mood (XXXIX. 19) :

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς καταπράξαντες ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπανήλθομεν, ὡσανεὶ κεφάλαιά τινα τῶν προπεπολιτευμένων κατειργασμένοι, χάριν ἀξίαν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἰνοίας. διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων διαμεῖναι, θεωροῦντες τὴν τύχην ὡς ἔστιν ἀγαθὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἰσχύειν καθ' ὃ τις ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

It is interesting to find this more popular or conventional view of *τύχη* deliberately introduced by Polybius in the imaginary conversation (XV. 6) between two men of affairs, Hannibal and Scipio, before the battle of Zama : here however as in VIII. 22. 10 *τύχη* is capricious, as so often in later writers, and with v. Scala we may compare Horace's 'Fortuna . . . ludum insolentem ludere pertinax' (Od. III. 29. 50) :

“ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔτοιμός εἰμι τῷ πείρῳ εἰληφέναι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς εἰμετάθετός ἐστιν ἢ τύχην καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἑκάτερα ποιεῖ μεγάλας ῥοπὰς, καθάπερ εἰ νηπίοις παισὶ χρωμένῃ· σὲ δ' ἀγωνιῶ, Πόπλιε, λῖαν,” ἔφη “καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον εἶναι κομιδῇ καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντα σοι κατὰ λόγον κεχωρηκέναι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ μηδέπω μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐμπεπτωκέναι παλιρρύμην, μή ποτε οὐ πεισθῆς διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἑμοῖς λόγοις, καίπερ οὖσι πιστοῖς.”

Lastly, it is hardly necessary to note that Polybius, like all writers of his own and the following period, occasionally uses not only *τύχη*, but *θεός τις*, or *τὸ δαιμόνιον* (I. 84. 10) in the ordinary course of historical narrative where sudden chances, providential escapes, etc., are described : thus in XI. 24. 8 (Scipio's victory over Hasdrubal) he says that unless some god had intervened to save them, i.e., by a storm, the Carthaginians would have been driven even from their camp and destroyed. But in such passages he is merely using conventional language, which must not be taken as reflecting any philosophical or theological views of his. We may be sure that Polybius did not really believe in capricious Divine interference, in Nemesis, or in blind chance; but in certain moods or in ordinary narrative he falls into the popular vein and vocabulary,—*λίαν εἰκότως*.

But this is most often the case where he is unable to explain events by the light of

his scientific view of causation; and here perhaps we may find a common ground for the two principal applications of the word *τύχη* which we find in his writings. *Τύχη* may mean the natural order and development of human affairs, where we cannot explain it scientifically, as in I. 4, while the same idea is better expressed by *φύσις* where we can obtain more satisfactory data for determining the nature of the causation. But *τύχη* may also be used to indicate the common changes and chances of this mortal life, where it is hopeless, and perhaps needless, to attempt to search out there causes. In the former case the word is used in a broad and quasi-philosophical sense, in the latter in a conventional and popular one: yet at the bottom of both usages there lies the idea of a limit to our knowledge of causation, which must be somehow expressed so as to be understood by the general Greek reader. Where he cannot be scientific in terminology, he does not disdain to be popular. Whether he really believed in a Divine government of the world is hard to say; but it is certain that he did not trouble himself about it where he could

dispense with it in his expositions. In ordinary chance and accident he naturally believed (if belief is the right word) like every one else; but he would leave as little space for it as possible in explaining historical events, and would have men leave as little in regulating their daily conduct. The passage already quoted from the original in the 37th book perhaps best sums up his historical attitude towards the philosophical problem. 'Those things of which it is impossible to ascertain the causes, such as a continual fall of rain, etc., may reasonably be ascribed to *ὁ θεός* or *ἡ τύχη*, if no cause can easily be discovered On such matters we may naturally follow the opinions of the multitude *διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν*, and by prayers and sacrifices and oracles endeavour to ascertain what we can do to better our condition . . . But where it is possible to discover the causes, remote and immediate (*ἐξ ἧς καὶ δι' ἣν ἐγένετο*) of the event in question, I do not think that in such cases we ought to have recourse to Divine agency in order to explain them.'

W. WARDE FOWLER.

SOME THEORIES ON SUBJUNCTIVE PROTASIS WITH INDICATIVE APODOSIS.

CONDITIONAL sentences containing the subjunctive in protasis and the indicative in apodosis have long occupied the attention of grammarians. In 1884, Lillie,¹ evidently strongly influenced by the theories of Hoffmann,² attempted a solution along new lines. Briefly stated, the main points in his dissertation are as follows:

(a) We should exclude from the discussion those sentences in which the mood of the verb of the *si*-clause is not perfectly clear, e.g. when it is such a form as *dederis*; also those cases where there is a suspicion of indirect discourse. In this last category are to be included such expressions as *nisi restituisse statuas, vehementer eis minatur*, and those in which *si* approaches interrogative force (wo *si* im Sinne von 'ob' aufgefasst zu werden pflegt).

(b) In the remaining cases the subjunctive of the *si*-clause is due to the fact that that clause is logically subordinate; that is, the

indicative conclusion is an independent statement of fact, and the *si*-clause is a modifier of the nature of an afterthought—the relation between the two is merely that of *Hauptsatz* and *Nebensatz*. (Conversely, when the same mood appears in both clauses of a conditional sentence, the course of thought underlying begins with the action or state of affairs referred to in the *si*-clause, and the conclusion deals with a second action or state of affairs arising from the first; the relation of two such clauses is that of *Vordersatz* and *Nachsatz*.)³

(c) The indicative conclusion must always refer to a state of affairs (*nie ein Eintretendes, sondern stets ein Zuständliches behaupten müsse*, p. 5; *ein Zuständliches, das in seiner Allgemeinheit gelten soll*, p. 13). This peculiarity makes it possible for the indicative clause to be an independent statement though it is modified by a subjunctive *si*-clause; for the latter

¹ *Conjunctivischer Bedingungssatz bei indicativem Hauptsatz im Lateinischen*, Berlin, 1884.

² See his footnotes, *l.c.* pp. 4, 7, and 16.

³ The only exception to this rule allowed seems to be in sentences that are contrary to fact; see *l.c.* p. 12.

merely calls attention to specific cases that help to make good this generalizing statement of fact. According to the nature of the proof afforded by the *si*-clause, the sentences in question may be thus classified:

- I. *Förderndes* (favouring circumstances prove the rule).
- II. *Hinderndes* (the rule holds even under adverse circumstances).
- III. *Ausnahmen* (the exception proves the rule).
- IV. *Aufhebendes* (in special cases the proof is lacking).

(d) In every case the indicative statement is pregnant, *i.e.* it has a sort of double value. Generally it is an independent statement of fact primarily, yet it contains or suggests a conditioned statement that is presumably the proper apodosis of the conditioning clause. Sometimes, however, the reverse is true—the indicative is primarily a conditioned statement, and it is left to the hearer to understand the unconditioned.¹

In passing judgment on the merits of this theory we may start with (b)—the claim that when the underlying thought begins with the condition, the same mood is found in both clauses of a conditional sentence; and that the subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion is a phenomenon due to the fact that the thought of the indicative clause is antecedent, the *si*-clause being the expression of an afterthought and logically dependent.² Such a sweeping principle as this would seem to call for a careful demonstration, but on page 4 there appears the only clearly stated argument to prove its soundness. There we are told that, as the material is brought together, one is impressed with the brevity and unimportance of many of the *si*-clauses that contain the present subjunctive and are accompanied by an indicative conclusion. Such examples are cited as *si opus sit, si velint, si cupias* and *si roges*, and it is remarked that a mere adverbial rendering would in some cases be sufficient, *e.g.* *womöglich, nötigenfalls*. Such brevity and unimportance is taken to be an indication that these subjunctive *si*-clauses are mere subordinate modifiers of independent state-

ments, being of the nature of tags or afterthoughts. But far from supporting Lillie's position, this argument might easily be used to break down the very distinction that he is trying to establish. For if the phrases quoted above are short and unimportant, what of the following indicative *si*-clauses taken from Plautus? *Aul.* 771, *si otiumst*; *Bacch.* 99, *si lubet*; *M.G.* 972, *si illa volt*; *Amph.* 1051, *si volent*; *Asin.* 597, *si voles*; *Poen.* 778, *siquid refert*; *Men.* 557, *si potero*; *Asin.* 373 (and often), *si sapis*; *Ep.* 507, *si scis*. If the being short and unimportant proves that a *si*-clause is logically dependent, apparently the proper conclusion to draw is that logically dependent *si*-clauses are found as well in sentences that have the same mood in both clauses as in those where the mood varies. What other support he had for his theory is not definitely stated, but it is hinted that the argument above advanced is only a part of the proof. Possibly he has in mind the confirmation of his view that he finds in applying the same to the interpretation of individual examples. This, however, is not a very cogent argument, especially when the interpretations are as strange as those in this dissertation.

It is of course true that the thought of some conditional sentences begins with the *si*-clause, while in others the conclusion precedes logically. In a purely psychological investigation³ I have tried to describe in detail the difference in the thought underlying a conditional sentence according as it is the idea of the protasis or apodosis that occurs first to the mind, assigning the name Consequence Period when the thought of the protasis is antecedent, and Proviso Period when the reverse is true. But Lillie's contention that the thought underlying every conditional sentence with the same mood in both clauses is a Consequence Period, while that underlying sentences with subjunctive *si*-clause and indicative conclusion is a Proviso Period cannot be so readily granted. Certainly, as shown above, he has his case still to prove; and the proof of the same will be no easy matter.

For, in the first place, he must ask us to interpret in one way the sentence in which stands the short and unimportant (*e.g.*) *si velint*, and in exactly the opposite way the sentence in which appears the equally short and unimportant (*e.g.*) *si volent*. Further take such examples as

Plaut. *Asin.* 12;

Asinariam volt esse, si per vos licet.

³ *Amer. Jour. Phil.* xxiv. pp. 25 ff.

¹ But it is not explained why in such a case we do not find the same mood in both clauses.

² The words 'logically dependent' are intended as a mere paraphrase of 'being the expression of an afterthought'; *i.e.* the point of view is the *intellection of the speaker*, and the order in which thoughts rise in his mind. In this way the words 'logical' and 'logically' are to be interpreted throughout the remainder of this paper. That this was Lillie's point of view appears clearly on p. 12 of his dissertation.

Plaut. *Men.* 1030 ;

Iubeo herele, siquid imperist in te mihi.

The mood being the same in both clauses of these sentences, the underlying thought should be of the Consequence order according to the theory discussed. But how in the nature of things could the thought of (e.g.) *si per vos licet* be antecedent? Compare also Plaut. *Amph.* 1006, *Asin.* 373, *Bacch.* 766, *Capt.* 209, *Curc.* 328, *Ep.* 449, *M. G.* 1149, *Poen.* 675, *Ps.* 723, 1261, 1325. It is often difficult and sometimes impossible to tell whether the thought of a given conditional sentence is of the Consequence or the Proviso order, but in this list of sentences with the same mood in both clauses almost every reader will find one or more examples to add to *Asin.* 12 and *Men.* 1030 as cases in which the thought of an indicative *si*-clause cannot be antecedent. Such examples seem to show conclusively that the logical dependence of a *si*-clause does not necessarily affect the mood of the verb in that clause, and that some other theory must be sought to explain the phenomenon of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion.

Not only does Lillie's theory thus seem to break down at once when put to a practical test, but it is also lacking in antecedent probability. For why should the Proviso Period force a variation in the mood of the verb in the *si*-clause of the sentence through which it finds expression? If my analysis (*l.c.* p. 27 ff.) of the two orders of conditional thought is correct, the difference between them may be illustrated as follows. Suppose I should say, 'I expect to do thus and so'; my friend who sees the outcome of the projected action may reply

'If you do that, you will be hurt.'

This sentence is the expression of a Consequence Period, the thought of the condition being antecedent. On the other hand, suppose that I am invited by my friend to accompany him somewhere. I am inclined to accept the invitation, but am overtaken by the thought of a possible hindering circumstance, e.g. that it may rain. I might then reply

'I will come, if it does not rain.'

This sentence illustrates the Proviso Period, the apodosis expressing the beginning of the train of thought. The marked difference in function between these two illustrative sentences is that the second carries with it an implication; *i.e.*, when I say 'I will

come, if it does not rain," I imply 'otherwise not.' Such implication will be found to be lacking in the other sentence.¹ I can see nothing either in the implication that goes with the Proviso Period or in the fact that the apodosis is logically antecedent to lead us to expect any peculiarity in the mood of the conditioning clause.²

It is true that rarely in the Proviso Period the possible hindering circumstance is so slow in occurring to the mind that the speaker begins his sentence as an independent statement, not expecting the turn his thought will take. Thus, in the example cited above, I might get as far as 'I will come,' intending these words as an unconditional acceptance of the invitation; but overtaken at that point by the thought of possible rain, the idea 'my going' at once becomes contingent in my mind, and if I should represent fully in speech my course of thought, the result would be as follows:

'I will come; or rather, I will come, if it does not rain.'

In this sentence the repetition of 'I will come' is no mere tautology, for the first is an unconditional acceptance and forms a complete sentence, and its tone therefore varies somewhat from that of the second. This will become clear if the sentence be read aloud. In such a case as this we are usually careless enough to allow the first 'I will come' to do duty for both, and though it has been spoken in the tone of an unconditional acceptance we append our condition to it, sometimes interposing a saving phrase; *e.g.*,

'I will come;—that is, if it does not rain.'

Here of course there is a chance for a variation in the mood of the *si*-clause; that matter would be determined by the laws that govern the mood of the verbs in *si*-clauses generally. Any such variation would be due to the fact that we are putting together clauses that properly belong to different sentences, and not at all really to the fact that the underlying conditional thought is a Proviso Period. Even in such extreme cases as this Lillie could find no conclusive proof of the truth of his theory.

¹ This point is explained in detail, *l.c.* pp. 31 ff.

² Some perhaps would not so readily grant this; any such are referred to the demonstration just given that Lillie's theory will not stand a practical test, whatever the antecedent probability of its correctness. Though no variation of mood is to be expected when the underlying thought is a Proviso Period, there is often doubtless a variation in the tone of voice.

These extreme cases are naturally most common in the offhand speech of everyday life; a stenographer might catch them here and there, but we should hardly expect to find many in the language of a studied composition. That they are not of frequent occurrence in the material with which Lillie is working is shown clearly by the fact that the protasis often precedes the indicative conclusion. If there are any such there, his description of the indicative clause as an independent statement of fact would be in a sense correct as applied to them. But it is not true of the conditional sentence generally through which a Proviso Period is expressed; for the thought period is usually complete before we begin to speak, and the interdependence of clauses is not a whit less close when I say

‘I will come, if it does not rain’

than when my friend says

‘If you do that, you will be hurt.’

The classification offered by Lillie (c) may be more briefly treated. Of his four classes the two last (*Ausnahmen* and *Aufhebendes*) are very insignificant numerically, and the real effect of the classification is hardly more than the making of two large groups (*Förderndes* and *Hinderndes*), *i.e.*, those examples in which *si* is used with concessive force are drawn off into a class by themselves. This I think is the one point of value in the classification; the remainder seems to be a flagrant case of fitting facts to a theory. The theory is that, in every sentence of the class under discussion, the *si*-clause by its reference to concrete cases somehow supports the truth of the apodosis. Now this can happen naturally only when the apodosis is of the nature of a generalizing statement; hence we are told (p. 5) that it must always be such, and that, accordingly, the present and the imperfect tenses are the only ones properly used, the (frequently occurring) future and other tenses needing a special dispensation (p. 14). The violent handling of individual examples to make them fit the theory is well illustrated by the treatment of Cic. *Cato Maior* 7, 21, which is explained in detail (p. 5). As punctuated here it reads

At memoria minuitur, credo, nisi eam exerceas.

The interpretation is that the first clause is the unconditioned expression of a general truth—the memory is doomed (in every case) to fail; the conditioning clause produces

evidence of the validity of the preceding proposition by citing a case where this happens, *i.e.*, when people neglect to use their memories.

The last point (d) mentioned in the summary at the beginning, namely that the indicative conclusion is a pregnant expression, is interesting and important. It is stated more clearly elsewhere, and will be considered later.

Following Lillie came Blase with a paper on the present subjunctive in conditional sentences.¹ His material is divided into three groups according to mood and tense; the sentences that go to make up these groups may be represented by typical formulae, namely *si sit—sit*, *si sit—est*, and *si sit—erit*. The sentences of the last two forms are of interest for the present discussion, and Blase devotes the first pages of his paper to an examination and rejection of all previous theories to explain the phenomenon of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative apodosis. His own suggestion is particularly unsatisfying—that in all such cases it is the subjunctive of the *si*-clause (and not the indicative of the conclusion) that should be made the basis of the explanation of the form of the sentence, and that this subjunctive (just as in the form *si sit—sit*) must be justified by deriving it from some independent (paratactic?) use of that mood. I say that this suggestion is very unsatisfying, for what proof is there that the speaker or writer of hypotactic *si*-clauses which contain the subjunctive felt any conscious connection between the use of the mood there and its use to express *e.g.* jussive or optative ideas?² As a matter of fact it has yet to be proved that subjunctive *si*-clauses are even derived originally from such uses in parataxis. It is certainly much more practical to try to find some peculiarity of meaning in these sentences made up of subjunctive *si*-clause and indicative conclusion—a peculiarity of which the speaker was duly conscious—to serve as an explanation of the peculiarity of form. Other investigators have not despaired of finding a way out in this direction.

The rest of Blase's paper is given over to a most interesting and important demonstration of the gradual retreat of the form *si sit—sit* before the advance of the forms *si sit—est* and *si sit—erit*. With this historical

¹ ‘Der Konjunktiv des Präsens im Bedingungssatze,’ *Wölfflin's Archiv*, ix. p. 17 ff.

² Delbrück's concessions along this line in his latest utterances are very significant. See *Neue Jahrbücher*, v. (1902), p. 317 ff.

development we are not at present concerned. We should like to know rather what is the difference in meaning between *e.g. si sit—erit* and *si sit—sit* when they are used by the same author.

Lebreton,¹ who confines his investigation to the writings of Cicero, quite dissents from the treatment by Blase of the sentences of the forms *si sit—est* and *si sit—erit* in his author. He would make at least four subdivisions on the basis of meaning:

(a) When the subject of the verb of the *si*-clause is the indefinite second singular. Blase (*l.c.* p. 20) strenuously objects to looking for an explanation of the subjunctive in this circumstance, because the indicative and imperative sometimes also have the indefinite second singular as their subject. Lebreton's answer is that when the indicative (rather than the subjunctive) is used the speaker singles out and envisages an unnamed individual, and that there are many cases almost impossible of explanation unless we accept this distinction. Whatever the estimate we may place on this criterion of the use of the indicative and the subjunctive, and despite the persistent effort to discredit any explanation of the use of the subjunctive on the basis of its indefinite subject,² we may well feel that here is a phenomenon that will bear further investigation, especially in view of the very widely extended use of the subjunctive in all sorts of dependent clauses in which the subject is the indefinite second singular.

(b) When *si* is concessive. This class was noted above in the discussion of Lillie's views. Lebreton further notes that the adversative relation between the clauses allows the indicative conclusion to remain an independent statement of fact; *e.g.*, '(Even) if he does his worst, I will go.' Here 'my going' is not conditioned on the 'if'-clause—I am going anyway, even under adverse circumstances.

(c) When the verb of the conclusion is one of possibility or necessity. Lebreton regards this use as 'an illogical extension of the syntax of independent sentences,' *i.e.*, of the use of (*e.g.*) *possum* where the English idiom calls for 'I could,' and French use the conditional mood (*cf.* p. 279).

(d) When no peculiarity of meaning is easily discerned (see table p. 364).

Lodge³ takes up the old question, but with special reference to the use of indicative forms in the apodoses of conditional sentences contrary to fact. He passes judgment rather hastily on the work of Lillie and Blase, inclining to support the former. For he says, *si* has to a certain extent the effect of a subordinating particle in the semi-interrogative construction after verbs of Trial and Expectation, being there paralleled by *ut*- and *dum*-constructions; hence Lillie is right in claiming that some *si*-clauses are logically dependent, though he is mistaken in trying to explain all cases of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion in this way. But this really misses Lillie's meaning; for he expressly states that he excludes from the discussion all such cases as this (*wo si im Sinne von 'ob' aufgefasset zu werden pflegt*, p. 3). Consequently we must judge of Lillie's theory in its application to the remaining sentences that exhibit the peculiar modal use under discussion. I have tried to show that it breaks down when so applied, and Blase's rejection of the theory (*l.c.* p. 21 ff.) seems abundantly justified.

However, these opening remarks of Lodge are not without interest for the present discussion. For they call attention to the possibility that, in certain cases, *si* may be used where the thought would find more natural and exact expression through a conjunction of another kind. If in this way *si* should usurp the function of (*e.g.*) an interrogative word in an indirect question, we should have at hand a ready explanation for the presence of a subjunctive in that clause, whatever the mood of the verb in the conclusion. I do not think, however, that Lodge meant that any such application of his remark should be made; rather he seems to feel that, in attacking the problem of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion, we should bend our energies to an explanation of the indicative conclusion, not of the subjunctive *si*-clause.

In setting forth his view, the sentences that employ the present subjunctive are first considered, the theory evolved for them being then applied to the sentences that contain the secondary tenses of that mood. The theory for the present subjunctive may be summed up as follows:

(a) A normal ideal conditional sentence consists of two members both of which refer to the future. Normal then would be (with

¹ *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, Paris, 1901, pp. 349 ff.

² See Greenough, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* ii. (1871), p. 161, and references in Blase, *l.c.* pp. 19 and 20.

³ *On the Theory of the Ideal Condition in Latin*, Studies in honour of B. L. Gildersleeve, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 253 ff.

others) the two forms *si sit—sit* and *si sit—erit*.

(b) The form *si sit—est* may be called the 'spurious' form. Its justification consists in the fact that the present indicative of the conclusion is always a verb with a future outlook (e.g., *possum, expecto*, etc.). Though these present indicative forms are primarily mere statements of an attitude or tendency to act, still their future outlook enables them to *imply* a proper apodosis for a subjunctive *si*-clause (which, according to Lodge's theory, always refers to the future).

(c) We may classify sentences of this form according to the kind of verb in the indicative conclusion, each kind of verb, in its own way, possessing a future outlook.

(1) Verbs of Trial and Expectation.

(2) Verbs of Possibility, Power, Obligation, and Necessity.

(3) The Active and Passive Periphrastic.

(4) Any word or phrase that looks toward the future.

(5) The present tense denoting progress.

(6) A number of uses like *longum est, par est, aequum est*.

In Lodge's theory perhaps the most valuable feature is the elaboration of Lilie's suggestion that the indicative conclusion is a pregnant expression. I should hesitate to claim for this principle such a wide scope of application as either Lilie or Lodge. Yet in certain cases it may be very properly applied, though I can fancy Blase again saying 'so wird hier nur die alte Ellipsentheorie zu neuem Leben erweckt' (*l.c.* p. 21). Since neither of its advocates explains this point in detail, I may illustrate by the use of two concessive contrary to fact sentences.

Cic. *Cat. Mai.* 11. 38 :

..... affero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret, ea ipsa cogitantem, quae...

In such a sentence as this, the apodosis *states* what would be true under changed circumstances, and *implies* that the same thing is true under the present circumstances, i.e. *oblectaret* not only means 'would delight me,' but it also clearly implies 'does delight me.' This may perhaps be called the normal procedure; sometimes it is reversed.

Cic. *Lael.* 27, 104 :

Sed nec illa extincta sunt alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen *affert* mihi aetas ipsa solacium.

Here the speaker chooses to state outright the existing state of affairs (*affert*), leaving it to the hearer to infer that the same state of affairs would continue under changed circumstances—an inference which the mood and tense of the verb in the protasis render easy. This second example may serve to illustrate how an indicative conclusion can be a pregnant expression (*Lilie*), or imply an apodosis (*Lodge*). I can see no valid reason for trying to discredit this method of explanation; it is very probable that many sentences of the form *si sit—est* are to be treated in this way, especially those in which the verb of the conclusion is *possum, debeo*, or other like expression.

The remainder of Lodge's treatment of the present subjunctive is less helpful for the present discussion, partly doubtless because of the brevity of his paper, partly too, I think, because this part of his article is but a stepping-stone to the theory for the secondary tenses of the subjunctive. To explain the use of the latter as future from a point in the past originally,¹ he has felt it desirable to claim a reference to the future for all cases of the form *si sit—sit, si sit—erit*, and *si sit—est*. This fancied necessity for finding some kind of future reference in all cases has reacted unfavourably for the purposes of the present investigation. For, satisfied with the future reference of the form *si sit—erit*, Lodge has been content to rank it as 'normal'² along with *si sit—sit*, certainly at least implying that the first named form calls for no explanation. Again, to secure the future reference, it has been necessary to assume

¹ The implied evolution of a specific contrary to fact construction through this use of the secondary tenses of the subjunctive to express a future from a point in the past would be more convincing if it should be first shown that the latter use antedates the employment of the imperfect subjunctive for the present contrary to fact; certainly the frequent occurrence of such a use is late rather than early (see *Class. Rev.* xv. p. 51 ff.), and already in Plautus about one fourth of the present contrary to fact sentences are using the imperfect subjunctive (*Amer. Jour. Phil.* xxii. p. 316).

² I cannot pass unchallenged Lodge's surprising statement (*l.c.* p. 256) that a normal ideal conditional period consists of two members of which 'one is not the complement of the other nor is it dependent on the other.' Though they were otherwise applied by him, the words of Blase (*l.c.* p. 20) are none too emphatic for this situation: 'Eine solche Unabhängigkeit ist bei einer regelrechten Bedingungsperiode einfach nicht möglich, da ihre Eigentümlichkeit gerade auf der gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit der beiden Satzglieder beruht.' In the same paragraph the phrase 'a premiss in the form of a wish' is at least misleading.

that, in the form *si sit—est*, the verb of the conclusion always has a future outlook. But when the *si*-clause is concessive or has for its subject the indefinite second singular, there are plenty of cases of this form in which the indicative of the conclusion has no future outlook;¹ such future outlook would be really undesirable, for the subjunctive of the accompanying *si*-clause does not refer to the future either (see examples in Lebreton pp. 354 ff.). Finally, the possibility does not seem to be recognized that the explanation of the form *si sit—est* should be based, in some cases, not on the indicative of the conclusion, but on the subjunctive of the *si*-clause.

After looking at the subject in hand from all sides, it is hard to resist the conclusion that Lebreton is right in insisting on a subdivision according to meaning, and that the proper mode of procedure is to seek an explanation for subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative apodosis along the line of the functional differences thus brought out; and further, since these functional differences are very marked, that we should expect the correct explanation not to be the same in every case, being prepared, if necessary, to make now the subjunctive *si*-clause, now the indicative conclusion the basis of explanation. In closing this paper I may therefore enumerate various functional classes in which we may perhaps hope to find some light shed on the problem of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion.

(1) In apodosis such verbs as *expecto, viso* (Expectation, Trial).

(2) In apodosis such verbs as *possum, debeo* (Ability, Necessity).

(3) *Si*-clause is concessive.

(4) Subject of the verb of the *si*-clause is the indefinite second singular.

(5) Disjointed combinations arising from a shift of the point of view of the speaker.

(6) Sentences possessing no obvious peculiarity of meaning.

To recognize the cases that employ the secondary tenses of the subjunctive, we may add

(7) *Si*-clause refers to a future from a point in the past.

(8) Sentence is contrary to fact.

It is quite possible that still other classes might be added with profit. How some of the above classes may be utilized for the

solution of the problem in hand has already been indicated, though it does not really fall within the province of this paper to go into that matter very deeply. One word I would add however with reference to class (6). Lebreton seems to find a few cases falling under that heading among the sentences of both the form *si sit—erit* and *si sit—est*. To dispose of such examples satisfactorily it may be necessary to answer the very difficult question What, at bottom, is the essential difference of meaning between *si sit* and *si erit*? Or, to put the question in terms of a time-honoured controversy, What is the distinction in meaning between *si sit—sit* and *si erit—erit*? My suggestion with reference to this question, if it be raised, is that we need not go back to original or fundamental meanings of the indicative and the subjunctive for an explanation;² for the Roman speaker had no such consciousness and was influenced by no such consideration.³ Whatever the distinction was, we may be sure that it was not abstract—rather it was of a common practical sort. The Transactions of the early meetings of

² Here again it is difficult to allow Lodge's statement to pass unchallenged. He bases his whole theory on the original force of the subjunctive (*l.c.* p. 255). This original force, he says, must have been futurity and nothing else; for it is generally agreed that the I.E. force of the subjunctive was futurity, and this was the case of the optative also (cf. Goodwin, *Greek Moods and Tenses*, Appendix I). Though, as above noted, this question need not be raised, since it has been raised, we are perhaps justified in asking for a little more information about the exact meaning of this statement. For if in the I.E. period future indicative, subjunctive, and optative forms all expressed mere futurity, how were *e.g.* wish and exhortation expressed? There is a serious difficulty here, for that such ideas were expressed cannot be doubted, and it is just as certain that the verb-forms through which they were expressed were *ipso facto* the expression of wish and exhortation. In view of Lodge's confidence in the strength of the position he takes, it may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that a small (but, I hope, respectable) minority of scholars hold an altogether different theory with reference to early modal usage.

In the same passage, while trying to show that all the uses of the Latin subjunctive betray this assumed original force, Lodge passes unnoticed those cases in which the *si*-clause is concessive or the subject of the verb is the indefinite second singular. To these might be added the use of the present subjunctive in early Latin for the present contrary to fact; for here there is no more future force than there is when the imperfect subjunctive is so used (*e.g.*) in Cicero; cf. *Class. Rev.* xv. p. 51 ff. The statement in the Gildersleeve-Lodge Grammar, 596 Rem. 1, is very misleading on this point.

³ See again Delbrück, *Neue Jahr.* v. p. 325: 'In den Einzelsprachen findet sich nicht als einzelne Gebrauchstypen bei deren der Sinn des Kasus sich ganz aus der Situation zu ergeben scheint. Von einer Grundbedeutung des Kasus hat der Sprechende nicht das geringste Bewusstsein' (italics mine).

¹ Lodge does not notice these classes, but even among those he does recognize he admits that the future outlook is not always obvious (*l.c.* p. 257, class 6); the same might be said of some of the sentences quoted under (4).

the American Philological Association contain much literature on the subject. One of the most interesting contributions—that of C. D. Morris¹—has received less attention

¹ Vol vi. (1875), p. 44 ff.

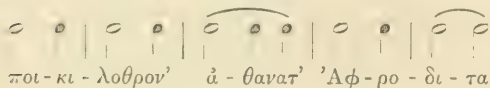
than it deserves. Whatever we may think of the detail, its method is certainly sane and suggestive.

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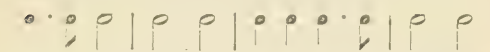
THE LATIN SAPPHIC.

WE may represent what was presumably the rhythm of the Greek sapphic thus:



where the time taken by each bar is equal, though the third bar is divided between a long and two shorts, and the fifth bar between two longs.

Again, we may represent the modern English rhythm of the sapphic thus:



which is approximately the rhythm of Fleming's music to *Integer vitae*, and of 'Needy knife-grinder.'

The differences between these two rhythms are three:

(1) There is a change from what is in the main triple time to 'common' or duple time. I say 'in the main,' for the effect of triple time is broken by bars 3 and 5.

(2) There is a change from 5-bar rhythm to 4-bar rhythm.

(3) The stress in the English rhythm comes on the fourth and sixth syllables instead of on the fifth and seventh.

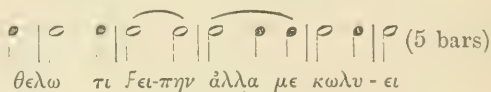
These differences deserve separate attention; and when we have determined the causes of each, we may be able to see to what extent they were produced or furthered by Horace himself, and so finally to form some idea of the Latin sapphic as conceived by Horace, between its Greek parent on the one hand and its English (degenerate) offspring on the other.

(1) The first change was due in the main to the genius of the Latin language itself, which did not easily accommodate itself to triple-time rhythms. The Roman sense of time in speech was not so delicate as the Greek, and perhaps the triple time was felt too tripping for the dignity of Roman speech. Horace however clearly aided the change by consistently putting a long syllable in the fourth place. Before him Catullus

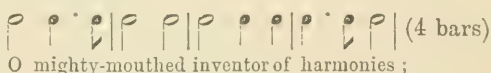
has shown a distinct preference for a long syllable in that place, as in his two sapphic poems he has only three lines beginning

(2) The second change was due to the desire for an easier and more symmetrical rhythm, and naturally came about when lyrics were read rather than sung. In the case of the sapphic it was helped on by the change of accent (to be next discussed); but in this respect a similar effect has overtaken two other nearly allied Greek lyric metres.

(a) The Alcaic line, originally



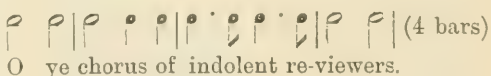
has become



(β) the 'hendecasyllable,' originally



(with some variations, not now to the point,) has become



(3) The third change was due undoubtedly to the influence of the caesura after the fifth syllable—the 'Horatian caesura,' as it is called, though Catullus in his sapphics has only two lines in which there is a different caesura. As the cause of this we must assign a desire to get an effect of conflict between metrical ictus and word-stress, followed by a reconciliation. This effect was no doubt strengthened by the lengthening of the fourth syllable; for though conflict between ictus and accent might be produced by making syllables 4 and 5 consist of an iambic word, yet the effect of syncope is much stronger when the fourth

syllable is long. But whereas the lengthening of the fourth syllable is *universal* in Horace, the caesura after the fifth syllable is only *usual*.

Taking the two extremes, the Greek rhythm at one end, the English rhythm at the other, to which did the effect intended by Horace more nearly approximate? The differences between the two rhythms are so important that I find it impossible to believe, with Prof. Sonnenschein (*C.R.* p. 255), that Horace intended to pass within one poem from one rhythm to the other. The change would be impossible in singing, as he allows; even in reading Latin the effect seems to me very doubtful; nor am I encouraged by the stanza of Tennyson quoted on p. 253. Moreover, Horace has a certain number of lines that *must* preserve the Greek rhythm, so far as concerns the two important points, 5-bar rhythm and stress on the fifth syllable. He has *no* line in which that reading is impossible.

It so happened that the ode *Integer vitae*, which Flemming selected to set to music, contains no example of any other caesura than the 'Horatian.' How he would have dealt with such a line as

Phoebe, silvarumque potens Diana,

I do not know.

Nor can I believe, with Dr. Verrall (*C.R.* p. 342), that Horace, knowing that there was little chance of getting his sapphics read in the way he himself preferred, was willing to give his readers licence, and even some encouragement, to read them otherwise. I believe that Horace definitely intended his sapphics to be read or sung like their Greek originals in respect to two of the three points mentioned above. The other point, the change from (a predominant) triple time to duple time is less important. After all, it comes to little more than this, that in the Greek rhythm most of the bars were divided unevenly, in the Latin most were divided evenly.

Horace's notion of the normal Latin sapphic was

$\overset{>}{\text{P}} \cdot \text{P} \mid \text{P} \overset{>}{\text{P}} \mid \text{P}, \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \cdot \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P}$

where bars 1 and 4 are unequally divided; but no prejudice is intended to the question of the exact proportion between the long and short syllables.

Horace in his sapphics was aiming at an effect of 'syncopation' similar to that which gives its charm to the Latin hexameter. Another instance of the same effect

(as Dr. Verrall has no doubt noticed) is found in the 3rd line of the Alcaic stanza, where instead of

$\text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P}$
αἰ - δωϛ - κε σ' οὐ κατ - ειχ - εν ὀππατ'

we get

$\text{P} \mid \text{P} \cdot \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \cdot \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P}$
et cuncta terra - rum sub - acta.

But, as to the sapphic, Horace in the first three Books rather overdid it. 'So fantastical' was 'the dainty metre,' that it barely bore the strain he put upon it. He longed to preserve the original rhythm, but to get as much of the effect of syncopation as possible. In the more robust hexameter there was not the same danger. But even the hexameter was exposed to the same perversion, though here the result was merely the sprouting of an off-shoot. As soon as the word-stress on the last half of the second foot was reinforced by rime, it triumphed, and we get the 'leonine'

ut rosa flos florum sic est domus illa domorum.

This is the fate to which rhythmists who play with syncopation are exposed. When he introduced the fascinating element of conflict, Horace hardly sufficiently realized that the balance might sway in the wrong direction. People *would* read the Latin sapphic accentually and were sliding into the 'Needy knife-grinder.' But Horace never encouraged them to do so this. He did much to prevent them. In three odes of Book I (as Dr. Verrall has pointed out), namely 10, 12, and 30, he starts them on the right lines by opening with a trochaic caesura.

$\text{P} \cdot \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P} \mid \text{P} \text{P}$

We now come to the sapphic odes later than the Three Books. And here it is convenient to consider the question whether Horace's lyrics were mainly intended for singing or for reading. In the first three Books the only Sapphic ode that distinctly suggests singing is I. 10,

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis, which is a hymn. It happens that this is also the ode which has the most frequent exceptions to the 'Horatian caesura'; that is to say, it has three instances of the trochaic caesura, whereas no other ode in

the Three Books has more than one, and the majority have none at all. Perhaps the coincidence is accidental; but it is also possible that in a sung ode Horace wished to preserve more fully the flavour of the Greek original. Neither of the sapphic odes of Catullus strongly suggests singing. But for the study of metre it is important to consider the odes as intended to be read: it is for right *reading* that precautions must be taken; when an ode is sung, 'the music,' as Prof. Sonnenschein says (p. 255), 'takes care of its own rhythm.' But the question between reading and singing is not really important in the present connexion; for Horace certainly intended those of his odes that were primarily meant for singing to be also effective when read.

There are four sapphic odes later than the Three Books, namely Book IV., odes 2, 6, and 11, and the Carmen Saeculare. Of these the last-named was of course intended in the first instance for singing. With this we must place IV. 6, of the same date and of similar character. On the other hand IV. 2 does not much suggest singing, and IV. 11 hardly at all. But all four odes agree in having a much larger number of

trochaic caesuras than the odes of the first Three Books. The explanation is that Horace was conscious that the precautions he had hitherto taken to ensure the right reading of his sapphics were not sufficient. The metre must be fortified, the syncopation more frequently sacrificed, the original rhythm more frequently recalled. And—let it be repeated—no person, 'however feloniously disposed,' could read *Phoebe, silvarumque potens Diana*, in the rhythm of the 'Needy knife-grinder.'

That the writing—and the reading—of the Latin sapphic was no easy matter is evident. But I doubt if mere difficulty of form is enough to account for the fact that it did not take permanent root. If it decayed after the death of Horace, it may be asked what Latin *poetry* (setting aside satire and epigram) did not decay after that date? For the matter of that, how long did the golden age of Greek lyric poetry itself last? Fair Latin sapphics have been written by Englishmen, and probably Romans could have written them too if they had had anything to say in them. But they had not.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

THE QUESTION OF THE COINCIDENCE OF WORD-ACCENT AND VERSE-ICTUS IN THE LATIN HEXAMETER.

THIS subject was treated by Prof. M. W. Humphreys in a paper 'On Accent in Latin Dactylic Hexameters,' published in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878. His statistics showed that from the time of Ennius, who made no attempt to avoid conflict between word-accent and verse-ictus, and 25 per cent of whose extant hexameters show conflict, there is a steady decrease of such non-coincidence in Lucilius and Lucretius till we get to Virgil, who has only 4 per cent. Other facts not stated by Prof. Humphreys are that there are only five (5) cases of conflict in Cicero, in Catullus twenty-four (24) apparent cases, of which, however, all but two can be explained away. Hence Virgil as compared with Cicero and Catullus, was even slightly reactionary.

There is, indeed, one important exception to this development. Horace shows a very large percentage of non-coincidence. But Prof. Humphreys' figures show 28 per cent

of conflict in Satires I, but only 17 per cent in the Epistles. This merely bears out a well-known fact that Horace, though he allowed himself great licences in all of his hexameter-poems, was much more careful in the Epistles than in the Satires. The difference between 28 and 17 per cent cannot have been due to accident.

Prof. Humphreys' statistics are supplemented and substantiated by Schulze in the *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen*, xxix, pp. 590 ff., who after examining the works of the poets of the strictly classical school, finds that in Tibullus, Lygdamus, Propertius, Ovid, and Statius, the cases of conflict are so very few as to be negligible.

Here, then, appears to be a very strong case for the theory that this agreement of accent and ictus was by design. But this theory has been vigorously attacked by Wilhelm Meyer in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 1884, pp. 979–1087. His views are adopted by Plessis, in the *Traité*

de Métrique Grecque et Latine, and by Lucian Müller in his *De Re Metrica*.

The statement in regard to the words that may, according to the strict rule, finish an hexameter, is thus made by Plessis: The hexameter should end with a dissyllable preceded by a word of at least three syllables, or with a trisyllable preceded by a word of at least two syllables. Prepositions and monosyllabic conjunctions like *sed* and *et* are proclitic or enclitic. This rule secures the correspondence of ictus and accent, and one's first thought is that the rule was observed in order to secure the correspondence. But Plessis points out that the agreement is produced by endings like *di genuerunt*, or *pariterque animatas*, but that these endings are avoided by the classical poets just as much as those which produced disagreement. Plessis also says that there is conflict in endings like *nullaque circa*, but this, in spite of the testimony of grammarians to the contrary, is very doubtful (cf. Corrsen, *Aussprache*, ii, p. 835 and Lindsay, *A.J.P.* xiv, p. 313, as cited below). However, the avoidance of the other two endings cannot be explained according to the theory we are considering.

Plessis thus accounts for the two permitted endings, *culmina tecti* and *caecus amore*: If the hexameter end otherwise than in a word of two or three syllables, it must of necessity happen either that a masculine caesura is produced in the fifth or sixth foot or in both at once, e.g., *di || genuerunt*, *interimat || res, et || sapiens. Quid*, or the fifth and sixth feet are contained in one word, like *solicitabant*. In the former case, the end of the verse bears too close a resemblance to the beginning, in which the masculine caesura often occurs more than once, and with pleasing effect, and is usually bound to occur at least once. As to the form of ending represented by *solicitabant*, Plessis thinks that poets not only sought feminine caesura in or at the end of the fifth foot, as in *culmina tecti*, and *caecus amore*, but avoided pentasyllabic closes in which it could not occur.

Meyer, who was probably Plessis' authority, has very much the same treatment of the matter, and shows in addition that the avoidance of masculine caesura after the fifth thesis was in imitation of Alexandrian usage.

These arguments have convinced many scholars of the futility of the theory that the correspondence of ictus and accent was intentional. And I think that Meyer and Plessis prove beyond dispute that the Roman

poets of the classical school did avoid masculine caesura in the fifth and sixth feet, preferring feminine caesura in or after the fifth foot. But they do not prove that at the same time these poets did not strive to avoid the conflict of accent and ictus.

An examination of the metrical scheme of the dactylic hexameter reveals, besides the two classical types, *caecus a | more*, and *culmina | tecti*, three ways in which this verse may be closed so as to avoid masculine caesura of the fifth and sixth feet. We may have a spondaic or trochaic word in the sixth foot preceded, first, by a word of trochaic ending plus a non-enclitic monosyllable, e.g. *evasisse || tot urbes* (Aen. iii 282), secondly, by a word of trochaic ending in the fifth foot plus a non-enclitic pyrrhic or iambic word of which the final syllable is elided, e.g. *resperxit. Ibi omnes* (Virg. Georg. iv 491), or thirdly, by a first paenonic or choriambic word of which the final syllable is elided, e.g. *suppetere ipsae*, (Lucr. i 1050). It will at once be seen that in all these cases the accent and ictus do not coincide. If, then, the classical poets avoided these cadences, they must have tried, not only to avoid masculine caesura of the fifth and sixth feet, but also to secure coincidence of accent and ictus.

To take up first the type *suppetere ipsae*, which is not at all uncommon in Lucretius. According to Prof. Humphreys, there is only one genuine case of it in Virgil, *intremere omnem*, Aen. iii 581. There are cases in which the final syllable of the quadrisyllable is —*que*, like *omniaque*, but it is very doubtful if —*que*, when elided, caused the accent to fall on the syllable immediately preceding.¹ In Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Statius, there are no cases at all of this cadence.

As to the two remaining types, *resperxit. Ibi omnes*, and *evasisse tot urbes*, there are no cases of them in Catullus, Propertius, Ovid, or Statius, and none in Tibullus, except i. 8, 11 and 23. In Virgil's *Bucolics* there are no cases of either. In the *Georgics*, *resperxit. Ibi omnes* is found, iv 491, but there are no instances of the type *evasisse tot urbes*. In the *Aeneid*, there is only one case of the type *resperxit. Ibi omnes*, ix 351, *tendebat; ibi ignem*. Of the other type there are six examples, i 47, and 76, ii 150, iii 282 and 480, and x 482.

Therefore the law for the close of the hexameter should be stated somewhat as

¹ Corroboration of this statement is found in the fact, that, as Lindsay has shown, when —*que* and —*ne* are elided in Plautus, the preceding word appears to retain its usual accent (*A.J.P.* xiv. p. 313).

follows: The hexameter poets of the classical school, and according to our results we may include Cicero and Catullus, in general avoid in dactylic verses masculine caesura of the fifth and sixth feet and pentasyllabic closes; and they very rarely allow a dissyllable preceded, first, by a short non-enclitic monosyllable; secondly, by a non-enclitic pyrrhic or iambic word with final elision; and third, by a first paeonic or choriambic word with final elision.

In discussing the above presentation after it was read before the American Philological Association, Dr. Radford remarked that, inasmuch as the element of elision entered into two of the types of hexameter-close which I have investigated, it might be well to inquire if these types were not avoided in order to avoid elision at that particular point. Accordingly, I have carefully studied the complete collection of instances of elision before the sixth foot in all the Latin poets, which was made by Eskuche in *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 45, pp. 385 ff.

Eskuche first observes that this variety of elision is rare, a fact which he thinks may be partially due to the small number of spondaic and trochaic words in Latin beginning with a vowel. The accuracy of this latter statement is at least open to question. But he also attributes it in part to the unpleasing character of elision in this place. It is, however, noticeable that this elision is not common in Ennius and Lucilius, and does not become less common in the later poets, as we should expect. As opposed to two instances in Ennius, and twelve in Lucilius, there are sixty-five in Lucretius, one in Catullus, eighteen in Virgil, one in Tibullus, and nine in Ovid. Horace, as Eskuche says, is *ganz masslos*. Now the author shows that in such elisions Virgil allowed only words ending in *-que*, and *sine* (prep.), *ibi*, and *ubi*; likewise that in this he was followed strictly by Ovid, who also used *nisi*, Lucan, Petronius, *auctor Aetnae*, and Silius Italicus, less strictly by Valerius

Flaccus and Statius. Eskuche also observes that Virgil and the others usually put *-que* after a word of four or five syllables, though he cites two cases of *omniaque*, and he might have added that they never put it after a dissyllable. I think that the reason is plain. Examples like *omniaque* are rare because they give rise to bucolic diaeresis, which is little used by Latin poets except Juvenal. And a dissyllable followed by *-que*, like *dataque*, would cause conflict of accent and ictus, and also masculine caesura of the fifth foot. In cases of words of three or more syllables plus *-que*, there is probably, as I have shown above, no conflict. As to the type *suppetere ipsae*, we have already seen that Virgil has only one case of it. The other poets under consideration have none at all.

As to *ibi*, *ubi*, *sine*, and *nisi*, the two latter words are always proclitic, and so is *ubi* except in direct questions. *Ibi*, the only non-enclitic of the four, is found only twice in Virgil, and in all the other poets not at all. So when Eskuche says, *l.c.*, p. 387, that Ovid admits *ibi*, he is wrong, for on his own showing, Ovid's works contain no example of it. And in the works of all these poets, *ubi* is never used in a direct question, that is to say it is always proclitic.

Therefore Eskuche seems to be wrong in saying that elision was avoided before the sixth foot because of its unpleasant effect in that place. On the contrary, at least when the vowel elided was short or common, it appears to have been freely admitted by the best poets in cases where it did not produce conflict of word-accent and verse-ictus, and the only such cases possible are those of *-que* preceded by at least a trisyllable, and of dissyllabic proclitics. The facts in regard to the elision of long vowels before the sixth foot are given by Eskuche on pp. 408-411, but do not affect our results.

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THE VATICAN PALIMPSEST OF CICERO'S VERRINE ORATIONS.

In the concluding chapter of *A History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages* I have given a brief survey of the principal Latin authors which are quoted or imitated in the Middle Ages, or are entered in

mediaeval catalogues or preserved in extant mediaeval MSS. In the course of this survey I have drawn special attention to those of the extant MSS which can be definitely traced to monastic libraries of mediaeval times. In dealing with Cicero, I was

naturally bound to mention the Vatican palimpsest and to state the definitely known fact that, for a short time, it was preserved at S. Andrea della Valle. There was no difficulty in identifying this with the church of that name in Rome, not far from the ruins of Pompey's theatre. But the question arose whether the library at S. Andrea was in any sense a *medieval* library. It was easy to ascertain that, in its present form, the church in question belonged to no earlier date than 1594; but I was unable to discover whether any church of the same name had previously stood on the same site; and even so well-informed an editor of Cicero's *Speeches* as Mr. A. C. Clark, of Queen's College, Oxford, whom I naturally consulted on this question, could not throw any light on the *provenance* of the Vatican palimpsest, or account for its having passed for a time into the possession of the church of S. Andrea. There was also the further question as to how it came about that this palimpsest was classed among the MSS of Queen Christina, added to the Vatican collection after the Queen's death in 1689; and, lastly, the question whether it ever belonged to Queen Christina.

It was impossible for me to deal fully with these points in the brief reference to the palimpsest, which will be found on p. 626 of my *History of Classical Scholarship*, and in a note on that page. But, as the history of this MS is apparently as unknown to other English scholars as it was to myself a short time ago, I avail myself of the present opportunity to state the results of my inquiries. The inquiries in question were addressed by myself to the well-known historian Count Ugo Balzani of Rome, and were placed by him in the hands of Dr. B. Nogara, one of the learned officials of the Vatican library. Scholars are well aware that the Vatican palimpsest, the text of which was published by Mai in his *Auctores Classici*, ii, 390—537, is ascribed to century III or IV and that Prosper's abstract of Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, was written over the original in century VI or VII. But they are not in general familiar with the fact that this palimpsest once belonged to Pope Pius II (*Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*), who died in 1464, and that it has not at present been traced to any earlier owner. Dr. Nogara has drawn my attention to an article on the MSS of Pius II contributed by E. Piccolomini to the *Bolletino Storico Senese*, 1899, fasc. iii, a periodical which (as it happens) is not to be found in the Cambridge University Library. From an abstract of

the article, which I owe to the kindness of Professor Rapson of the British Museum, it appears that Jacobo Piccolomini, one of the nephews of Pius II, transferred many of that Pope's MSS to the beautiful library designed by the Pope himself, which is familiar to all who have visited the Cathedral of Siena. At the nephew's death, however, certain of the MSS remained untransferred. These were left in the palace of another nephew of the Pope, Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III (d. 1503). Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Constantia Piccolomini gave this palace to the Theatine fathers, on condition that they built on its site the church now known as S. Andrea della Valle, the building of which was begun in 1594. The untransferred portion of the MSS of Pius II passed first to the old home of the Theatine fathers at S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, and then to their new home at S. Andrea; and I may add that the tombs of the two Piccolomini Popes were also removed from St. Peter's to the church that now stood on the site of the Piccolomini palace. Early in the eighteenth century the Theatine fathers gave the MSS to Pope Clement XI (1700—21), and they are now in the Vatican. The Greek MSS are classed as *Codices Graeci Pii II* and have been catalogued by H. Stevenson in the same volume as the Greek MSS of Queen Christina (1888); while the Latin are actually placed in the same class as the *Codices Reginae Sueciae Latini*.

Among the latter is the Vatican palimpsest of the Verrines, known as *Regin.* 2077, though it never belonged to Queen Christina. I am assured by Dr. Nogara that it has no external indication of its having ever belonged to any earlier library than that of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In answer to my inquiry as to the possibility of its having originally come from Bobbio, I learn that Father Ehrle, the well-known Prefect of the Vatican Library, had himself regarded such a *provenance* as quite possible, although this particular palimpsest had none of the external characteristics of MSS from Bobbio. I may further state that no light is thrown on this point in the articles by O. Seebass in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xiii, 1—12, 57—79, entitled *Handschriften von Bobbio in den Vatikanischen und Ambrosianischen Bibliotheken*. I trust that the question of the *provenance* of the palimpsest will ere long be successfully investigated by the learned officials of the Vatican Library.

J. E. SANDYS.

THE *CODEx NEAPOLITANUS* OF PROPERTIUS.

It may be of interest to the readers of this *Review* to have an expression of opinion about the date and provenance of a classical manuscript from one who, though he has no experience in the textual criticism of classical authors, has handled several thousands of mediaeval manuscripts, and is, or ought to be, fairly familiar with a good many styles of writing.

The *Codex Neapolitanus* of Propertius is (as students are well aware) in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, and is numbered Gudianus 224. It has been assigned to various dates by various editors, and has often, I believe, been described as a book of Italian origin. My experience of manuscripts leads me to say with confidence that it is of the twelfth century (I believe of the latter part of that century) and that it is certainly not of Italian origin.

On the last page, which was originally blank, there are a number of scribbled inscriptions, some of which throw light on the origin and history of the manuscript. Taking these as they appear on the page, from top to bottom, we have :

(1) At top on left, in a small hand quite possibly Italian and of cent. XV,

propertius ad Junen . . (?).

The third word is very doubtful.

(2) On *R.* rather above this in an Italian hand of cent. XV

Mane . . . (?)

(3) Extending nearly across the page, in a pretty Italian hand of Roman type (cent. XV),

Propertii poete clarissimi liber
..... s explicit.

I believe the penultimate word to be *quartus*.

(4) In another irregular hand, probably also Italian, of cent. XV,

qui stas in vale dulcis amice vale.

There is some doubt about the first letter of the fourth word, but I think it is meant for *vale* = *valle*.

(5) In a hand, certainly not Italian, of cent. XIII at latest

goeric (perhaps *goericus*).

(6) A faint drawing of a four-legged beast, the hinder legs clawed : it may be a griffin. Probably of cent. XIII.

(7) On *R.* of this in a largish hand, possibly the same as No. 2, a single word which I read as

Manetta.

It has been read by others, I believe, as Mometti ; and certainly the first *a* is an odd one. Yet it closely resembles the *a* in No. 2.

(8) Extending nearly across the page, written the reverse way up, in a scrawly Italian hand (which might conceivably be the same as that of No. 4), and covering the drawing (No. 6),

Urbis honos patris a(*lque*?) tue si nomina
tangunt (?)

Inclitus ipse miles fuit *condam qui* (?) *le*
gere cepit

Ipse tuum opidum te queso s. (or f) . . .
nobis (?)

(9) On *L.* a rough drawing of a seated man or monkey, of cent. XIII.

(10) On *R.* of No. 9, a distich written in a close upright hand of northern aspect (certainly not Italian) and of cent. XII.-XIII.

indole clare cluis presenti deiā futura
actis precipuis indole clare cluis.

Of these various inscriptions, there are two which are of special importance as throwing light on the history of the MS. No. 7 (and No. 2 might be added) has been interpreted as showing that the book once belonged to Giannozzo Manetti, a very eminent Florentine scholar of the fifteenth century. It would probably be practicable to find specimens of his autograph which might serve to shew that No. 7 was actually written by him. Into this matter I have not had the opportunity of inquiring. It is certain (from No. 3) that the MS. was in Italy in the fifteenth century, and I suppose, from the fact that it is known as the *Codex Neapolitanus*, that Marquard Gude (from whom comes the name Gudianus) bought it at Naples where he certainly acquired a number of MSS.

The inscription No. 5, however, is more illuminative. The single word *goeric*, of which it consists, is the name of a saint of very restricted celebrity. Goericus was bishop of Metz in the seventh century, and his cult is highly local. He occurs in *Kalendars* of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the church at Épinal (once Benedictine,

and later collegiate) was as Dom G. Morin tells me, under his invocation, and contained his body; outside a small portion of Eastern France and Lorraine it would be very surprising to find mention of him. I infer with some confidence, from the occurrence of his name in the Propertius, that that manuscript was once domiciled in or near Metz. More than this, the script of the volume agrees very well with the idea that it not only dwelt, but was born in that region. The libraries of Metz were rich in early books, and had a fair share of Latin classics: the *Aulularia* of Plautus is specially mentioned in a fragmentary list of books at St. Vincent's. But no complete ancient catalogue exists of any one of these libraries, nor of that of Epinal, and those of Toul and Verdun (the latter only a partial one) do not help us.

I do not regard the inscription *Goeric* as a press-mark, or anything of the sort. It is merely a *probatio pennae*. The writer by way of trying his pen scribbled a name that was familiar to him. It may have been his own name, or that of a friend. None the less it is a name which would only be borne by some one living within the

very limited sphere of influence of St. Goeric.

The suggestion may perhaps be made that the inscription No. 7 is really M. mett., and contains the name of Metz (Mettis). I do not think this is possible, gratifying as it would no doubt be.

I may add that the oldest of the Leyden MSS. of Propertius (Baehrens's A) which I have also inspected recently, is, in my opinion, certainly not Italian in origin, but most probably French. I should place it early in the fourteenth century: I could even conceive it to have been written in the last years of the thirteenth. I am glad to find myself here unconsciously following the steps of Sir E. Maunde Thompson who, as the Editor has kindly informed me, gave his verdict (*Class. Rev.* ix. 1895, p. 184 n.) in these terms: 'the Vossianus was written about 1300 and just as likely before it as after it.'

As to the text of both the Wolfenbüttel and the Leyden manuscripts we shall expect to be further informed in due time by my friend Mr. O. L. Richmond, who has been making a thorough examination of them.

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES.

AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN SHAKESPEARE AND ARISTOTLE.

'Sense sure you have, else could you not have motion.'—*Hamlet*, Act III. Sc. iv. 71.

The old commentators could make nothing of this passage, and even now what I submit to be the true explanation does not seem to be appreciated. Thus Mr. Israel Gollancz, in the 'Temple' edition, explains '*Motion*' as 'emotion, impulse,' but thinks it worth while to record Warburton's futile emendation '*notion*.' Eight and twenty years ago (see the *Athenæum* February 27th 1875) I ventured to explain the passage by reference to the Aristotelian Psychology. In the *De Anima* (Bk. ii. chs. 2 and 3) we are told that the faculties (*δυνάμεις*) of the soul (which is here co-extensive with the vital principle) are growth, sense (or sensibility), desire, motion, and reason. Plants have only the principle of growth; animals have sense as well, which is the distinguishing faculty of the animal soul. 'Forever of things which do not move or change their place, provided that they have sense (*αἰσθησις*), we say that they are animals, not only that

they live.' Then comes motion, so that motion (*κίνησις ἢ κατὰ τόπον*) implies sense (*αἰσθησις*), and an animal that has motion must necessarily have sense as well. I take the following from M. Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire's translation: 'Quant à la série régulière des facultés, voici comment elles se subordonnent entre elles: la nutrition d'abord, sans laquelle les autres ne sont pas: la sensibilité, dans laquelle le toucher peut s'isoler des autres sens, puisqu'il y a des animaux qui n'ont ni la vue, ni l'ouïe, ni l'odorat; la locomotion, qui suppose toujours la sensibilité, mais dont la sensibilité peut fort bien se passer; en fin l'intelligence, qui suppose nécessairement toutes les facultés inférieures.'

Here, I venture to think, is undoubtedly the true explanation of Hamlet's 'Sense sure you have, else could you not have motion' (words, by the way, which are only to be found in the Quartos). But it is not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare had studied the *De Anima* in the original Greek.

No doubt there were many references to this Aristotelian classification in the philosophical works of the time. Thus Bacon, though he does not make mention of Aristotle, is evidently following him when he treats of the affinities and differences of plants and living creatures. (*Nat. Hist.* Cent. vii, § 607). Having dealt with what he calls 'the radical differences,' he writes, 'For the secondary differences, they are as follows: First, plants are all fixed to the earth, whereas all living creatures are severed, and of themselves. [This is by no means so accurate as Aristotle.] Secondly, living

creatures have *local motion*, plants have not. . . . Seventhly, living creatures have *sense*, which plants have not. Eighthly, living creatures have *voluntary motion*, which plants have not.' Again, in the *De Augmentis* (Bk. IV. ch. 3), we read 'Ignorance on this point drove some of the ancient philosophers to suppose that a soul is infused into all bodies without distinction; for they could not conceive how there can be motion at discretion without sense, or sense without a soul.'

G. G. GREENWOOD.

REVIEWS.

ADAM'S TEXTS OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

Texts to illustrate a Course of Elementary Lectures on Greek Philosophy after Aristotle. By J. ADAM, M.A., Hon. LL.D. of Aberdeen (London, Macmillan, 1902). 3s. 6d. net.

THIS slender volume covers a wide subject, Greek philosophy in its decline. Though primarily intended for those who make a special study of ancient philosophy, it is well adapted to the requirements of a wider circle who read the later classical authors as pure literature. They will find here the main facts well arranged: the account of Epicureanism is especially clear and adequate. Dr. Adam very sensibly includes seven or eight extracts from Lucretius, a distinct advantage when we compare the parallel account in Ritter and Preller, for the latest editors of that work pedantically refrain from ever citing the Roman poet in the text and only sparingly refer to him in the notes. Of course such a book loses half its value when severed from the lectures which it served to illustrate. Nor is either the Latin or the Greek always easy reading for the tiro. What, for instance, will he make of the technical terms, in Cicero *de finibus* I. 22 (§ 47) or III. 16 *sqq.* (§§ 157, 158)? Or take § 6, the enigmatical inference of Arcesilas τῶν δοξαστῶν ἔσται ὁ σοφός, Sext. *Emp. adv. Math.* vii, 157. Apparently τῶν δοξαστῶν must be taken actively, as if τῶν δοξαζόντων, though of this the lexicon gives no hint: compare the similar use of ἀδόξαστος (§ 35) by Eusebius, citing

Aristocles, *praep. evang.* xiv. 18. It has occurred to me that this active use of verbals in -τος may throw light on a well-known difficulty of the Stoic epistemology, viz., the division of φαντασία into καταληπτική and ἀκατάληπτος as laid down in Diog. Laert. vii. 46 (§ 119). It is not at first clear why, when the mind apprehends a real object, the perception should be designated by an adjective in -ικός, whereas, when the mind fails to apprehend a real object, the verbal in -τος is used; the former being ordinarily active, the latter passive, in signification. What we expect, indeed require, in the passage τῆς δὲ φαντασίας τὴν μὲν καταληπτικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀκατάληπτον is that both adjectives should have a similar meaning. Hence the suggestion that καταληπτική should be taken passively, in order to assimilate it to the assumed passive sense of ἀκατάληπτος; or that Zeno purposely chose an ambiguous word capable of both an active and a passive meaning. In the third edition of his *Grundriss* Zeller, departing from his earlier view, paraphrased καταληπτική thus: die zur κατάληψις zu werden geeignet ist. But what if ἀκατάληπτος is to be taken actively, once more illustrating the flexibility of this verbal form? At all events, the obvious inference from Cicero's language, *Acad. post.* I. 41 is that he found καταληπτόν in the Greek text of the authority he followed, while the whole description and the context fit nothing but what is generally known as καταληπτικὴ φαντασία.

But this is properly a grammatical question. To return to our subject; the selection of extracts is judicious and the

compendium can be heartily commended, its brevity being a conspicuous merit.

R. D. HICKS.

WILSON'S *JUVENAL*.

D. Iunii Iuvenalis saturarum libri V.

Edited with Introduction Commentary on Thirteen Satires and Index by HARRY LANGFORD WILSON, Associate Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. University Publishing Company, New York, Boston, New Orleans, 1903. Pp. lxxviii, 115, 178. 8vo.

If one compares Mr Wilson's edition, as one naturally does compare it, with Mr Duff's, there are two points in which it has the advantage. In the first place the introduction furnishes a useful bibliography¹ of recent work on Juvenal, and the footnotes contain a large number of references to current philological literature. Secondly, questions of syntax and of metre are treated in the notes and introduction with unusual closeness and diligence: at xiv 207 for instance the scansion *nemō* is remarked as indicating that the verse is not Juvenal's own but taken from an earlier poet; and at xiii 203, where *illi* is used for *sibi* and Messrs Mayor and Friedlaender make no sign, while Mr Duff observes the irregularity but says that he knows no other instance, Mr Wilson cites a pair of parallels. But in that point where Mr Duff's edition excels all commentaries on Juvenal and stands almost alone among school-books,—in the clear perception and candid recognition of difficulties, Mr Wilson's is much inferior. When an intelligent lad finds *Coruinum* in viii 5, and *Coruinum* again in viii 7, he wonders what is the matter, and turns to the notes for aid; but he gets none from Mr Wilson. At xiv 269 he would like to know the meaning and bearing of 'perditus ac uilis sacci mercator olentis': Mr Wilson receives him with '*uilis*: Tac. ann. i 40 2 *uilis ipsi salus*,' which is terse and tranquil, but not instructive. He halts at viii 87 sq. 'expectata diu tandem prouincia cum te | rectorem accipiat, pone irae frena modumque': '*accipiat*: sub-

junctive after *cum* causal,' says Mr Wilson. But that is the very obstacle at which the intelligent lad is halting: *cum* causal does not make sense.² The *tamen* of viii 272 is rightly understood, though not clearly explained, by Prof. Mayor; Mr Duff explains it wrongly, but he sees that it wants explaining; Mr Wilson says nothing about it. He is silent again at a passage which I will cite in order to elucidate it, xiv 47-9.

maxima debetur puero reuerentia, si quid turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos, sed peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans.

'Eine der auffallendsten Tautologien,' says Mr Friedlaender, 'da dasselbe dreimal gesagt wird'; and so also Mr Duff, 'the amount of repetition in these lines is surprising, even for Juvenal.' Mr Wilson shares the error of these scholars (else he would correct it as in duty bound), but he does not share their outspokenness, and leaves the student to infer that *τῷ ταννόν εἰπεῖν* is too common in Latin to be noteworthy. The verses are misunderstood because it is not observed that *annos* and *infans* are emphatic words: the sense is 'respect your son, and never think that son

² Mr Wilson adds indeed in a footnote '*accipiet* is an easier reading'; but knowledge is not to be thrown in loose fragments at the learner's head: it is for an editor to balance alternatives, to prefer the more probable, and to tell the learner why he prefers it. At vii 112 the note runs '*conspuiturque sinus*: a charm to avert the wrath of Nemesis, who punished boastfulness; cf. Petron. 74. Some editors interpret *is spluttered over* (Lewis), gaining support in the prefix (*con-*): the student is left to choose for himself, and to frame for himself the question 'does one, when lying and boasting, splutter more than at other times?' The same failure to think matters out and reach assured conclusions causes other inconveniences of a different sort: at vii 42 Mr Wilson gives the usual and correct explanation of '*sollicitas imitatur ianua portas*,' and the student, quite satisfied, is about to pass on, when his eye alights on this footnote: 'J. Jessen, l.l. p. 505, suggests that *portas* is a scribal error for *porcas*.' Surely, thinks he, the editor would never have mentioned this unless there were either some defect in the explanation given or some superiority in the conjecture: which can it be? and what can it be? And then he wastes his time in the attempt to guess.

¹ I notice one error: Buecheler's edition of 1893 is said to be the third edition of Jahn's Juvenal of 1851: it is the third edition of Jahn's Persius and Juvenal of 1868.

too young to be worth respecting: let even the babe in the cradle be a restraint upon your actions.' It is hyperbole, not tautology.

A commentary on Juvenal, written at this date, must needs be for the most part a compilation, and originality is not to be expected nor even perhaps to be desired. Whenever Mr Duff propounds a new interpretation he discards the heed and judgment which he displays elsewhere; and it is nothing to Mr Wilson's disadvantage that his exegesis appears to contain no novelty at all.¹ For the rest, the notes are compact and business-like, and the writing is easy and unpretentious and not overlaid with the favourite American ornaments of metaphor and slang. In short we have now two good school-editions of Juvenal instead of one.

So I will proceed to note some errors. i 6 '*necdum*: for *nondum*', and again on p. xlv '*necdum* occurs in the sense of simple *nondum*: i 6 *scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes*'. This means that Mr Wilson mistakes the construction, which is correctly explained by Mr Duff. i 52 '*Heracleas*: sc. *fabulus*'. Certainly not: *Heraclea* is a substantive like *Odyssea*, Ἡράκλεια, not Ἡρακλεία. i 161 accusator erit, qui uerbum dixerit 'hic est': 'qui': the antecedent is *ei* understood', and then in a footnote 'this seems more to the point as well as in closer harmony with Latin idiom than to take the subject of *erit* as the antecedent of *qui*'. What Mr Wilson means by this reference to Latin idiom I do not know, but he cannot mean what he says. I suspect that 'closer harmony with Latin idiom' really signifies 'sharper discord with English idiom'. iii 23 sq. res hodie minor est here quam fuit, atque eadem cras | deteret exiguis aliquid': '*deteret*: strictly a transitive verb, used here as a reflexive (= *se deteret*)'. What imaginable sense or construction has 'eadem se deteret exiguis aliquid'? *deteret*, by a common Latin idiom, means *deteri patietur*: so, to take the first instance that occurs to me, Prop. iv 3 27 '*diceris et macie uultum tenuisse*'; and so in Juvenal viii 247 '*frangebat uertice uitem*'. Mr Wilson seems to have been led astray by a confused note of Mr Buecheler's in Friedlaender's edition. viii 180 in *Lucanos* aut *Tusca* ergastula mittas: '*Lucanos*: sc. *agros*', 'your Lucanian farm'; the masculine plural without a substantive is common in

this sense'. It is non-existent in this sense: *Lucanos* means the Lucanian folk and thence the Lucanian countryside. Haupt opusc. iii p. 578 (who does not however supply *agros* in these phrases) is corrected by Lucian Mueller Hor. carm. ii 18 14.

The following are mistakes of detail or merely negligent writing. i 1 '*numquamne*: the addition of *-ne* to negative words suggests the affirmative'. No; the negative itself does that part of the business: '*haec ego non agitem?*' suggests the affirmative without the help of *-ne*. iii 302 '*nec... metuas*: on the use of *nec* for *ne*, see § 77', where we read 'in prohibitions *ne* is rarely used, its place being often taken by *nec*'. *nec* is never used for *ne*: when employed in prohibitions it does not cease to be a conjunction. iv 33 *uendere municipes... siluros*: '*municipes* forbids the thought of Crispinus' former life in Egypt'. On the contrary, it suggests that thought: I know what Mr Wilson means, but he has failed to say it. viii 148 '*P reads multo sufflamine consul*, emended by Buecheler'. It was not emended by Buecheler, nor by any one else. But this false statement has been made so often that I am not surprised to see Mr Wilson repeating it again on p. xxviii. xiii 95 '*dimidium crus*: the loss of a leg'. Not unless *crus* means a pair of legs. xv 17 '*abicit*: in compounds of *iacio* Ovid... was the first to treat the initial *i* as a vowel'. Everyone treated it as a vowel, or they would have broken their jaws: not even the conquerors of the world could pronounce *abicit* as a disyllable. Here again I know Mr Wilson's meaning, but his words do not contain it. p. xxix 'the archetype of the Bodleianus': so Mr Owen in his preface speaks of 'archetypus Pithoeani', and indeed it seems as if Anglo-Saxons could hardly write upon textual criticism without using this meaningless form of words. What would be thought of a mathematician who talked about the least common multiple of 5?

If I here turn aside from the ἴδιον to the κοινόν, and comment on certain mistakes in which Mr Wilson has the company of his contemporaries, it is because these errors seem to be spreading apace. i 147-9 *nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat | posteritas, eadem facient cupientque minores, | omne in praecipiti uitium stetit. utere uelis, | totos pande sinus. in praecipiti* used to be translated 'at its zenith', 'auf dem Gipfel'; to which it is justly objected that *in praecipiti* does not

¹ His explanation of x 189 is almost the same as Mr Mayor's, and surely wrong.

possess this meaning. Therefore the words are now rendered 'vice always stands on a steep incline', gnostic aorist (Richards, Duff, Wilson). But firstly, vice does not *stand* on the incline, it slips; 'uitiorum natura procliuvis' says Seneca. And this is actually what our commentators take *stare* to imply, for they add 'and hence soon reaches the bottom', which is just what it can never do so long as it *stat*. Secondly, granting for the sake of argument that *in praecipiti stetit* means much the same as *praeceps ruit*, and granting further, what is quite false, that the progress of vice is usually headlong and not gradual,—*ποῖον τοῦτο πάγκοινον λέγεις*; What has this gnome to do with the context? 'Hence' say the commentators 'our posterity can go no further'. Our posterity? If 'vice always stands on a steep incline', it stood on a steep incline in our grandfathers' day; 'hence it soon reached the bottom', and 'hence *their* posterity could go no further'. There is no connexion or relation between this sapient saw and the culmination of vice at the moment when Juvenal was writing. The old interpretation did at least make sense, and it was not far wrong. 'omne in praecipiti uitium stetit' means 'every vice has come to a dead halt at the cliff's edge'; has 'reached, as we might say, the end of its tether; has gone as far as nature suffers it to go.

i 26-30 cum uerna Canopi | Crispinus Tyrias uero reuocante lacernas | uentilet aestium digitis sudantibus aurum | nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae, | difficile est saturam non scribere. 'per luxuriam' says the scholiast 'anulos aestiuos et hieiales inuenerat': Crispinus airs a light summer ring on his sweating fingers, unable to sustain the weight of a heavier one. What could be more obvious, more apt, more like Crispinus, 'aegrae solaque libidine fortes deliciae'? And Dracontius saw the meaning (how could he miss it?) and reproduced it thus: 'qui solet aestium membris sudantibus ostrum | poscere deposito confractus murice denso, | cuius et in digitis non sedit crassius aurum, | et, licet exiguae, non ferret pondera gemmae', laud. dei iii 56-9. Instead of which Messrs Gereke and Duff and Wilson, following Haeckermann, declare that *aestium* does not imply a special ring, but is adverbial and only signifies 'in summer'; and from the next verse they extort the meaning that Crispinus wears a very heavy ring, so heavy that he could not bear a heavier. And why

this stern endeavour to dodge the plain sense of the words? Because there is no evidence that the Romans wore lighter rings in summer than in winter! Of course the Romans did not: it was a single Egyptian who did. The foppery was insufferable precisely because it was unparalleled. An early device of Mr Disraeli's for attracting notice was to have two canes in use, one for the morning, one for the afternoon. Suppose someone contested the truth of this story 'because there is no evidence that the English used different canes for afternoon and morning': what would be said of him? That he argued like a classical scholar.

iii 4 sq. gratum litus amoeni | secessus. 'secessus': genitive of specification or definition': so also Mayor ('epexegetic gen.') and Duff. The genitive of specification or definition is incapable, by its very nature, of having an ornamental¹ adjective attached to it. *abietis arbor* is Latin: *procerae abietis arbor* is no tongue at all; the Latin would be *procera*. Mr Duff says on the other hand that *amoeni secessus* is not a genitive of quality, because 'a noun, to which the latter is attached, does not take an adjective' (*gratum litus*). Usually it does not, but sometimes it does, as in Hor. serm. i 1 33 'paruola . . . magni formica laboris' and Sil. xiv 443 sq. 'mollia crura superbi . . . gressus' and Iuv. xv 76 'uicina . . . umbrosae Tentyra palmae'.

v 87 pallidus . . . caulis: 'boiling in a solution of saltpetre made it green; Mart. xiii 17 *ne tibi pallentes moueant fastidia caules, nitrata uiridis brassica fiat aqua*': so also Friedlaender and Duff. But saltpetre will not turn cabbages green, and *nitrum* is not saltpetre.

x 84 sq. quam timeo, uictus ne poenas exigat Ajax | ut male defensus. 'Ajax: i.e. Tiberius'. Ajax, *uictus* and *male defensus*, means Tiberius, *uictor* and *optime defensus*! Could any explanation be less plausible than this? not to mention that Ajax, in the *armorum iudicium*, was neither *male defensus* nor *bene defensus* nor *defensus* at all, but conducted his own case. Yet this interpretation is adopted by Friedlaender and Duff and now by Mr. Wilson, who makes the following unfortunate attempt to palliate it: 'this parallel, though it seems absurd to us, was less absurd to them, because the *armorum iudicium* was a regular theme for debate'. Because? Then if I compare Napoleon at St. Helena to David dancing before the

¹ I use this term to exclude examples like *causa terroris repentini*, where the adjective adds precision.

Ark, this parallel, though absurd to foreigners, will be less absurd, I suppose, to Englishmen, because Englishmen read their bibles. I should have thought that the more a man knew about the *armorum iudicium* and II Sam. vi 14-23 the more absurd would these comparisons appear to him.

xi 3-8 omnis | conuictus thermae stationes, omne theatrum | de Rutilo. nam dum ualida ac iuuenalia membra | sufficiunt galeae, dumque ardet sanguine, fertur | non cogente quidem sed nec prohibente tribuno | scripturus leges et regia uerba lanistae. *fertur scripturus* used to be interpreted 'they say he is about to subscribe'; but now Messrs Friedlaender and Duff and Wilson insist that it means 'he rushes on a career which will some day end in his subscribing'. Yet bankrupts do not necessarily turn gladiators (some of them 'fas esse putant curam sperare cohortis'); nor is it possible to divine beforehand what action the tribune will take; nor is mere prodigality enough to make Rutilus the universal theme of conversation.

xi 206 '*sextam*: sc. *horam*; this was about noon in April, growing later as summer advanced, since the solar day was divided into twelve equal parts'. I do not know

which is more overwhelming, the statement, or the reason alleged in support of it. Mr Duff's note, which seems to be the source of Mr Wilson's, is little less strange.

p. xxxviii '*nisi* is used for *quam* after a comparative in vi 580 f. *capiendo nulla uidetur | aptior hora cibo nisi quam dederit Pelosiris*': so C. F. W. Mueller, Friedlaender, Duff. But surely it falls far short of the required sense to say that no hour of the day is thought *fitter* for taking a meal *than* that which astrology has assigned. That argues no profound belief in astrology. The words mean that no hour of the day is thought the right hour (fitter than others, Verg. georg. i 286 *nona fugae melior*) for taking a meal, except the hour which astrology has assigned.

Lastly a detail of punctuation. Messrs Buecheler, Friedlaender, Duff, and Wilson all print i 140 sq. thus: '*quanta est gula quae sibi totos | ponit apros, animal propter conuiuia natum?*'—as if Juvenal were asking for information about the magnitude of the gluttony. The old editors rightly marked an exclamation, and Mr Friedlaender himself at Mart. v 70 5 prints '*o quanta est gula, centies comesse!*'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

BURY'S LIBRARY AND ABRIDGED HISTORIES OF GREECE.

A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great. By J. B. Bury. Macmillan, 1902. Two vols. Pp. 502, 534. 25s. net.

THIS is a 'Library Edition' of Prof. Bury's history, the form being less excellent than that of the edition of 1900 for the learner at school or at the university, but better adapted to the use of the more advanced student. The pictures are gone—maps and plans remaining—and we have in their stead larger print and thicker paper and, as the chief gain, a more abundant provision of references and other notes. In the body of the book there is a certain amount of new matter. The discoveries in Crete have given the opportunity for very interesting additions concerning Cnossus and its palace, the *labrys*, the Dictaeon cave, and Minos,—the human king, or god, or both (I. pp. 10, 18 ff. 34 f.). The account of the years 421 to 418 B.C. has been expanded and in part re-written (II. pp. 2-6). There is a new

paragraph on Herodotus (I. p. 282 f.), and more is said by way of comparison between him and Thucydides in I. p. 433, where remarks are added on the method of Thucydides, and particularly on the value and the treatment of the speeches. Another paragraph (I. p. 380 f.) deals with the system of 'liturgies' in connexion with the lack of a permanent treasury of state, while on p. 446 the less fully organized administration, as compared with that of a modern state, is pointed out to shew how largely continuity of policy depended upon the 'demagogue' at Athens. Other additions will be found in I. pp. 259, 261, besides the mention of the Athenian cavalry at Tanagra (I. p. 386) of which Professor Bury speaks in his prefatory note. Small alterations have been made throughout the book: marginal notes have been added or modified, and here and there a statement has been put in a more cautious form or changed in view of new knowledge. The paragraphs

on 'The Greeks and the older religion' (ed. 1 pp. 52 f.) are omitted, while much new information and conjecture concerning the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece is given in the 'Notes and References' at the end of the book (*e.g.* notes on I. pp. 37, 67, 108). It is in this part that we gain most by the new edition. There is still great moderation in the amount of notes, but in place of 33 smaller, we have 59 larger pages, and the more advanced student will find the additions of great value. An account is now given of Professor Ridgeway's views on the Pelasgians and Achaeans and on the Mycenaean culture (notes on I. pp. 8, 44, 48, 173); the opinions and comments of Mr. Macan (edition of Herodotus IV.—VI.) have also a prominent place (see *e.g.* notes on I. pp. 164, 213, 220, 228, 308). Among other notes may be mentioned that on Cleon's imitation of Pericles (on I. p. 455), that on the revolution of 411 B.C. (on II. p. 43) and that on the Thebans and the peace of Callias (on II. p. 139).

A few alterations have been made in the spelling of Greek names: 'Cnossus' (*e.g.* I. p. 10), 'Calaurea' (I. p. 187), 'Pheidias' (*e.g.* I. p. 401) appear in place of 'Cnosus', 'Calauria', 'Phidias'; 'Hicetas' (II. p. 254 ff.) now stands where the *k* was formerly allowed. But it is still difficult to discern any system. The somewhat uncertain rule of using Latin spelling in more familiar, Greek spelling in less familiar, words may account for the difference of treatment in 'Exekias' and 'Heracles' (I. p. 213), in 'Pisistratus' (*e.g.* I. p. 202) and 'Pheidias'; but it seems an insufficient clue to such forms as 'Colonos Agoraios' (note on I. p. 403) and 'Philaidae' (I. p. 200), or to the divergence between 'Heraclēs' and 'Asklēpios' (II. p. 322). Professor Bury is not afraid of the unfamiliar, if it appears to him good in other respects, and he might have done much to make a more consistent spelling familiar to present and future learners; but in this matter it would seem that he has, like the Athenians (I. p. 467), allowed his 'progressive instinct' to be 'defeated by conservative prejudices.'

History of Greece for Beginners. By J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Macmillan and Co. (and New York: The Macmillan Co.). 1903. Pp. 472, 3s. 6d.

THIS is an abridgment of Prof. Bury's longer history, the matter and the words being for the most part taken over from the earlier work. (There are some simplifications of the wording besides the changes made necessary by omissions.) The process of mere cutting down is not an ideal way of producing a history for beginners, but the work—though not done by Prof. Bury himself—has been in the main well and carefully performed. Only occasionally have I noticed statements that suffer from the removal of their surroundings. (On p. 147 a road 'continues northward' without having previously started in any direction. Euryalus appears abruptly on p. 264: it would have been better to choose 'If the wall had been finished, the attempt of Gylippus would never have been made' rather than the other half of the sentence. On p. 354 the mention of Athens should not have been omitted from the sentence 'One of these, Argaeus, was assisted by Athens with a strong fleet.' On p. 300 'The Long Walls' in the shortened version will naturally be thought to be those of Athens.)

The new matter is nearly all in the first chapter, where interesting additions have been made concerning Cnossus, the *labrys*, and the Dictaeon cave (pp. 5, 10f, 19) and references to Cnossus introduced on pp. 13, 16, 35. There is also a little that is new on pp. 254f, where the account of the dealings of Alcibiades with the Peloponnesian powers has been re-modelled.

In a later edition it would be an improvement to add marks of quantity more liberally in the beginners' book. Of the maps, plans, and other illustrations, which are so valuable a feature in the larger work, a satisfactory number are reproduced in the smaller; the Chronological Table has been adapted, and there is a good index, including some words that are not in the index of the larger book.

M. ALFORD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SITZLER'S NOTICE OF HARRISON'S *THEOGNIS*.

Among the *Summaries of Periodicals* in the last *Review* (p. 427) we read:—"E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* (J. Sitzler). 'Has brought forward nothing of value to forward the study of Theognis.'" The reporter's translation does injustice both to Mr. Sitzler and to me. Mr. Sitzler's review of my book is unintelligent; and after what I had said about him I scarcely

hoped to find in him a warm admirer: but he is not quite foolish enough to say that I have done nothing to forward the study of Theognis. 'Zur Förderung der Theognis-Frage' are his words. The 'Theognidean question' is a different matter from the study of Theognis.

E. HARRISON.

Trinity College, Cambridge.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

HADACZEK'S *GREEK AND ETRUSCAN EAR ORNAMENTS*.

Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker.
VON KARL HADACZEK. Wien, 1903.
Alfred Hölder. 5.20 mk.

THIS is a very useful contribution to the history of ancient gold ornaments, a subject which stands greatly in need of a comprehensive treatment, though there is no lack of articles scattered among the various periodicals. The task of writing the history of ancient jewellery is one of peculiar difficulty, inasmuch as in comparatively few instances are we in possession of authentic information as to the circumstances which attended the discovery of the various objects. As a rule the date of a gold ornament has to be determined by considerations of style and by a careful comparison with the types of jewellery indicated upon statues, terracottas, engraved mirrors, coins and similar objects which can with confidence be assigned to a particular period.

The author of the present dissertation has made a careful study of the various forms of earrings (to use a convenient term, which must be understood to include far more than mere rings) which appear upon Greek and Etruscan works of art. In particular an excellent use is made of coins, which are especially valuable for establishing the dates at which certain types prevailed.

It can be readily understood that the

progress of the art of jewellery cannot be traced satisfactorily without reference to numerous points of detail. All that can be done here is to give the briefest outline of the history of Greek and Etruscan earrings as presented in the above dissertation.

The earliest types of Greek earrings are those furnished by the discoveries on the sites of Troy and Mycenae and also by the results of the excavations conducted of late years in Cyprus. The principal forms yielded by these sites are the 'basket'-shaped earrings with series of pendants, spirals which are exceedingly common, and varieties of the 'boat' or crescent-shape. The next division is that of the early Greek Period—roughly from the seventh to the fifth century B.C. In this period the disk in the form of a rosette, an ornament which plays so conspicuous a part in the best Greek jewellery, first makes its appearance. Spiral earrings are very common, the ends showing a continuous development in ornamentation from the simple disks seen on the Melian earrings to the finely modelled female heads of the fourth century. Of Ionic origin are the open rings with decorations, usually in the form of globule-clusters, soldered on below. [This form, however, appears in the primitive jewellery from Cyprus.] A well-marked progress from the simple to the complicated can here be traced. The oldest examples come from the Greek colonies of Sicily, where they are found with Corinthian vases of the seventh and sixth centuries. It seems probable that

the Homeric ἔρματα τρίγλῃνα μορρέντα were of this type. The 'boat'-shaped earrings are also common at this period; a peculiar development of them is seen in the elongated earrings from Cyprus with overlapping ends. Akin to these are the Phoenician earrings, which sometimes have double pendants, *e.g.* first a bird and then a basket-pendant holding a pyramid of minute gold globules.

The fourth century marks the culminating point of the Greek jeweller's art. It is not so much that completely new types are invented as that the older types are employed with consummate skill and in the most exquisite combinations. The disk, the pyramid, and the vase are continually occurring, but generally with the addition of a series of pendent chains. The prevailing type of earring may be seen on many coins of the fourth century, *e.g.* upon those of Elis and Locris; cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* of coins of Central Greece, Pl. i, 3-7. To this century belongs that magnificent form of earring, which consists of the disk, from which hangs a complicated arrangement of intersecting chains and pendent vases. The best known examples of this type have been found in the S. Russian tombs (see *Comptes Rendus*, 1865, Pl. ii). To the same period must be assigned the best of the earrings with figure pendants, where the figure is sometimes found alone with the disk, but more often, perhaps, in combination with hanging vases. The favourite figures are those of Nike and Eros, but several others occur; especially noteworthy are the animal-figures, covered with white, or, rarely, coloured enamel. Eros enjoys an extraordinary popularity as a figure for earring pendants, but the majority of these earrings date from Hellenistic or Roman times. Another very common fourth century earring is that of smooth gold or twisted gold wire ending in the head of an animal, *e.g.* lion, antelope, etc., or in some cases in a human head.

Similar types continue to occur in the third century, but with an ever increasing use of precious stones or coloured glass. This tendency is a marked characteristic of Hellenistic jewellery.

In the section on Etruscan jewellery those forms, which may be said to be peculiar to the Etruscans, are first treated. These include the 'orechini a baule' or coffer-shaped earrings, which starting from the simple plate of metal bent into semi-cylindrical shape, are gradually elaborated. During the sixth and fifth centuries

B.C. Etruscan jewellery is marked by its extraordinary fineness of workmanship, filigree and granulation being brought to the highest pitch of excellence. From the fourth century Greek types begin to oust the native Etruscan forms, but the taste of the Greek jeweller is lacking, and the exquisite fineness characteristic of early Etruscan gold ornaments gradually falls off.

The author of the dissertation was unable to visit the British Museum and study its collection of gold ornaments. Some types of earrings, which are to be met with there and which are not included among those given in the work under consideration may be mentioned. By an interesting development of the type seen in Fig. 28 small volutes of wire are added on either side of the globule-cluster in a pair of earrings from Maroni in Cyprus; the effect is greatly enhanced thereby. This earring must be considerably earlier in date than the seventh century. The British Museum possesses some fine earrings of the best period; one of the neatest and most effective (from Eretria) has the flower-shaped disk with the 'boat' below, while between flower and boat is a small Siren. The ends of the boat are masked by small rosettes and four very delicately wrought shells are suspended from the body of it. The effect of the whole is admirable. From Cyme in Aeolis comes a set of earrings the chief feature of which is the arrangement of the pendent chains which are passed through a series of cylindrical gold beads and end in gold flowers. A similar arrangement is seen in necklaces from the same place. A striking pair of earrings from Tarentum tend towards the florid style. The main portion of them is formed by a 'boat' covered with filigree work; above is a mask in relief, while below seven clusters of rather large globules are soldered. It is interesting, in view of the statement in Pollux v. 16. 97 that certain earrings were known as κεραυρίδες, to find in the British Museum a fragmentary earring with remains of a centaur in white porcelain. The main portion consists of a semi-circular shield with ruby inset. Above, on either side, are minute dolphins, and by the sides of the centaur chains with beads of white glass are suspended. This earring was found at Vulci.

The book is provided with 157 excellent illustrations and a short, but useful, index.

F. H. MARSHALL.

ABBOTT'S *MACEDONIAN FOLKLORE*.

Macedonian Folklore. By G. F. ABBOTT, B.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge. University Press. xi + 372 pp. 10s. 6d.

It is surprising that so little attention has been given in this country to modern Greek. In Paris, the study of Modern Greek has a place in the excellent school of Living Oriental Languages, and the name of Legrand is sufficient to show how seriously the study is taken. Germany has given us Passow's excellent collection of folk-poetry, and a number of other works, amongst which special honour is due to B. Schmidt's *Leben der Neugriechen*, a work which well deserves to be completed and brought up to date. But in England there are no facilities for the study, no good collections of books in the public libraries, hardly any one who knows or cares anything about the matter. Thousands of travellers visit the country, but few get beyond their dragoon; those that do, mostly fall into the hands of the official and bookish classes, who will tell them that modern Greek is a vulgar thing, only just being 'purified' by statesmen and journalists, who delight to fill their pages with words which have not been spoken for a thousand years and inflexions which have been in the grave longer still, very much as if the editor of the *Times* said *heafod* for head, and resuscitated a few Anglo-Saxon case-endings. But the real modern Greek is a very different thing from the newspaper jargon: it has grace and delicacy, transparent clearness, not a little music, and above all a dramatic quality which is quite unsurpassed. Mr. Abbott's description of the story-teller Kyr Khaidhevtos has recalled to me many a delightful hour spent in listening to folk-tales like his, recited with such vivid feeling and dramatic action that the attention could never flag. It may be hoped that this book is a sign that scholars are likely to pay more attention to this language in future. Even from a philological point of view it has more than usual interest. If some competent scholar, for instance, were to investigate the language of the goatherds and mountaineers in the Greek islands, where outside influences hardly come, many an ancient word or phrase might be brought to light, some perhaps like the word *τὰ δύσαλα* which Mr. Abbott records

(dangerous places in the sea) not recorded in literature. It is only necessary to mention the survival of *Κόρακα* as the name of the rock in Ithaca about which the ravens used to flock in Homer's day, preserved by the island goatherds, to show what unexpected light these trifles may bring.

From this point of view, I cannot help regretting that Mr. Abbott did not so arrange his work as to keep the Greek all together in the Appendix, leaving the English in the body of the work for those who wanted it. As it is, he is a little arbitrary in his method. Most of the essays, couplets, riddles, and sayings are given in Greek and English in the text; to the Appendix are relegated two stories, extracts from books of charms and folk-medicine, and a selection of riddles *Anglice non reddenda*. This method, moreover, involves a considerable waste of space, which might have been utilized to print some of Mr. Abbott's collections which he has kept back for one reason or another, sometimes merely for their length. Mr. Abbott might also have summarized in his index the survivals from antiquity which he records: amongst which are—a Swallow-song (18), *τὰ ἐξ ἀμάξης* (56), the association of the Pleiades with birds, (cp. *Alcman* xxiii. 60) (70), the luck of *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* (125), the Fates and Nereids, Charon and his penny (193), the fatal letter (132) known from the story of Bellerophon (and indeed of Hamlet), ideas of the next world which remind us of Pindar (210), well-spirits (255), the rescue of Andromeda (260), echoes of Theocritus, (107 etc.), and others. Mr. Abbott's translations are faithful and often tasteful; I have only noted one or two doubtful points which may be due to a loose paraphrase. On p. 343 there is no word in the Greek for 'gold,' or on p. 55 for 'flower'; there is no allusion to olive-pressing on p. 50; there seems to be no reason for connecting *μακαρία* and *μακαρίτης* with 'the ancient *αἱμακουρία* 'offerings of blood' (203¹); on p. 158 the eye and the hook seem to be transposed, the eye being obviously the female symbol. Ogygeia (248) and *χαρπαῖς* (166) appear to be misprints.

It should also be added that Mr. Abbott's explanations are not always tenable; and that his parallels are often not to the point, nor are they chosen on any settled principle, but at random (as he tells us) from the books he happens to

know. We could have dispensed with most of these.

I do not propose to discuss in detail the contents of the book, which are very miscellaneous in character. They include the customary celebrations of fasts, feasts, and sacred seasons, the ceremonial of weddings and burials, superstitions connected with the birth of children; charms, spells and incantations, divination and sorcery; tales, legends, riddles, and songs. None of the love-distiches are as good as the best in Passow, but some are pretty; several of the songs are good, and there are some excellent stories.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

GRUPPE'S GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION.

Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte by DR. O. GRUPPE (*Handbuch der kl. Altertumswissenschaft*, 27 Halbband). Munich, 1903. 8°. 7 mk.

DR. GRUPPE'S treatise on Greek Mythology and Religion is hard to read, harder still to review. In the second volume now published what seems to us an inherent defect in method becomes inconveniently apparent. Dr. Gruppe divides his whole subject under three headings: (1) Topography, *i.e.* the most important centres of local cultus; (2) the most important mythological cycles; (3) the history of religion. Why this particular classification was adopted we are not told, but its inconveniences are obvious; anything important has to be repeated twice if not thrice; information must be sought under two and often under three heads. We are in a perpetual state of cross references, and every author who has treated a complex subject knows the temptation cross references present, and how easy it is by referring backwards and forwards to avoid facing a difficulty.

Another serious defect in Dr. Gruppe's method is that practically the whole gist of his work is in the notes, which occupy on an average far more than half each page, and frequently contain the most valuable suggestions. In fact the text alone is barely intelligible and is little more than a thin thread on which the notes are strung together. Notes are for many German and some English writers losing their proper function altogether as means of exact reference; they are becoming mere shunting

places for ill-considered material, or for what is only half relevant, and yet the author fears to omit. What is worth saying at all is almost always worth putting in the text or is matter for an excursus.

But though we may quarrel with the method we are thankful for the accumulation of material. Dr. Gruppe's treatise is too formless to be called a book, but it will supply the material for many books. To take one example. The section devoted to 'the Orphics' (pp. 1028-1041) which we have examined in detail contains absolutely nothing new and deals with such important sources as the Orphic inscribed tablets in cursory and second-hand fashion—the originals have obviously not been examined—but, none the less, within the compass of a few pages, Dr. Gruppe presents to any one *about to begin the study of Orphism* a complete, or very nearly complete, conspectus of material. For such a presentation we may well be thankful; our only regret is that—as it seems to us prematurely—some attempt is made to work up the material. A treatise like that of Dr. Gruppe's may be possible fifty years hence, when, in the light of recent discoveries and recent modifications in method, the whole field has been mapped out afresh; at present it is foredoomed to failure. The notes may live while the text perishes.

JANE E. HARRISON.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Thermos, Aetolia.—Five painted terracotta metopes belonging to the archaic temple of Apollo have been put together from fragments and are now in a fairly complete condition. The objects represented are (1) a Gorgoneion. (2) A huntsman walking to r. with bow in r. hand and a pole over the l. shoulder; from the pole are suspended a deer and a wild boar. (3) Perseus fleeing to the r., wearing *pilos* and winged sandals and carrying the head of Medusa in a wallet. (4) Two women facing each other and bending downwards; over the head of the woman on the r. is the word $\Lambda\text{O}\Gamma\Delta\text{P}\Gamma\text{X}$. The bottom of the metope is broken away, so that it is impossible to make out what the women are engaged upon. (5) Three figures seated to r. dressed in elaborate garments; one has both arms raised, the others hold each a *phiale*.

The colours employed are brownish red, clay-colour, and purple. Black is used for the hair, beard, and eye-brows, white for the flesh in female figures. The style of the paintings shows Corinthian influence, as do the letters of the inscription. The date of these metopes is probably to be placed at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.¹

Athens.—Towards the end of 1901 an archaic stèle was found in the S.W. part of the city near the church of S. Athanasios. The stèle lay amid a heap of stones, possibly remnants of the city wall. The lower part is damaged, but the upper is well preserved; the marble is probably Parian. On it is represented a nude youth in the archaic running attitude to r., wearing a helmet. The arms are bent and the hands rest upon the chest; the head droops to l., back over the r. shoulder. The figure in all probability represents a *δπλατοδρόμος* and is a fine example of archaic work of about 520 B.C.²

ITALY.

Rome.—As the result of excavations carried on since August 1902 fresh fragments belonging to the Ara Pacis have been discovered. This building was erected in the Campus Martius in honour of Augustus in 13 B.C. on his return from the Germanic and Gaulish wars; cf. *Mon. Anc.* Ob res in Germania Gallisque provinciis prospere gestas S.P.Q.R. aram Paci Augustae constituit pro reditu meo consecravitque ad Campum Martium. The monument, as we learn from the calendars of Amiternum and Praeneste took five years to build (13–9 B.C.). The new fragments found include portions of the lower sculptured band of the enclosure wall. A peculiar feature is the design of lizards and frogs lurking under wreaths etc.; Prof. Lanciani thinks that this may have reference to the names of the architects, Sauros and Batrachos.³

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

American Journal of Archaeology. VII. No. 3. 1903.

1. The cave at Vari.

(1) C. H. Weller: Description, Excavation, and History. (Two plates; ten cuts.)

¹ *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 1903, pp. 71 ff.

² *Ibid.* pp. 44 ff.

³ *Athenaeum*, 31st Oct. 1903.

A cave known for many years at Vari in Attica, recently explored (1901), containing a shrine of Apollo, a carved seated figure, and a relief of a stone-cutter, Archidemos; apparently in use for worship of Apollo, Pan, and Nymphs from 600 to 150 B.C.

(2) M. E. Dunham: Inscriptions.

Publishes twenty, twelve of which are new, with facsimiles; several relate to Archidemos the stone-cutter.

(3) Miss I. C. Thallon: Marble Reliefs. (Seven plates.)

All belong to class of votive reliefs with Hermes, Pan, and Nymphs.

(4) Miss L. S. King: Vases, Terra-cottas, Bronzes, etc. (Two plates.)

Pottery mostly late R.F., some with dedicatory inscriptions; terra-cottas extending from 5th cent. to Graeco-Roman times, statuette-vases common; subjects include Pan, Seilenos, Demeter, Aphrodite, and Tanagra types.

(5) Miss A. Baldwin: Coins.

All bronzes of late Imperial date, except one Athenian of 2nd cent. B.C.

(6) S. E. Bassett: Terra-cotta Lamps. (Three plates.)

All late Roman, transitional to Christian; some of a type peculiar to Greek soil, with makers' names.

2. T. W. H.: Excavations at Corinth, 1903.

Preliminary Report.

3. C. E. Norton: The Founding of the School at Athens.

4. Archaeological News.

H. B. W.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2, 1903.

G. Macdonald. 'The numeral letters on Imperial coins of Syria.' A critical list of these numerals which occur during the second century A.D. at the cities of Commagene, Cyrrhastica, Chalcidice, and Seleucia. Macdonald makes out a good case for supposing them to indicate *months*: it is somewhat curious—though not without parallel—that the month of issue should be indicated and not the year also.

In the *Bulletin international de Numismatique*, part 3, 1903, Tacchella publishes a bronze coin (fourth cent. B.C.) of Cabyle in Thrace. This is the third specimen only that has come to light. The types are *obv.* Head of Apollo. *rev.* KABYΛHNΩN Artemis huntress with torch and patera; in field, club.

Revue numismatique. Part 2, 1903.

E. Poncet. 'Oboles de Marseille.' Some obols from a recent find made at Valence (Drôme).—A Blanchet. 'L'influence de l'art Grec dans le nord de la Gaule Belgique.' The Gaulish (and British) imitations of the gold staters of Philip of Macedon are well known: less known are the very interesting specimens for which the fine gold staters of Tarentum served as prototypes (Head of Amphitrite. *rev.* Dioscuri, etc.). The original Tarental staters may, says Blanchet, have passed from Italy into Belgium 'par la voie commerciale, indiquée dans Strabon, c'est-à-dire par Marseille, le Rhône, la Saône et la Seine.' Various bronze coins of Gaul with a cock on the reverse are traced back by Blanchet to the coins of Cales in Campania which bear this type.—R. Mowat. 'Contributions à la théorie des contre-marques Romaines.'—E. Babelon. 'L'iconographie monétaire de Julien l'Apostat.' An elaborate study

of the portraiture of Julian especially as represented on coins. Bernoulli and others have been inclined to dismiss the coin effigies as merely conventional. Babelon disputes this view and shows that when we arrange the coins chronologically and according to their mint-places, the iconographic evidence is seen to be of considerable importance. The paper is illustrated by four plates of coins and by an enlarged reproduction of an intaglio of Julian acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in 1901. *Mélanges* (p. 164). A very curious contemporary account of a find of obols of Massilia in A.D. 1366 at Tourves.

Journal international d'arch. numismatique. (Athens), parts 1 and 2, 1903.

H. B. E. Fox. 'Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus.' Additions to the writer's former article on the colonial coins of Corinth.—J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie. *Tripolis*.'—G. Macdonald. 'A new Syrian Era.' Rhosus a town in Seleucia and Pieria is usually supposed to have employed two eras on its coins (1) the Actian, B.C. 31, (2) the Caesarian, B.C. 48. Macdonald, who publishes a coin of Caracalla in the Hunter collection, shows that the only era that prevailed at Rhosus was one that began B.C. 39. In this year, as Macdonald points out, Ventidius Bassus, the legate of Antony, cleared Cilicia and Syria of the Parthians and crushed Labienus.—K. M. Konstantopoulo. Βυζαντινὰ μολυβδόβουλλα (continued). Lead seals in the National Museum, Athens.—G. Dattari. 'Notes inédites de V. Langlois.' Unpublished MS. annotations to Töchon d'Annecy's work on the coinage of the Nomes of Egypt.—S. A. Xanthoudides. Χρυστικά ἀρχαῖότητες ἐκ Κρήτης. Chiefly leaden seals.

—A. J. B. Wace. 'An unpublished Pergamene tetradrachm.' Mr. Wace gives his reasons for supposing that the obverse presents us with a portrait of Attalus I. King of Pergamus, and not with the usual head of the founder Philetaerus. I have not seen the original coin, but judging from the photograph I cannot help thinking that we are only dealing with a variety of the Philetaerus head. The head on Mr. Wace's coin bears, in fact, considerable resemblance to a tetradrachm described in Brit. Mus. Cat. *Mysia*, p. 116, no. 36, but not figured in the Plates. This tetradrachm is there assigned to the reign of Attalus I., and is described as bearing the Philetaerus-head. Possibly Mr. Wace might be justified in contending that the conventional head of the Founder has been modified to suit the portrait of the reigning monarch (Attalus), but this is, I think, the utmost that can be conceded. One Pergamene king (Eumenes II) undoubtedly engraved his own portrait on a tetradrachm, but it is somewhat significant that in this case he inscribed the piece with his personal name—EY-

MENÖY not ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ—and employed an entirely new and exceptional reverse-type.—J. Svoronos. 'Ο ἀρχαιολογικὸς θησαυρὸς τῶν Ἀντικυθέρων. The bronze figure of athletic type is restored as Perseus holding in outstretched right hand Medusa's head; in his left hand, the harpa. A comparison is made with various gems, coins of Argos, &c.—Regling. 'Lebedos-Ptolemais.' The conjecture previously made from the evidence of coins that Lebedos at one time bore the name of Ptolemais is now justified by an inscription of Magnesia which mentions Πτολεμαῖς οἱ πρότερον καλούμενοι Λεβέδιοι.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. No. 57.

Notes on Diogenes Laertius, J. E. B. Mayor. *The Orthography of Martial's Epigrams*, W. M. Lindsay. *Fulgentiana*, Robinson Ellis. *Aristotle's Conception of Chemical Combination*, Harold H. Joachim. *The Formation of the Julian Calendar with Reference to the Astronomical Year*, J. K. Fotheringham. *The Date of the Crucifixion*, the same, E. B. Cowell. C. W. M[oule]. *The Hamburger Stadtbibliothek Codex No. 1*, Christian D. Ginsburg. *On some passages in Metaphysics A*, Henry Jackson.

Hermathena. No. 29. 1903.

Notes on Cicero Ad Atticum XVI., J. S. Reid. *On the Third Foot of the Greek Hexameter*, R. Y. Tyrrell. *Notes on W. L. Newman's Edition of Aristotle's Politics, Vol. III.*, Robinson Ellis. *Notes on the Epistles of Horace*, H. T. Johnstone. *The Spirit of Man, A Prolegomenon in Spiritual Metaphysic*, Alexander R. Eagar. *Wendt's Theory of the Fourth Gospel*, F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock. *The Problem of Second Corinthians*, J. H. Kennedy. *Butler's Indebtedness to Aristotle: a Reply*, Frederick Purser. *Certain Aspects of Colonial Democracy* (with especial reference to Australasia), John Wardell. *Notes on Mediaeval Latin Authors*, J. E. Sandys. *Notes on the Odes of Horace*, Ernest Ensor. *Notes on Lucretius*, H. J. Lawlor. *The Relation of Metrical to Accent and Quantity Ictus in Plautine Verse*,

Charles Exon. *Reviews: Roberts' Edition of Demetrius on Style* (R. Y. Tyrrell), favourable. *Roby's Roman Private Law* (C. F. Bastable), favourable. *Greenidge's Legal Procedure in Cicero's Time* (C. Maturin), favourable. *Pichon's De Sermone Amatorio* (unsigned), favourable. *A Graduate of Cambridge's Notes and Emendations to the Greek Tragedians* (unsigned), unfavourable. 'It is unfair to Cambridge that our critic, suppressing his proper name, should have thus inscribed his work with the name of a graduate of that great University.' *Sidgwick's Editions of the Septem contra Thebas and the Persae* (unsigned), favourable on the whole. *May's Translation of the Aeneid* (unsigned), unfavourable. *Macran's Aristoxenus* (unsigned). 'The present edition . . . leaves to previous texts a merely historical interest. The editor's services to the interpretation of his author are of equally fundamental importance.'

American Journal of Philology.

Further Notes on the Mostellaria of Plautus, Edwin W. Fay. *The Modes of Conditional Thought* (III), W. C. Nutting. *The Editio Princeps of the Greek Aesop* (with a facsimile), George C. Keidel. *On the Non-Existence of Yemi (Yeimi)*, etc., L. H. Mills. *Vicia Pota*, Charles Hoening. *A Medical Papyrus Fragment*, Edgar J. Goodspeed. *Pascal's Studiî Critici sul Poema di Lucrezio* (W. A. Heidel).

Wessner's *Aeli Donati quod fertur commentum Terenti* (Minton Warren). *Bornecque's Sénèque le Rhéteur* (A. Gudeman). Brief Mention (chiefly on Bréal's *Un Problème de l'Histoire Littéraire*, the Homeric question). Reports, etc.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 58, 4.

S. Sudhaus, *Zu den Persern des Timotheos*. Critical notes with reference to Wilamowitz's edition. W. Helbig, *Eine Rathversammlung auf einem italischen Relief*. Explanation of a clay frieze found at Veletri in 1784 whose archaic style points to the sixth century B.C. It shows Etruscan influence and may represent a council meeting presided over by Servius Tullius or Tarquinius Priscus in which an officer of the *arquitres* gives information of the movements of the Sabines or Ardeates or other hostile troops. J. H. Holwerda, *Zur altgriechischen Tracht*. J. Steup, *Zu der Rede des L. Marcus Philippus aus Sallusts Historien*. Critical notes. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*. Memorials from the time of Maximinus Thrax. On an inscription from Lavinium and one from Mainz. L. Radermacher, *Euripides als litterarischer Kritiker*. Defends the genuineness of *Elect.* 532-546 (with the exception of 538-544) as a burlesque of the corresponding scene in the *Choephori*. W. Kroll, *Studien über Cicero's Schrift de oratore*. (1) The excursus in the third book (§§ 52-69), (2) other portions due to the influence of Antiochus of Ascalon. F. Solmsen, *Thessaliotis und Pelasgiotis*. On these two dialects and their differences in sounds, accident, and syntax. The Thessalian evidence is chiefly taken from the Sotairos inscription. F. Buecheler, *Eine Verbesserung Petrons*. S. Krauss, *Neue Aufschlüsse über Timesitheus und die Perserkriege*. E. Ritterling, *Caparcotna = Leggân in Galiläa*. L. Radermacher, *Die Zeit der Asinaria*. H. Wegehaupt and A. Brinkmann, *Zum Orakel von Tralles*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

14 Oct. J. Meinhold, *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*. I. *Der Heilige Rest*; Teil 1: *Elias, Amos, Hosca, Jesaja* (Meusel), very favourable. *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, coll. J. ab Arnim. II. *Chrysippi fragmenta logica et physica* (A. Bonhöffer) II., favourable. Philon de Byzance, *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques*, éd. et traduit par Carré de Vaux (Fr. Knaut), favourable. *Plini epistularum libri ix, epistularum ad Traianum liber, Panegyricus*, rec. C. F. W. Müller (Th. Opitz). F. Kirchner, *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Grundbegriffe*. 4. Aufl. von C. Michaelis (O. Weissenfels), favourable on the whole.

21 Oct. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, herausg. von Collitz und Bechtel. III. 1. 5. *Die rhodischen Inschriften*, bearb. von H. van Gelder. IV. 2. 2. *Wortregister zu II. 2-6*, bearb. von H. Meyer und C. Wendel (P. Cauer). *L. Junii Columellae opera*, rec. V. Lundström. Fasc. VI: lib. X (W. Gemoll), 'Makes no advance.' E. Martini, *Analceta Laertiana*, II. (C. Haeblerlin), favourable. *Excerpta Historia inusu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, ed. Ph. Boissvain, C. de Boor, Th. Büttner-Wobst. I. *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor (Th. Büttner-Wobst). 'An excellent work.'

28 Oct. A. Boxler, *Précis des institutions publiques de la Grèce et de Rome anciennes* (G. v. Kobilinski), unfavourable. R. Berndt, *De Charete, Chaeride, Alexione grammaticis eorumque reliquiis*. I. *Charetis Chaeridisque fragmenta, quae supersunt* (P. Maas), unfavourable. F. Fröhlich, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit Cäsars in seinem Bericht über den Feldzug gegen die Helvetier* (R. Oehler). 'Can be warmly recommended.' *Der römische Limes in Österreich*, IV (M. Ihm). Fr. J. Kleemeier, *Handbuch der Bibliographie* (C. Haeblerlin), very favourable.

4 Nov. E. Arleth, *Die metaphysischen Grundlagen der Aristotelischen Ethik* (A. Döring), unfavourable. A. Pallis, *A few notes on the gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew* (C. Könnicke), favourable. L. Bergmüller, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Latinität des Jordanes* (M. Manitius). 'Gives noteworthy results.' V. Lundström, *Anecdota Byzantina*. Fasc. I. *Anonymi carmen paraeneticum et Pauli Helladici epistolam continens* (G. Wartenberg).

11 Nov. *Griechische-römische Altertumskunde* herausg. von J. Hense (G. v. Kobilinski), unfavourable on the whole. J. J. Oeri, *Die Sophokleische Responson* (H. Otte), unfavourable. S. K. Gifford, *Pauli epistolas qua forma legerit Ioannes Chrysostomus* (R. Knopf). 'A diligent and careful work.' E. J. Chinnock, *A few notes on Julian and a translation of his public letters*, (R. Asmus), favourable. L. Bellanger, *In Antonini Placentini Itinerarium Grammatica Disquisitio* (M. Manitius), very favourable. *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, herausg. von K. Vollmöller, V. 3 (H. Ziemer).

18 Nov. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek votive offerings, An Essay in the history of Greek religion* (H. Stending). 'Brings little that is new, but valuable on account of the material brought together, and trustworthy.' J. Samuelsson, *Ad Apollonium Rhodium Adversaria* (C. Haeblerlin), favourable. L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 7. Aufl. (K. J. Neumann). 'Belongs to the books which are really read.'

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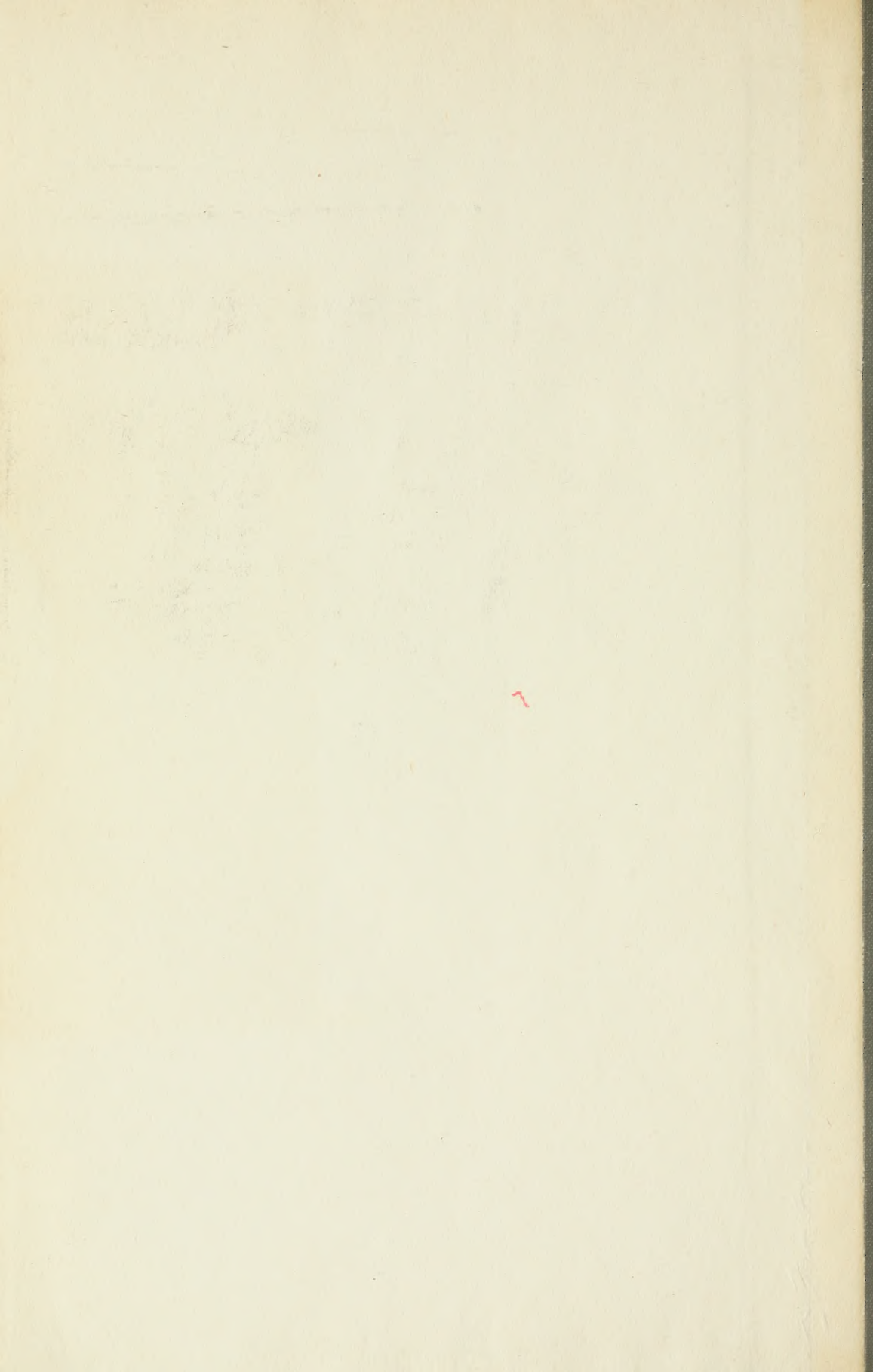
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